WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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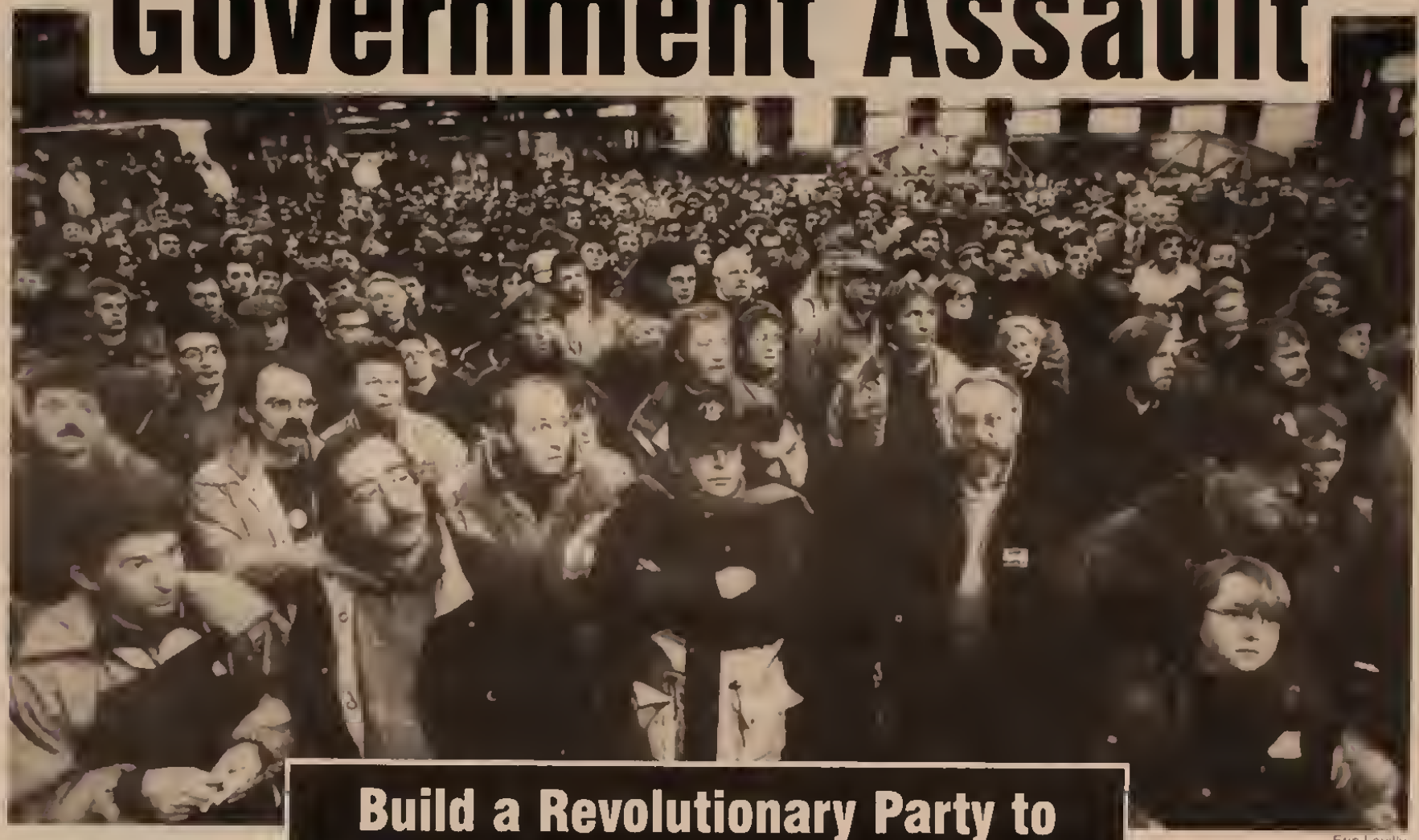
No. 636

5 January 1996

Union Misleaders Derail Strike Wave

French Workers Fight Off Government Assault



Eric Levilly

Build a Revolutionary Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Transport workers were backbone of recent strikes against French capitalists' assault on trade unions and social services. Above: general assembly of striking rail workers in Sotteville.

JANUARY 1—French public service workers returned to work after a massive strike wave against a government assault on the country's social security system. The strikes electrified militant workers throughout Europe and the world. For three weeks, the country slowed to a crawl, as striking railwaymen were joined by workers in mass transit, the postal system, public utilities, schools and hospitals. Paris and other large cities were paralyzed. Contrary to the government's expectations, the labor actions were widely and even enthusiastically supported by the bulk of the population, who saw their basic social security net threatened by Prime Minister Alain Juppé's "reforms."

Juppé was able to hardline it for weeks as the strike wave remained limited to public sector workers without spreading to heavy industry. However, a series of half a dozen one-day general strikes by public workers saw steadily growing mass mobilizations, culminating on December 12 when more than two million protesters flooded the streets. The mass anti-government mobilizations, which had been centered on Paris, took off virtually throughout the country. It was just at this point that the reformist leaders of the working class stepped in to put out the fires of class struggle.

Seeking to stop a dangerous escalation, the government tried "salami tactics," offering to piece off the railway workers, the hard core of the strike movement. At the same time, Juppé vowed to maintain the centerpiece of his anti-working-class "reforms": plans to gut public health care. With events escalating toward a frontal clash, posing an all-out workers mobilization which could easily have escaped their control, the union tops signed on to the bourgeoisie's policy of "divide and rule." In exchange for the government dropping its planned cuts of pensions and jobs of rail workers, the strikes would be brought to an end.

Echoing the famous statement by French Stalinist leader Maurice Thorez in the 1936 general strike, the CGC managers "union" declared, "It's necessary to know how to end a strike." The reformists certainly know how. Both *L'Humanité*, daily paper of the French Communist Party (PCF), and the social-democratic *Libération* ran front-page photos showing jubilant railway workers waving red flags on the train taking them back to work. Louis Viannet, head of the PCF-led CGT union federation, cynically hailed the "rail workers' victory in imposing their sectoral demands." Nicole Notat, leader of the social-democratic CFDT federation, who had opposed the strikes from the start, declared that the workers "have fought and won." The Saturday, December 16 "day of action" was intended to declare victory...and send the strikers home. Yet no sooner had the workers started returning to work than parliament approved legislation empowering Juppé to impose new taxes by decree, so that his 0.5 percent income tax hike could take effect January 1.

The strike movement was so powerful that there are still pockets of determined strikers: Marseilles remains paralyzed by a shutdown of railway and public transportation, now in its fifth week, while isolated walkouts continue to occur in the public sector. Last week, the government sent one hundred CRS riot cops against workers occupying the postal sorting center in Caen. The strikers were not defeated: there is widespread bitterness among militant workers, who talk of going back on strike against the government's attacks. While giving in to the rail unions made it possible to split the strike movement, it also highlighted the government's weakness and could embolden other sectors. A wage freeze for all 5.5 million public workers scheduled to take effect in January could provoke a new outbreak of protest. But

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Workers Vanguard Interview

Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

See Page Six

WV Photo

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

PDC Holiday Appeal a Success

The Partisan Defense Committee is wrapping up our tenth annual Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners: the 17 imprisoned victims nf capitalist and racist state repression who are in the PDC's regular stipend prngram. With contributions still coming in, we've raised ahout $10,000 thus far. Every cent raised is used to provide monthly stipends for the prisnners and holiday gifts for them and their families.

The Holiday Appeal centered around fund-raising benefits in New Ynrk, Chicago and the Bay Area. Smaller gatherings were also held in Bnston and Los Angeles. The noteworthy feature nf the benefits this year was the participatinn of trade unions and unionists, an outgrowth of the PDC-initiated labor-centered mohilizations for Mumia Abu-Jamal during the summer. In New York, where some 360 tickets were snld and over 175 people turned out for the benefit, blocks nf tickets were hnught hy SSEU Local 371, the local chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Teamsters Local 808.

The Decemher 10 Bay Area benefit was held at the ILWU Local 6 hall in Oakland. Some 400 tickets were sold, 100 more than last year, and over 100 attended. Five unions bought blocks of tickets, and over $4,000 has been raised. An article in the Chinese-language *Sing Tao Daily* (11 December) reported on the PDC's activities, highlighting our defense of immigrants' rights and protest of government mistreatment of Chinese immigrants, ten of whom just ended a 50-day hunger strike in a Bakersfield prison, as well as the campaign for Mumia.

WV Photo

December 10 PDC benefit held at ILWU Local 6 hall in Oakland.

The Chicago benefit, held at the United Electrical Workers hall, drew nearly 100 penple. Over one-quarter of the 275 tickets sold were bought by members of the city's transit unions, which were instrumental in building PDC mobilizations to free Mumia and to stop the KKK.

The benefits focused on our work on behalf of class-war prisoners, most prominently the PDC's efforts in the campaign to free Jamal. This year's benefits featured statements from many of the prisoners expressing the importance to them of such solidarity. The MOVE women at Pennsylvania's Cambridge Springs state prison wrote: "A *very* special thanks to the Partisan Defense Committee for all of the hard work and dedication you have shown to all of us Political Prisoners, class war prisoners and prisoners of war, over the years with the holiday fundraising drives, benefits, demonstrations, supplying us with letters, cards, donations and your *Workers Vanguard* which is very informative and keeps us up to date on a lot of things."

We print below remarks by Jane Clancy on behalf of the Spartacist League at the Bay Area benefit.

A comrade up from Los Angeles told me a story. A black woman comedian from L.A. just got back from France and said, "I was in L.A. in 1992 and I was in Paris in 1995 and let me tell you, honey, those white people sure know how to riot." It's not simply that it's humorous, it's insightful because it offers a ray of hope, an understanding of struggle across national boundaries, an insight into the importance of the battles being waged so fiercely by the French working class, and an indication that in those kinds of struggles one can break down the barriers nf race, of ethnicity, of nation that are imposed by the capitalist rulers in order to keep those at the hottom divided and pitted against each other.

The multiracial upheaval in Los Angeles in 1992 lit up the sky with the anger of many—blacks, Latinos, white working people and youth—who have been increasingly ground down to feed the profits of the filthy rich few at the top. Those who have looted the wealth of this society, destroyed industry, ripped off millions in various scams from junk bonds to bilking savings and loans, screamed over the "looting." We argued that the point was not to seize the articles of consumption but to seize the means of production.

There is only one force capable of doing that, the multiracial working class, whose labor created the wealth in this socicty and which has the power to reclaim this wealth and make it belong to all. You can see that power today in France, where railway workers have shut down the trains, airport workers have repeatedly shut down the airports, electrical workers let the population have power at half price, miners are

continued on page 10

TROTSKY

LENIN

France: Syndicalism or Bolshevism

The recent explosive strikes in France demonstrated both the proletariat's readiness to struggle and the union misleaders' determination to betray. Particularly since the collapse of Stalinism under the weight of its own bankruptcy, growing numbers of radical-minded youth and workers in West Europe have turned to the "anti-party" traditions of anarchism and syndicalism as an alternative to the open class-collaborationism of the reformist parties. In a 1929 article, Leon Trotsky addressed the contradictory aspects of the mass revolutionary syndicalist current which existed before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

The Communist Party is the fundamental weapon of revolutionary action of the proletariat, the combat organization of its vanguard that must raise itself to the role of leader of the working class in all the spheres of its struggle without exception, and consequently, in the trade union field....

The theory of the active minority was, in essence, an uncompleted theory of a proletarian party. In all its practice, revolutionary syndicalism was an embryo of a revolutionary party as against opportunism, that is, it was a remarkable draft outline of revolutionary Communism.

The weakness of anarcho-syndicalism, even in its classic period, was the absence of a correct theoretical foundation, and, as a result, a wrong understanding of the nature of the state and its role in the class struggle; an incomplete, not fully developed and, consequently, a wrong conception of the role of the revolutionary minority, that is, the party. Thence the mistakes in tacties, such as thc fetishism of the general strike, the ignoring of the connection between the uprising and the seizure of power, etc.

After thc war, French syndicalism found not only its refutation but also its development and its completion in Communism. Attempts to revive revolutionary syndicalism now would be to try and turn back history. For the labor movement, such attempts can have only reactionary significance.

The epignnes of syndicalism transform (in words) the independence of the tradc union organization from the bourgeoisie and the refnrmist socialists into *independence in general*, into *absolute* independence from all parties, the Communist included....

Independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie cannot be a passive state. It can express itself nnly by political acts, that is, by the struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle must be inspired by a distinct program which requires organizatinn and tactics for its application. It is the union of prngram, organization, and tactics that constitutes the party. In this way, the real independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois government cannot be realized unless the proletariat conducts its struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary and not an opportunist party.

—Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism" (October 1929)

Letter

Imperialist Sanctions Kill 500,000 Iraqi Children

Brooklyn, New York
22 December 1995

To the Editors:

Living in this age of capitalist cruelty I have become somewhat numb to human suffering. But this little item from page A9 of *The New York Times* (1 December 1995) made my blood stop cold:

Under the headline "Iraq Sanctions Kill Children, U.N. Reports," we read:

> "As many as 576,000 Iraqi children may have died since the end of the Persian Gulf war because of economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council, according to two scientists who surveyed the country for the Food and Agriculture Organization."

500,000? Children? Starved to death?! (And how many Iraqi *adults*, who don't even rate a mention in this article?)

(Cruel as they are, I can't imagine what real—as opposed to stated—imperialists' objective is heing achieved by this; unless it's to show the world that there is no limit to their cruelty. But I thought they had demonstrated this rather well already.)

May we please scream about this from the rooftops as we do at every opportunity for Mumia?

May we please excoriate those "leftists," Black and union "leaders," who would have us vote for mass murderer Clinton (leader and organizer of the sanctions) in '96 as a "lesser evil"?

May we please vilify these same gentlepersnns for their silence on this matter when they cry crocodile tears ON CUE (e.g., for "poor little Bosnia," when the U.S. wants to invade it)?

May we please rip the faces off the sanctimonious concerned-for-all-mankind-yet-sober-and-realistic publishers nf the *Times* for burying this info on page 9 as they hurled their knowledge of the Holocaust in the '30s?

Fraternally,
Jack L.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 636 **5 January 1996**

Walesa Ousted in Polish Elections

Bankers Back Ex-Stalinist

WARSAW—Lech Walesa, the godfather of Solidarność counterrevolution, finally got his comeuppance from Poland's working people. On December 23, former Stalinist Aleksander Kwasniewski took over as president, after defeating Walesa's bid for a second term in the November 19 ballot. Despite a frenzied anti-Communist campaign by rightist forces and the powerful Catholic church hierarchy, Kwasniewski's Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) garnered 51.7 percent of the vote in a record turnout, consolidating its sweeping victory in parliamentary elections two years ago. The SLD won three out of five votes among the unemployed, as well as sizable majorities in small towns and rural areas which have been particularly hard hit by capitalist "shock therapy."

Walesa's defeat marks the final humiliation for the once-powerful Solidarność movement, which was groomed and financed by NATO imperialism and the Vatican in the early '80s as the spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. The Spartacist tendency opposed this company "union" for the CIA and Western bankers while calling for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy which had driven Polish workers into the arms of clerical reaction. In contrast, much of the reformist and centrist left marched in lockstep behind Cold War social democrats like the German SPD and France's Mitterrand, cheering in "solidarity with Solidarity" and whitewashing its counterrevolutionary agenda.

But with its ascent to power on the basis of the 1989 "Round Table" agreement with the Stalinists, Solidarność immediately began implementing

Polish Trotskyists call for building a revolutionary workers party to fight capitalist austerity and champion rights of women and minorities.

Rutkiewicz/Studio X

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All-purpose bigot Lech Walesa (right) replaced by social democrat Aleksander Kwasniewski, who promises more "free market" misery.

its program of capitalist restoration, dismantling the planned economy, shredding workers' livelihoods, driving women out of the workforce, imposing a ban on abortion and subjecting youth to regimentation by the church. Today, many workers at the Gdansk shipyard, where Walesa first catapulted himself to prominence, voted for Kwasniewski.

The SLD victory continues a trend seen throughout the former deformed workers states of East Europe over the past three years, as the political heirs of the now-defunct Stalinist bureaucracies have ridden into office on a groundswell of discontent over the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution. But like his fellow born-again social democrats in Lithuania, Hungary and elsewhere, Kwasniewski promises more of the same "free market" impoverishment as he slavishly implements the dictates of the imperialists' International Monetary Fund (IMF). The governing SLD coalition, in league with its bourgeois bloc partners of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), has amply demonstrated its reliability on this score in the past two years.

To their working-class base, these reformists offer "capitalism with a human face." Yet as we wrote last year in "East Europe: Five Years of Counterrevolution" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995): "Any government—whether pro-Western neoliberal, Christian nationalist or ex-Stalinist—which accepts the framework of capitalist restoration will oversee the further impoverishment of these societies." In a televised debate with Walesa, Kwasniewski promised to deal "with the problems of unemployment, of the poor and with the situation of Polish women." But speaking to the German bankers in an interview with *Der Spiegel* (27 November 1995), he underlined his real priorities: dismantling the remnants of the social security and pension system left over from the deformed workers state and "integrating" Poland into NATO and the Deutschmark-dominated European Union.

Immediately after his election, Kwasniewski resigned from the Polish Social Democracy (SdRP), the mainstay of the Democratic Left Alliance, embracing Walesa's project of making the presidency a bonapartist institution "above parties."

Where the SLD's earlier parliamentary triumph provoked anxiety and consternation among NATO leaders, two years later the 41-year-old Kwasniewski, a yuppie "pragmatist" who portrays himself as a Polish version of JFK, had become the imperialists' favored candidate. A recent U.S. Commerce Department report, trumpeted by the SLD mouthpiece *Trybuna* (3 November 1995), approvingly noted that "the pace of privatization has gathered momentum" since the SLD's Jozef Oleksy became prime minister earlier this year. A spokesman for a Wall Street brokerage firm praised Kwasniewski for knowing "how to handle himself with the unions." The London *Financial Times* complained that the imperious Walesa had "frustrated foreign investors" and "was himself to blame for his electoral failure."

In Poland, barely six months ago, Walesa was so despised and discredited that he ranked lower in opinion polls than General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who imposed martial law in December 1981 to spike Solidarność' initial bid for power. So the church—viewing the staid SLD as a latter-day Bolshevik Antichrist—moved to rally the faithful behind Walesa against the traditional obsession of Polish reaction, the "*Zydokomuna*"—"Jew-Communism." In June Walesa's personal priest, Father Henryk Jankowski, took the pulpit in his patron's presence to decry the Star of David as a "symbol that combined the swastika and the hammer and sickle." Cardinal Glemp proclaimed the election a choice between "Christian" and "neo-pagan" values and ordered special masses for Walesa's re-election. Kwasniewski was even refused entry into the Jasna Gora shrine, Poland's equivalent of Mecca, as the head of the monastery inveighed against those who come "under the sign of the hammer and sickle."

The Solidarność trade-union federation, which is shot through with fascists and anti-Semites, threw its support behind Walesa, as did the fascistic Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) of Leszek Moczulski. After the first round of voting in early November, the other bourgeois parties also endorsed Walesa, including erstwhile leftist idol Jacek Kuron of the Freedom Union, the largest party issuing out of the fragmentation of the Solidarność movement. Yet distaste for Walesa ran so deep that the party split, with a grouping led by pro-abortion liberal Barbara Labuda supporting Kwasniewski.

The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP), section of the International Communist League, insisted that there was no choice for working people in this contest between the social-democratic enforcer of IMF austerity and the would-be successor to interwar fascistic dictator Jozef Pilsudski. The economic policies pushed by the two candidates differed only in tone, not in content. Where Walesa raved that it "will be necessary to shoot" striking workers for "the good of the fatherland," Kwasniewski argued more discreetly that "unpopular decisions" would be needed "to maintain economic growth." Enforcing these "unpopular decisions" is the ex-Stalinist OPZZ trade-union federation, which is itself a component of the SLD. These union misleaders, who preach that the "mission" of trade unions is not "initiating fires but preventing them," have ensured a decline in strike activity by the combative workers movement since the SLD came to office.

The one significant difference between the two candidates was over Kwasniewski's more liberal stance toward abortion and the suffocating domination of the Catholic church. Even this involves more posture than substance. The Social Democrats are well aware that the church is a bulwark of capitalist rule in Poland and they will do nothing to challenge its power. Kwasniewski criticizes members of his own party for making "anti-church interventions" and supports a concordat with the Vatican which will enshrine the church's privileged position. Meanwhile, the SLD-led coalition government has dutifully enforced the abortion ban, using Walesa's veto power as an excuse not to overturn it. It has also enthusiastically implemented German demands that Poland put a stop to emigration by persecuted Roma (Gypsy) refugees, bulldozing Roma settlements and deporting the inhabitants to Romania.

None of this, however, prevented various fake-Trotskyist groups from backing Kwasniewski in the name of lesser-evilism. Polish supporters of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat called to "stop the right"...by voting for the "left" front man for the IMF and Wall Street bankers (*Dalej!* November-December 1995). Likewise, the Polish affiliate of Britain's reformist Labour Militant, Ofensywa, coyly called for a vote to any candidate "who opposes the anti-abortion law," while in the same issue of its paper saying there was no choice for the working class in the elections.

Only a few years back, these outfits were among the staunchest boosters of Walesa and the right. Now with Polish workers, women and youth chafing under the impact of capitalist restoration, Cold War Stalinophobes like Militant seek to bury their past support to Solidarność counterrevolution. At the same time, they capitulate to pervasive Polish chauvinism. At a united-front protest in Warsaw for U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal last June, only days after Jankowski's vile Jew-baiting tirade, Ofensywa explicitly refused to join other demonstrators when the SGP led a chant of "Down with racism and anti-Semitism!"

Meanwhile, the Polish associates of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.) have remained

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Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Reformists in Bloc with Fascists

Racist War on Immigrants in Italy

MILANO—In recent months, Italy's rulers have ruthlessly escalated their racist war on immigrants. There has been a steady drumbeat in the newspapers and on television clamoring for action against "criminals," "drug pushers" and "prostitutes." Immigrant quarters in Torino, Naples and other cities have been turned into occupied areas, as hordes of cops sweep through making indiscriminate mass arrests. On November 19, the government of Prime Minister Lamberto Dini announced an "emergency" decree targeting anyone who is not a citizen of a European Union country for deportation without trial on the most spurious grounds, from "disturbing the peace" to "living beyond their means." This has already led to thousands of immigrants being fired from their jobs.

La Repubblica

Fascists and "leftists" have joined in unholy alliance calling for government repression of immigrants.

Scandalously, Dini's decree was supported not only by the fascist National Alliance (AN) and the racist populists of the Northern League, but also by the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), social-democratic successor to the Italian Communist Party. Fashioning its own version of the notorious "red"-brown coalition in Russia, the reformist PDS is now marching literally shoulder to shoulder with outright fascists in the anti-immigrant crusade. On October 6, many PDS leaders participated in a racist mobilization for "cleanliness, order and more police" in Torino called by the fascists and the Northern League (*Il Manifesto*, 8 October 1995). A week later, the head of the PDS fraction in the city council marched with the fascists in a demonstration against Nigerian "prostitutes." This was followed by a joint sit-in of PDSers and fascists targeting immigrants.

The racist offensive has provoked a vigorous response by workers and radical youth. On November 19, the same day Dini's decree was announced, 30,000 people—a third of them immigrants—marched in an anti-racist protest in Torino. The PDS head of the CGIL trade-union federation, Sergio Cofferati, was loudly booed by protesters yelling "clown," "sellout," "racist," "dirty pig," when he ranted from the platform that "delinquents" and "dishonest" immigrants must be deported. More than 450 pieces of literature of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) were sold at this march. And in Milano and other cities around Italy, thousands of incensed protesters have demonstrated against the racist decree.

Despite its posture as a "left" alternative to the PDS, the reformist Rifondazione Comunista (RC), another leftover from the old CP, also wallows in this disgusting racist crusade. The RC's mayoral candidate in Torino was a participant in the October 6 demonstration, while in Florence, the RC/PDS-dominated city council called for and collected petitions to kick the Rom (Gypsies) out of the city. At the November 19 Torino protest, RC distributed a lengthy statement which grotesquely echoed the racist right, expressing "disgust" at "the criminal phenomenon that disturbs civilized co-existence" and calling on the "authorities to effectively repress criminality of every type, applying the Italian laws with the most modern investigative techniques against drug-pushers and the prostitution racket."

The reformist left has long pushed an "opening to the right." Walter Veltroni, editor of the PDS' *L'Unità*, declared over a year ago that his party would be willing to join a coalition government with the fascist AN of Gianfranco Fini. RC currently governs together with Umberto Bossi's Northern League in numerous city councils and proclaims its readiness to do so nationally. Northern League leaders Formentini and Roberto Maroni were invited to the RC's national *festa* in July to spew their racist filth, which includes the call for apartheid-style identity cards with toeprints (claiming that immigrants burn their hands to avoid fingerprint identification!). The Northern League racists also demand that police be armed with rubber bullets for use against immigrants and are pushing for the creation of fascist-like "civil guard" militias. Lynch mobs have begun to appear, as in Torino on the night of October 10, when some 60 racists armed with clubs, hammers, monkey wrenches and knives went on a hunt for immigrants.

The Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League, has denounced the racist front embraced by the PDS and RC and fights for a strategy centered on mobilizing the whole of the workers movement in defense of immigrants. Uniquely on the Italian left, the LTd'I raises the demand for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*. Last February, when cops arrested three immigrants in Milano while busloads of protesters were preparing to depart for a large anti-racist rally in Rome, LTd'I supporters successfully organized a demonstration on the spot which secured their release. And in early December, addressing 2,000 protesters at an anti-racist protest in Milano, an LTd'I supporter underscored the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party that acts as tribune of all the oppressed and openly fights for proletarian power to smash racist capitalism.

Fake Trotskyists Support Banca d'Italia Government

The racist offensive is part and parcel of an austerity assault against the living standards of all workers. By scapegoating immigrants for growing poverty and unemployment, the capitalist rulers hope to divide the combative Italian proletariat, which time and again in the last couple of years has taken to the streets against attempts to dismantle the social security system. The right-wing government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi was finally brought down after repeated workers mobilizations against pension cuts in the fall of 1994, including a four-hour nationwide protest strike that October which brought more than three million people out in demonstrations in 97 cities.

The reformist misleaders used these explosive workers' struggles as extraparliamentary pressure to push for a popular-front government of the "progressives." When Berlusconi resigned and was replaced by former Bank of Italy governor Dini—who as finance minister drew up the pension-cutting plan—the reformists cried victory. The PDS openly supported Dini's new austerity program, while RC withdrew its slew of parliamentary amendments aimed at stalling the legislation. The Dini government has been carrying out the austerity cuts the Berlusconi government failed to implement, now supported by the PDS and with the "consent" of RC and the trade unions.

It is not only the ex-Stalinists who engage in these class-collaborationist politics of betrayal. The "left opposition" within RC consists of supporters of the International Trotskyist Opposition (ITO—represented in the U.S. by the Trotskyist League), which has postured as the left wing of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). Yet the ITO is no less politically liquidationist than the USec: its honchos Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando are buried deep within the reformist RC and sit on its leading body. And here they show their true colors. As reported in *Corriere della Sera* (24 October 1995), at an October 22 RC leadership meeting which debated whether to support a parliamentary vote of no confidence in the Dini government, *Grisolia and Ferrando argued against bringing down the Bank of Italy austerity regime*.

In calling for abstention on the no-confidence motion, these "Trotskyist" poseurs stood to the right of the reformist RC majority. Three days later, capitulating to the pressure of the popular front, the rest of the RC leadership adopted the ITO's line, ensuring that their 24 parliamentary deputies would not participate in the anti-government vote. As a result, Dini was allowed to remain in office by a slim majority of 310 to 291. Thus, *ITO leaders Ferrando and Grisolia played a key role in propping up the Dini regime on the eve of its racist anti-immigrant decree.*

This blatant betrayal—justified by the fact that the no-confidence vote was initiated by the right-wing parties—is fully in keeping with the ITO's popular-frontist position that "the struggle against the Berlusconi right is and remains the main task of communists" (*Proposta*, May 1995). *Proposta* (January 1995) has even called for a vote to the pro-Vatican, Cold War Christian Democrats (now called the Popular Party) "in particular situations where it is necessary to defeat a fascist or reactionary candidate."

The "anti-fascist" popular front serves only to *demobilize* struggle against the fascists and racist cops. While the LTd'I was leading 250 angry demonstrators last February in a fight against the arrest of the three immigrants, Grisolia and a few other trade-union bureaucrats were inside the police station bargaining with the cops, and one of them told the protesters to "go back to the buses" ("Italy: Militant Protest Wins Release of Immigrant Workers," *WV* No. 620, 7 April 1995).

Smash the Racist Offensive!

As a matter of elementary self-defense, the entire workers movement must fight anti-immigrant racism and combat all forms of discrimination in employment, wages, education and housing. The reformists' racist appeals for intensified state repression against immigrants encourage fascist terror on the streets, which targets the entire left and labor movement. Moreover, PDS and RC members would do well to recall that, until recently, Italy was a nation of emigrants. As vividly depicted in the film *Bread and Chocolate*, Italian immigrants working in northern Europe faced the same horrendous racist discrimination now being pushed by the PDS and RC leaders against Africans and others in Italy.

The Lega Trotskista calls on the workers movement to take up the demand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to organize workers actions to stop deportations and smash the racist decree. For free, safe abortion on demand, including for immigrants and minors! To fight unemployment, we demand a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all. To smash racist terror and unionize all immigrant workers, including those who are forced to work in the Southern agricultural fields under the rifles of Camorra and Mafia thugs, it is necessary to organize workers defense guards.

The possibility of proletarian-centered struggle drawing in immigrants, student youth and women against the government's racist decree and its austerity measures is very real. The Italian proletariat has watched the recent class confrontation in France with great interest. One-day local general strikes and transport strikes briefly paralyzing bus, air and train services have been erupting all over Italy, as well as a massive wave of student high school occupations. On December 12, one and a half million workers, pensioners and students marched on the capital in another protest against pension cuts. In Italy as in France, what is key is forging an internationalist revolutionary party to lead the working class and all the oppressed forward to a socialist revolution that eliminates racist capitalism. ■

Italy: Fascist Cop Attack on Milano Youth Center

Ansa

La Repubblica

Masked police stormtroopers destroyed Leoncavallo social center, December 19, brutalizing and jailing young militants. Workers movement must mobilize against ominous police-state attacks.

Less than one week before Christmas and two weeks before the resignation of the government of Lamberto Dini, the financial capital of Italy, Milano, was shaken by a dramatic police provocation. On December 19, an army of cops, many masked and in black uniforms, stormed the Leoncavallo youth center, smashing everything in sight as they laid waste to this center for semi-anarchist "*autonomi*." The next day, police in Rome brutally beat up Sardinian miners demonstrating outside parliament.

The ominous escalation of state repression was clearly intended as a warning to the entire left and workers movement. The authorities—from the Milano quaestor (chief of police) and mayor to the heads of the national Judicial Police and Carabinieri paramilitary police—claimed to know nothing. But Interior Minister Giovanni Coronas justified the cops wearing ski masks, saying that "they used them during the years of lead."

This was a sinister reference to the period in the late 1960s and '70s when fascists and various secret police forces worked hand in glove terrorizing Italy, with multiple attempted coups d'état and bloody massacres. Significantly, on December 2 a hundred thousand fascists of the National Alliance (AN) staged a march in Rome. At the same time, however, the Italian workers movement has been watching the French strikes with intense interest, and a one-day national strike has been threatened for early January.

Responding to the fascist police assault on Leoncavallo, our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia and the Comitato di Difesa Sociale e Proletaria (CODISPRO) immediately protested the atrocity. A translation of a leaflet issued by the CODISPRO is printed below. We also brought the attack to the attention of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose cause has been supported by Leoncavallo. A protest held in Milano on December 23 drew 20,000, mainly *autonomi* youth from around Italy, as well as workers from COBAS (Rank and File Committees) in area factories and supporters of Rifondazione Comunista.

As the demonstrators reached San Vittore prison, where the youth arrested in the Leoncavallo raid are being held, many firecrackers and smoke bombs were thrown over the high walls of the fortress-like jail and loud explosions could be heard from the inside. The crowd shouted, "Free the comrades" and "Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!" They cheered as burning paper and sheets were thrust out of prison cell windows in solidarity.

During the final rally, a comrade gave greetings from CODISPRO and the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. and read a message of support from Mumia Abu-Jamal, who denounced the cop attack as a "monstrosity," sending his "support to all five who were arrested, incarcerated, entombed, and also to the Leoncavallo center and hope that they can rebuild." Jamal compared this to the raids by the Philadelphia police on the Black Panther Party in the 1960s, noting that "they just didn't destroy the files, they stole the files" and used them in their war on the Panthers.

Stop the Witchhunt! Defend Leoncavallo! Free the Leoncavallo Five! Drop the Charges! An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!

MILANO, 19 December 1995: In a dawn raid recalling a Gestapo attack, some 200 police, including special forces from the Carabinieri and the Digos political police, destroyed the Leoncavallo social center. Using the judicial pretext of a search for "drugs" as a cover for political violence and repression, this army of cops sealed off via Watteau with dozens of armored cars and drug-sniffing dogs while a special squad of some 50 commandos, dressed in black shirts and ski masks, scaled the walls of Leoncavallo.

Beaten with iron clubs and chains, 18 people were rounded up in the courtyard and ordered, "Stomachs on the ground, hastards!" as their mouths were gagged shut and their hands cuffed behind their backs. Five youth, including two North Africans, were arrested: A. Begnamini (25), S. Fhadli (27), E. Caizzi (20) were seized on site. E. Daniele (24), and E.M. Nefati (23) were rounded up simultaneously at their own homes. *CODISPRO demands. Drop the charges! Release the Leoncavallo Five! No deportations!*

After weeks of fascist provocations against Leoncavallo by the Northern League *squadristi* in the "Greco neighborhood committee," the *squadristi di stato* [state-organized terror squads] moved in to destroy the social center. The notorious overlap between the fascists and the Carabinieri and special forces was confirmed in this *blitzkrieg* attack. *Il Manifesto* (20 December) reports that the walls of Leoncavallo were defaced with swastikas. The center's library was destroyed by police who urinated on the books, destroyed videocassetes, smashed computers. A Star of David was painted over a mural of an Indian woman—the message seems to be that leftists and immigrants in Italy are promised the same deadly terror the Nazis used against the Jews.

The brutal attack on Leoncavallo is an ominous development recalling the government's "strategy of tension" of the '70s, when state-sanctioned and sponsored fascist activity, like the Bologna train bombing, became the pretext for a violent witchhunt against the left. In targeting Leoncavallo, the state thinks they've picked an isolated and vulnerable population that no one will defend. If today they come for Leoncavallo, who will they come for tomorrow? As in the '20s, the ultimate target of this terror and repression is the combative Italian working class, as is demonstrated by the brutal beating of the Sulcis miners which the police carried out on 20 December in front of parliament in Rome. It is imperative that the powerful union movement and workers organizations be mobilized in defense of Leoncavallo and all victims of racist capitalist repression.

The backdrop to the attack on Leoncavallo is the government's war on immigrants (also conducted behind the smokescreen of a "war on drugs") and rising fascist attacks. Moreover, this attack comes on the heels of the militant strike wave in France which found a strong echo in Italy, and frightened the capitalist rulers across Europe. Increasingly, the bourgeoisie is moving to establish a "strong state" to shore up their unjust system of capitalist exploitation, and ram through the attacks on the working class, women, youth and oppressed minorities.

CODISPRO, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, calls on all working-class organizations, the left, and all defenders of democratic rights to mobilize in defense of Leoncavallo. In the weeks preceding the attack on Leoncavallo, we urged a united-front defense of the center against the Northern League and fascist AN gangs.

This summer CODISPRO and Leoncavallo jointly sponsored a united-front protest in Milano in defense of the eloquent black journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, Mumia Abu-Jamal, who sits on death row and faces execution in America for the "crime" of his political views as a spokesman for the oppressed. Just as Mumia Abu-Jamal is a name and a cause that has stirred millions around the world, so too must the name Leoncavallo now rouse vigorous protest and exposure of capitalist state terror and political repression.

An injury to one is an injury to all! All out on Saturday, December 23 to defend Leoncavallo!

Comitato di Difesa
Sociale e Proletaria
20 December 1995

De Bellis/Il Giorno

Milano, December 23: Some 20,000 protesters march against police attack on Leoncavallo.

Workers Vanguard Interview

Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

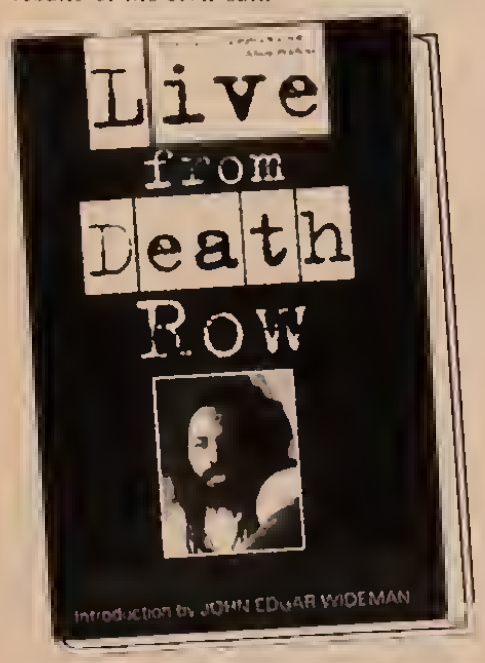
WV Photo

Workers Vanguard is pleased to print below the first part of an interview with death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, conducted at the SCI Greene maximum security prison in western Pennsylvania on 21 December 1995. A former Black Panther, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group and award-winning journalist known for his powerful commentaries on racism and police brutality, Jamal was framed and sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman.

A powerful crescendo of protest this past summer made Jamal's struggle front-page news around the world. Due to the intense scrutiny resulting from the international protest movement, Jamal was granted a stay of execution on August 7. However, his petition for reversal of the death sentence and for a new trial was turned down by Court of Common Pleas judge Albert Sabo, who presided over Jamal's 1982 frame-up "trial" and sentencing and has sent more people to death row—32, all but two of whom are minorities—than any other judge in the United States. Jamal's attorneys are due to file papers on February 9 in an appeal to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court.

PART ONE OF TWO

In October, Jamal testified in Pittsburgh in a civil action challenging the punishment he received after plans for publication of his book, *Live from Death Row*, became known early last year. On June 9, eight days after Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge had signed Jamal's death warrant, Mumia was declared guilty of misconduct for "engaging in a business or profession" for his exposés of life in "prison hell." At a time when he had only two months to live, Jamal was barred from speaking with the media, had visits from paralegal assistants drastically restricted, was allowed only one family visit—and was even forbidden to make phone calls to his family! Jamal is currently awaiting the results of his civil suit.



Publication of Jamal's book of prison writings helped bring world attention to the fight to save him from execution and win his freedom.

Workers Vanguard: I've heard you're working overtime to try to get your degree here. Why don't you tell us about it?

Mumia Abu-Jamal: Well, hopefully, I'm done. I don't know I'm done until I hear from my adviser, because I mailed it out Monday. The other side of the coin, of course, is that when you're involved in any study, and you've read ten or eleven books, and you're really into the subject, you feel as if you're not done. So, in my own mind I've got a whole chapter that I haven't written, that I want to write. But I must exercise patience and wait for my adviser to get back with me. It's a very difficult week.

WV: What is your degree going to be in?

Mumia: Well, it could be a general liberal arts degree, but my concentration has been black psychology. It's been on the work of some of the leading black psychologists in the United States, Na'im Akhar, Wade Nobles, Joseph Baldwin, Amos Wilson. I've read their stuff, imbibed their stuff, slept their stuff, and really lived their thoughts for the last few weeks. And if ever there was a labor of love, I think it was this because in a lot of ways it's given me a way of surviving mentally in an environment that is designed to destroy one mentally. So this is too serious a topic to be called a diversion, but in a way it is a diversion from the other stuff that I have to deal with, a pleasant one.

WV: You also got your GED in prison?

Mumia: Well, not here, not in this jail. While I was in Huntingdon, yes. That was several years ago. In fact, Rachel [Wolkenstein] was part of the battle. I remember when I first applied, it was, "No, no, no, it's a security risk." It was literally a "security risk" for me to study. We just took it up on appeal, questioned the rank absurdity of the claim that it was a security risk for someone to study. And we were successful. Of course, it was nothing to the state, you know. It wasn't like they were going to let me out of the cell, and send me up to the school buildings in Huntingdon. I did all of my studying where I do all of my studying, right here in that cell. I never left the cell. And in fact I only left the cell for the tests, which is the same way I've gone through this college course.

It is an interesting example of how the state uses the rubric of security, and I guess from their perspective, yes, it is security, because they're very secure when inmates are stupid, when they are uninformed, when they don't challenge or question their environs. The more you really learn in terms of real information about how this society is structured, then the more you must question this, and this is an important part of that society. That's what they don't want. They want their inmates stupid, silent, or at their very worst, fighting each other.

WV: It also hearkens back to slavery, when the education of chattel slaves was a serious crime.

Mumia: I think that that's not a bad analogy, because when you consider slavery, especially in Georgia and in the South, literacy was literally a crime, whether one was a white who taught a black or a black who was found to know how to read or write. They would skin you alive. And that same spirit continues to percolate in America's jails. I mean, that sounds perhaps drastic to someone who doesn't know it, but there are many people who don't know, for instance, that the recent Crime Bill that was passed by President Clinton had an element where Pell grants [federal student aid program] were eliminated for all prisoners. There was handwriting on the wall, because about five years ago, it was eliminated for all death row prisoners. Three years thereafter, it was eliminated for all lifers, and in the Crime Bill of 1994 it was eliminated for every prisoner in the United States of America, whether you're serving six months or 60 years. A death knell for the life of the mind in a system that now has over one million men and women entombed in these man-made hellholes.

There's not one penologist, not one criminologist, not one person who has studied this prison-industrial complex, who can say that education is a demerit. For the most part, when I was talking about it being a pleasant, although enlightening, diversion, it is that for all prisoners, you see. Even though there are not a lot of prisoners who *do* engage in studies, even when the Pell grant was active. For those prisoners who did do

Nieto/Newsday

Jamal has been the voice of the voiceless, exposing the "prison hell" into which huge numbers of minority youth have been cast.

that, they weren't involved in knifing other people, they weren't involved in raping other people, they weren't involved in all the petty intrigues that are common in prison, because their minds were someplace else. Well, that's precisely the problem to the prisoncrats. They wanted your mind right here on this hell. They want to make you easily cageable.

WV: I'd like to talk about the hearing that was recently concluded in Pittsburgh over your challenge to the prison system for punishing you for your writings. Now, it's perfectly clear to anybody who follows your case that there's been a concerted campaign by the prison system, by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), by the state as a whole against your book, *Live from Death Row*. And of course last year they banned you from the air waves by putting pressure on, by the F.O.P. campaign against National Public Radio (NPR) to cancel your radio broadcasts. Could you comment on this effort to keep your voice from being heard?

Mumia: Well, the best word to describe their activity can be the word "conspiracy." And I mean that in all the implications that radiate from that word. Because what came out in that civil trial in Pittsburgh was how an official who was assigned to the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections named David Horwitz was in fact from the Office of General Counsel, who read legal mail, read legal mail from my hired attorney, Leonard Weinglass, read legal mail from my associate defense counsel, Rachel Wolkenstein, and other mail from paralegals. Read it, copied it and transmitted it to the Office of General Counsel and other counsel outside the Department of Corrections, and—we know, because he admitted it all—to the Governor's office in Harrisburg.

This was because it was part of a continuing investigation that was sparked, so it is claimed, by the NPR controversy. These were memos, documents, witness statements, lists of support staff on our defense team, confidential in the extreme. We're told that, well, I remember Horwitz was testifying in the hearing: Well, I didn't read it, I just skimmed it. Right now, it is my guess that the exact contents, a xeroxed copy thereof, is sitting in the district attorney's office, the office of the F.O.P., perhaps in Washington, who knows.

The pretext was so silly it is bordering on the ridiculous. But that's all they needed, you see, because what we're dealing with is the arrogance of the state in a concerted conspiracy to not only silence me but to kill me. If I were guilty of everything that they said I was guilty of in terms of the investigation—that is, operating a business as a journalist, without their clearance—then the most I could have gotten was a write-up, a misconduct. The rules actually specify the maximum is 30 days. However, they used that as a pretext to invade my so-called right to counsel, to read, copy and distribute my correspondence from me to my lawyer, from my lawyer to me, to find out if I was writing a book, involved in the "business" of journalism. I mean, it just goes beyond the bounds of reason.

WV: In a lot of ways, their efforts have failed. I understand it's been published or is being published in German, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, and maybe more. That accounts for a good part of the world right there.

Mumia: I might be wrong, but I thought one was Japanese, we'll see.

WV: Even better.

Mumia: What that represents also is how the efforts of the government have for all intents and purposes backfired. Were it not for the efforts of the censors and the silencers of the F.O.P. and the government around NPR, then there would have been no *Live from Death Row*. I had absolutely no intention of writing a book, even though some people had asked. It didn't interest me. It really did not interest me. But after NPR broke, I started getting communications from publishers around the country. I'm told that 50,000 people at last count bought it.

Following signing of Jamal's death warrant, a wave of international protests over the summer of 1995 stayed the executioner's hand. Right: Trade unionists join Partisan Defense Committee contingent at August 12 demonstration in Philadelphia.

WV: When we talk to youth who have been involved in the campaign, fighting in your defense, we find that the book, your writings, have been a real eye-opener for them. It's opened up the brutal prison world and also the issue of the death penalty in this country.

Mumia: I would agree from my perspective, in terms of getting letters from kids who are 15, 16, junior high and high school, who express that precise sentiment. I think Jonathan Kozol makes it real clear in his work *Amazing Grace*—even though he talks about the South Bronx, that same point could be made about Hunter's Point in San Francisco, South Philly, any large city, or inner city, in America—that children feel that they are under siege. And that the promise of their youth is a very grim one. They're not given a perspective that if you go to school, if you get a high school degree, go get a job, or there's a possibility of college. Their options are far more limited than ours were in the '60s!

And that shows the economic constrictions. Some of it is post-NAFTA, some of it of course is just capitalist expansion, to wherever you make any money, which isn't here. They can go right across the Rio Grande, they can go to Taiwan, they can go to Indonesia. They won't have to worry about unions, won't have to worry about EPA, won't have to worry about OSHA, they won't have to worry about any of this. They won't have to worry about a minimum wage! Only have to worry about their paper amount of profits. And if it's a choice between helping the poor to live a decent life or giving youth a decent vision for the future, they then choose the bottom line. Well, the bottom line is money, the yen, the mark, the American dollar.

Kids are fed through major media a kind of poisoned picture of prison that was subverted by what they read in *Live from Death Row*, by what they saw in terms of popular organizing around the middle of the year. They're given a perspective at this point in history that is in touch with their lives, and they know the truth. And it rings a bell in their lives. I feel it, and I hear it, around this country, sometimes with their letters, sometimes my friends and supporters who are organizing what's going on around the country will comment on that. And it's very, very rewarding to hear.

I know, because when I was a young teenager I had the joy, the pleasure, the honor to be active in organizing through the agency of the Black Panther Party. And I know that in a lot of ways, it opened up my perception, it opened up my life, not just for that period, but from then on. Once you see the truth in terms of what this system is really about, you can't go home, you can't shut them out and act like you don't see it anymore. You can try, and some have, but it's hard and extremely difficult. It's easy, far easier, to see it and recognize that you can try to organize against it.

WV: I want to get back to that in a bit. But first, on the death penalty. There is the recent case of Rolando Cruz in Illinois. After spending years on death row, he won a reversal of his conviction when it came out that the police cooked up a phony, so-called confession, and that they coerced witnesses to buttress the cops' story. You've taken an interest in this, I know.

Mumia: It rang some real big bells in my head when I heard about it. More when I read about it and got all the details of the case. It shows, first of all, how easy it is for the state to send someone to death row, which should be the most difficult destination in the so-called criminal justice system. But it was easy because they used jailhouse snitches and lying-ass cops. While they could have used one or the other, they used both. They had six or seven jailhouse snitches standing by, to be ready at that moment to testify to so-called confessions that the snitches and the attorney general created. What made the case fall apart was this police lieutenant who got on and said, look, me and the fellows got together and we lied. And the fact that it was impossible for the cop to have heard the confession that it was sworn in court he had heard, because he was on vacation.

So it shows the power of the state, the attorney general's office, the district attorney's office. And also the power of the court that twice, I'm told, sent this young man to death row for almost 12 years. I watched one of these shows which did a few moments on him. What's clear, watching this man, is his life is going to be hell. It's clear that in many ways he is still a prisoner in his mind.

The real question now is what happens to those people who perjured him. You never hear. You got cops who swore up and down on a stack of bibles that this man made a confession, knew they were lying, lied twice in two trials, sent this man to death row. Well, what happens? The real answer: nothing happens, of course. Nothing at all. And that's because the system is designed not for justice, but to protect the status quo, to protect the interests of those who have power.

WV: Well, then you have the tip of the iceberg being revealed in Philadelphia over the last six months or so with the 39th District cops there, five or six maybe losing their jobs, whatever. And of course this has been going on for decades. After your membership in the Black Panther Party when you became a reporter, obviously you covered that and know a lot about that.

Mumia: I've heard, because Philadelphia has probably the longest documented history of police corruption in any of the big cities in America. Any historian can tell you that the headlines that we see today, if you could look at a newspaper and change the nine in 1995 to 1895, you would see the same thing. You make it 1865, you see the same thing, because the function of the police has not changed over time. It's just become more overtly corrupt, rawer, because the economic climate is rawer, nastier in a sense. But their function as corrupters, as perverters of justice, as bald-faced liars in blue, has not changed.

The elite in Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, Chicago, whatever, will attempt to make a little stink about cops who are corrupt, cops who will lie on the stand, and even recant, once it's nine years later. But you don't hear any remarks about cops who kill. It's as if it is worse for a cop to steal than it is for him to kill. We know we have thousands of people who have been killed over the years in city after city after city by cops. And, essentially, they're untouchable. Recently, in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* they reported that quite a few cops who had beaten people, who had robbed people, who had stolen, broken people's doors down, and so forth, shot people, taken drugs, whatever, and then were removed—*95 percent* of all those cops four or five years later were back on the force, and were paid for the time they were off. So they had in essence a paid vacation, you see.

Consider what happened in L.A., especially after the L.A. so-called riot: the mayor of one of the largest cities in America could not fire the police commissioner. It was structurally integrated into the system to make him immune from the highest politician in the city. And it shows that, you know, there is no force to police them—they are a force unto themselves. And that's why they can rape, rob, terrorize, kill, year after year after year, decade after decade after decade. Of course there will be an occasional bad editorial, an article to make some of them feel bad, but essentially there is no force in the political system that is designed and enabled to stop police terror.

|TO BE CONTINUED|

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat., 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (510) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St (one block below Chambers St near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025

To Defend and Extend the Strike: Elect Recallable Strike Committees!

Down With Vigipirate! Auto Must Go on Strike!

For a New, Revolutionary Party! The Working Class Must Fight for Power!

Ligue Trotskyste Leaflet

On December 14, as the fate of the French strike wave hung in the balance, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France issued the following leaflet.

December 12 saw a mobilization which was unequalled since strikes exploded throughout the country. However, that same evening [Prime Minister] Juppé announced that he would not budge on his reforms. This shows the government's fierce determination not to give in. The union leaderships are preparing to break the strike because they know that if the strikes continue the question of power will be posed and they don't want to have anything to do with that. The strikers' general assemblies reflect the growing division between the base, determined but suspicious, and the union leaderships who are maneuvering to break the strike. It is still possible to prevent this: to extend the strike, the strikers' general assemblies must elect strike committees, recallable at any time—committees where trade-union organizations and anyone else can put themselves forward on the basis of their program.

During the December 12 demonstration in Paris, a contingent chanted "Juppé out, we have the power." In Bordeaux, the demonstrators chanted "No hesitation, revolution." Yes, we have the power, but the power needs to be generalized and organized and to have a revolutionary leadership. But from the beginning of this social crisis, what has been sorely lacking is a multiethnic revolutionary party which rallies all the oppressed in common struggle against this rotten system.

Chirac-Juppé have been able to hang on because the strike has been limited to the public sector and not extended to the bastions of heavy industry, particularly in the private sector. Today it is urgently necessary for strike committees to extend the strike to these sectors. For some time now, the situation has been moving toward a total general strike, which would pose the question of who will be the master in this country. So the question is: Who will this be? No to a second Juppé; no to the Socialist Party (PS), which can pride itself on having carried out a policy of social decline during its 14 years in power, thanks to the good graces of the Communist Party (PCF). What is posed in this historic strike is workers rule of society. What is posed is the struggle for a workers government, for the overthrow of the capitalist system which is destined to perish and not to be reformed.

Juppé and his government want to divide and rule, proposing mediators for public transportation, the railways and the post office. The strikers in their general assemblies are refusing any thought of negotiation because they know that the government wants to break their strike. But what are the union leaderships doing? Far from pursuing a determined struggle, they equivocate, preparing to break the movement.

Elected and recallable strike committees would make it possible to rally all unionized and non-unionized workers and to make the link with other embattled sectors. They must organize mass pickets in front of every plant because *picket lines mean don't cross*. The class line is drawn between strikers and non-strikers. Strike committees could engender factory committees and take the initiative to become a rallying point for representatives of women, youth, the North African community and others. Workers could begin to organize a new society based on their own state power.

As we can see, the working-class leaders' refusal to fight against racist terror is an obstacle to the necessary extension of the struggle to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong, combative component of workers from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. *Full citizenship rights for all those who are here! Down with Vigipirate!*

Public sector workers have been heavily mobilized since November 24. They must be in the front ranks of the fight against racist segregation. They must demand the abolition of Article 1 of the public service [regulations] which bans any person who is not of French nationality from working in the public service. *Down with apartheid in the public service!* To fight unemployment, *we demand that available work be divided among all workers, with no loss in pay!* If the gigantic demonstrations of recent days had had central slogans and banners against racist terror and against Vigipirate, the government would have thought twice before continuing to terrorize our brothers of "immigrant" origin. *French troops: Get your bloody hands off the suburbs, the colonies and the Balkans!* We need a campaign to unionize the private sector. We need the unity of all the workers from one workplace in one trade union with full internal democracy, in order to overcome the political divisions which serve as a pretext for one union to break the strike of another.

The government sends its cops against strikers; it sends its cops and its army against the population of the ex-colonies as part of the Vigipirate plan. This same government, on December 14 in Paris, met with the other general staffs in order to organize a new imperialist bloodbath in the Balkans. *The main enemy is at home!* The Jeunesse Spartaciste and the Ligue Trotskyste have initiated united-front rallies against the coming massacres.

AP

Strikers continued to shut down subways and buses in Marseilles after trade-union tops scuttled walkouts elsewhere in France.

Trade-union struggle is not enough: the struggle for reforms is not enough. The most conscious strikers know that these same unions acted like doormats during the Mitterrand era.

As for the "far left"—whether it's the LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire), LO (Lutte Ouvrière), PT (Parti des Travailleurs), or the GR-JCR (Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires)—they all confine themselves, at most, to calling for an unlimited general strike to get rid of Juppé, which at best amounts to calling for a ministerial reshuffle or a new popular-front government. Last year in Italy general strikes drove out Berlusconi, ending up with Dini who imposed the same "reforms." The group Pouvoir Ouvrier put forward as a model the "union" of the CIA and the Pope, Solidarność. The latter came to power with the capitalist counterrevolution in Poland which brought poverty to the workers and, among other things, the banning of abortion. By supporting Solidarność at the beginning of the 1980s, the entire "far left" signed on to the imperialists' campaign against the degenerated workers state in the Soviet Union, whose destruction permitted the bourgeoisies to brutally attack the social gains of the working class.

If Juppé doesn't want to change anything, it is because the stakes go beyond the borders of France. In fact, the European bourgeoisies have their eyes glued to France as they fear for their own power. If the strikes continue, construction of their Europe is put in question. If in France we have a hard right wing, this must be put in the international context of the "New World Order" in which interimperialist rivalries are intensifying. But in Italy the CGIL and CISL public sector unions are threatening to strike. In Germany, the head of the rail workers union doesn't rule out the possibility of "spontaneous action by rail workers." In Belgium, 60,000 people demonstrated in Brussels on December 13 against the Dehaene government's austerity plans.

In this historic strike, through a process of political battles against the working-class misleaders and fake revolutionaries, we're looking to build a Bolshevik party and win the most advanced workers and youth to a revolutionary program. Join us!

- For elected and recallable strike committees!
- Picket lines mean don't cross!
- Extend the strike throughout all industry!
- Down with Vigipirate!
- French troops: Get your bloody hands off the suburbs, the colonies and the Balkans!
- French imperialism = economic diktats against workers, military diktats in the Balkans! Overthrow the capitalist system!
- For worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists!
- For a revolutionary, multiethnic and internationalist workers party!
- For socialist revolution! For a workers government that sweeps away the rotten capitalist system! ■

Chesnot/Sipa

LE BOLCHEVIK

ليسقط بوجيبرات !
إتحاد "المهاجرين ، النساء و الشبيبة
وراء القدرة الإجتماعية للطبقة العاملة !
من أجل قيادة جديدة. قيادة ثورية !
من أجل حكومة عمالية التي تكنح كل النظام
الرأسمالي المتعفن !

Ligue Trotskyste issued strike leaflet in French and Arabic (right). North African immigrants concentrated in auto and other industries are key to struggle for workers power.

France...

(continued from page 1)

you can't turn struggles on and off like a faucet. The key question was and remains that of leadership.

From the beginning of the strikes, the union tops (along with the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties) and the ranks of the strikers have had two completely different motivations. In this battle, the reformist bureaucrats were in effect in a temporary *bloc* with the workers for their own ends. The workers were fed up after 13 years of anti-working-class austerity, of attacks on wages and mounting unemployment (now over 12 percent) under Socialist president Mitterrand. Then came the "reforms" of the conservative Chirac/Juppé government, a sweeping attack on the standard of living they had achieved over the last several decades. But while the workers were fighting in their own class interests against a concerted ruling-class assault, the reformist leaderships were fighting to retain their role as class collaborators to control and sell out the working class.

The trade-union bureaucracy appeared uncharacteristically contentious in the course of this strike, because the "reforms" struck at its underpinnings. This included the social-democratic Force Ouvrière (FO) federation, long a mainstay of Cold War anti-Communism, which is concentrated among public employees. The labor leaders are heavily integrated into the state administration through a myriad of class-collaborationist bodies which help administer the huge French social service system that combines health benefits, unemployment benefits, pensions, etc. The bureaucrats got their own privileges from these gains, which allowed the unions to have hundreds of paid functionaries. This is the payoff for the reformists' social and political role in keeping France safe for capitalist exploitation at home and colonialism abroad. And now the material base for their role as *interlocuteurs privilégiés* with the bourgeoisie and its state was under attack.

The French strike wave was the first major class battle in the "New World Order," which Washington triumphantly proclaimed with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former USSR has led to a worldwide assault on workers' living standards and organizations by the emboldened exploiters. Across West Europe, governments have declared that social services must be drastically slashed to conform to the 1992 Maastricht treaty for European integration. The German bourgeoisie has put enormous pressure on Paris to reduce the budget deficit as a precondition to creating a common European currency. Europe's capitalist rulers today are seeking to emulate the assaults on the working class carried out by Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s. They want to increase their "competitiveness" in a climate of fierce interimperialist economic rivalry, as the dominant powers (U.S., Germany and Japan) consolidate their spheres of influence.

The massive strike wave in France sent shock waves throughout Europe and the world. The *Wall Street Journal* (22 December 1995) declared that the assault on social welfare programs was a "time bomb" and warned that the strikes in France could be "a foretaste of things to come elsewhere in Europe." Already on December 13, there was a 60,000-strong mobilization in Brussels against sweeping budget cuts ordered by the Belgian government. Even the *New York Times* (24 December 1995) showed signs of nervousness, fearing that "American unions will begin using aggressive tactics," while excluding a "replay of the events in France" because "American workers do not share France's tradition of general strikes and mass unrest," citing the 1789 revolution, the 1871 Paris Commune and the 1968 worker-student uprising. The new AFL-CIO chief, John Sweeney, declared he was "impressed" with how the workers' strikes shut down France, but quickly added, "I hope it never comes to that here in America."

While the French strikes began as a defensive struggle by particular sectors, they quickly took on the character of a broad social struggle. But the reformists' political stranglehold kept them from taking on, for example, the government's "Vigipirate" police dragnet aimed at "immigrants," which in France includes many youth of North African and black African descent born in the country. Mobilizing the workers against the racist cop terror would have had a huge impact in spreading the strike to the private sector—where immigrant workers are a key component of heavy industry—as well as inspiring support from the seething suburban ghettos. Nor did the reformists raise a peep against France's participation in the NATO occupation of the former Yugoslavia, which was sealed in a ceremony in strikebound Paris on December 14. A revolutionary leadership would have seized upon the tremendous opportunity for working-class action against this imperialist expedition: as it was, the rail strike disrupted shipment of war matériel.

As the mobilizations reached their highest point, there was a chorus coming from bourgeois politicians, the media and CFDT leader Notat howling about the "politicization" of the strikes. The strike movement had reached the point where its scope had to be extended to the overwhelmingly non-unionized private sector and to directly challenge the *state power*. That is why the reformist working-class leaders hurriedly stepped in to bring the movement to a close. The Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League, defined the crucial task: to build an authoritative revolutionary leadership rooted in the working class—a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky capable of transforming defensive struggles into a conscious assault on the bourgeois order. As the LTF declared in the leaflet printed on page 8:

> "For some time now, the situation has been moving toward a total general strike, which would pose the question of who will be the master in this country.... What is posed in this historic strike is workers rule of society. What is posed is the struggle for a workers government, for the overthrow of the capitalist system which is destined to perish and not to be reformed."

AP

Army troops deployed at Eiffel Tower in September as part of "Vigipirate" state terror campaign targeting "immigrants."

Reuters AFP photos

French trade-union leaders bailed out Chirac/Juppé government by knifing labor upsurge. From left: FO's Marc Blondel, CFDT's Nicole Notat, CGT's Louis Viannet.

Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

The question of leadership was thrown into sharp relief in this strike. Daily general assemblies in virtually every striking workplace, often with hundreds of workers participating, voted on whether to continue the strike. Debates over how to go forward were intently followed. At the same time, these assemblies were kept separate from each other, the better to maintain the bureaucrats' control over the strikers.

In a number of cities, 24-hour organizing centers of the strike were spontaneously created—the Gare du Nord railway station in Paris, the central squares in Toulouse and Bordeaux. Strikers organized flying pickets, such as the postal workers of the PLM sorting center who brought out the workers at the Central Receipts office of Paris-XII. The rail strikers at Gare du Nord sent delegations to neighboring hospitals and postal sorting centers, and even tried to bring out a Citroën plant. Describing young strike militants at the postal sorting center of Saint-Lazare in Paris, *Libération* (9-10 December 1995) commented: "After nine days of voting on the strike every morning in a general assembly, they have the sense of participating in a real 'workers democracy.' They seem more like Communards than strikers."

Strikers returned to work bitter and furious at the trade-union bureaucrats for their sellout. In Rouen, where the December 16 demonstration was the largest in that city's history, demonstrating strikers ejected the CGT and FO leaders from the demonstration, just as Paris workers had done earlier to the CFDT's Notat. A railway worker at the Sotteville yards bitterly declared, "There is a fundamental difference between those who want to fight and those who are content to negotiate" (*Info Matin*, 19 December 1995).

Even as the government was granting them concessions, the great majority of railway strikers voted to continue the strike, which began to show signs of spreading to the private sector. This is the context in which the LTF published its leaflet of December 14. Our forces are small, but it is necessary to state what is, and what is to be done. Calling for a new, revolutionary party, the leaflet focused on the urgent need for *elected strike committees*, for *mass pickets* to extend the strike to the private sector, and *worker-immigrant defense guards* to protect against scabs, cops and racist attacks. As Trotsky declared in the Transitional Program (1938), the founding document of the Fourth International:

> "*Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions."

In present-day France, such demands were key to the fight for a victorious outcome of the strike movement.

The importance of strike pickets and self-defense squads was driven home as cops were sent against student demos in Paris, Montpellier, Saint-Etienne and Nantes. To smash the railway and public transportation strikes, the government organized scabs and even threatened to use the army. And in the middle of the bureaucrats' open strikebreaking, the government sent the same "security" force that terrorizes the "immigrant" population against strikers, for example at the Porte Maillot metro station.

Another key question in bringing out the private sector is the fight against unemployment. With *under 10 percent* of the French workforce unionized, and most of that concentrated in the public sector, in whole sectors of private employment unions are extremely weak or non-existent. And with joblessness in double digits, hitting "immigrant" youth particularly hard (over 25 percent), the hesitancy among private sector workers to join the strike was rooted in their vulnerability to reprisals, lacking protection against layoffs or firing. To overcome this, a class-struggle leadership would go beyond the initial narrowly sectoral and defensive demands of the strike to raise a program capable of uniting the working class as a whole. Thus we call for a *sliding scale of wages and hours*, in order to distribute the available work among all workers. For a revolutionary leadership, the fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay would be a key component in the necessarily convulsive battle to organize the private sector.

Mobilizing the private sector in the strikes also required a determined fight against the racist anti-immigrant terror which was carried out for 14 years under the "socialist" Mitterrand and has now been greatly stepped up by Chirac. The current "Vigipirate" police/army dragnet has led to more than *3 million* identity checks, and thousands of deportations. Yet the union leaderships have not only done nothing to fight the racist crusade of the right-wing government, they even sought to mobilize support for the government's "anti-terrorist" crackdown.

While the trade-union bureaucrats bemoan the fact that the strikes did not spread to the private sector, they actually did everything in their power to *prevent* it. At the key Renault auto plant in Flins, the CGT put out a leaflet warning that a strike would be "premature." Such strikebreaking tactics are hardly new for the reformists. When Flins workers spearheaded strikes during last spring's presidential campaign, the union bureaucrats did nothing to mobilize in their support, while the bosses taunted the strikers for being led by North Africans. And in 1983, Flins workers were the first to strike against Mitterrand's austerity; the "socialists" in government called them "fundamentalists" who were supposedly manipulated from abroad.

Factory committees, worker-immigrant defense guards, a sliding scale of wages and hours: these are examples of *transitional demands*, which are meant to bridge the gap between the strikers' defensive struggles and the revolutionary

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France...

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fight for power. The Third Congress of the Communist International, which first formulated such a transitional program as a counter to the reformist minimum program of the social democracy, called on Communists to "extend and intensify every defensive struggle, transforming it *into an attack on capitalist society*" ("Theses on Tactics," July 1921).

Key Is Revolutionary Leadership

In their opportunist prostration before the government, the reformist bureaucrats were mimicked by the "far left," which ignominiously capitulated to and even joined Chirac's racist terror campaign. Last fall, as the government was brandishing the "terrorist menace," *Lutte Ouvrière* (20 October) wrote:

> "If one really wanted to help the North African population to dissociate itself from the terrorists and to defend itself from them, if one wanted to aid the population of the poor districts where they are perhaps recruited, it would be necessary to show this population that they have nothing to fear from the Vigipirate plan."

Reacting against such vile chauvinism, some anti-racist youth have begun identifying themselves as anarchists, a current which had largely become moribund in France. For example, at Saint-Denis university outside Paris, where anarchists were in the leadership, students put out a leaflet during the strike movement attacking the government's racist anti-immigrant mobilization. Disgusted by the betrayals of the reformists, the anarchists reject political parties altogether in favor of spontaneous action. Yet the strike wave showed the limits of spontaneous working-class militancy, which was enormous but was unable to overcome the stranglehold of the bureaucrats who were the central obstacle to extending the strikes and transforming the defensive struggle into a fight against the capitalist system.

In contrast to the opportunist "far left," the Ligue Trotskyste has highlighted the struggle against the racist anti-immigrant attacks. The LTF's special supplement to *Le Bolchévik* was headlined, "Smash Vigipirate! Unite 'Immigrants,' Women, Youth Behind the Power of the Working Class! For a New, Revolutionary Leadership!" (reprinted in *WV* No. 635, 15 December 1995). This supplement was also translated into Arabic for distribution among workers and youth of North African origin.

A key role was played in the strike wave by "far left" organizations, *who acted as the "left" face of the union bureaucracy*. We noted in our last issue how their call for an "unlimited general strike" was simply a formula for pressuring the trade-union bureaucrats. The fact that these former "68ers" now have their perspective locked on the bureaucracy reflects a social fact: *they are part of it*. This is a key reason why, in contrast to the 1986 rail walkout, there were no *coordinations* (strike coordinating committees) this time. Those who were shop delegates then have become local presidents and national leaders. Thus the Parti des Travailleurs (PT) of Pierre Lambert is deeply entrenched at all levels of Force Ouvrière, where a PT supporter, Claude Jenet, is national organization secretary and a close ally of FO chief Blondel.

The opening for the "far left" was conditioned by the relative decline of the ex-Stalinist PCF, its influence sharply cut by its groveling support to Mitterrand and by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The PCF was largely invisible during the strikes, hardly surprising as Communist leader Robert Hue's policy of "constructive opposition" really means offering the hand of friendship to Chirac. So at the key moment, it fell to the "far left" to drive the sellout down the throats of the workers. Thus, the SUD trade union in the Paris CCP (postal check center), which is led by Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) supporters, intervened in the general assemblies to tell workers to "keep up the pressure until Saturday" (December 16, the bureaucrats' "final" demonstration) and that then it will be necessary to "look for other forms of action."

This growing together with the reformists goes back years. The "far left" signed up as extra-parliamentary auxiliaries of the Mitterrand government in the early 1980s. They marched shoulder to shoulder with the Cold War social democrats in solidarity with Solidarność. And now they "know how to end strikes."

In contrast to the fake-Trotskyists (LO/PT/LCR) the Ligue Trotskyste fights for the forging of a new, revolutionary workers party. As the LTF declared in its December 4 supplement: "The reformists and class collaborators of the PCF and PS and their centrist tails offer only illusory reforms. They are all incapable of leading the working class in the current struggles and in the struggle to end the system of wage slavery once and for all."

To really fight to win required taking control of the strike out of the hands of the venal bureaucrats. It meant going beyond the admirable local initiative of individual workplaces to create organized forms embodying the struggle: elected strike committees to unite all the unionists, now split into different unions along party lines, and non-union workers, some of whom were exemplary strike militants; mass picket lines to spread the strike and defend the strikers; and national coordinating committees, linking the capital with the heavily mobilized provincial cities, whose marches drew contingents from industry.

The strike movement had to go beyond simple trade unionism, on a program to unite the entire working class and draw along the pensioners, the youth, the immigrants, against whom the ominous militarization of French society is being aimed. These immediate tasks cry out for revolutionary leadership and a Leninist party: to push the proletariat's struggles forward instead of subordinating them to the constraints of the capitalist system; to expose the pro-capitalist misleaders in their deeds; to reach out to struggling working people in other lands as the bourgeoisies drum up racism and trade war.

The fight against the government's attacks on social services is far from over. The French ruling class is gambling on the demoralizing effect of the strike movement being called off when millions thought they were winning. The government is counting on the misleaders, old and new, to keep a lid on the working class. The "left" leaders are more than willing, but nobody has the stranglehold that the PCF used to have on the most militant sectors.

While the French working class had sufficient defensive capacity to temporarily repel the Maastricht-driven attacks of the bourgeoisie, without a forward revolutionary strategy, embodied in the revolutionary Marxist program and a Leninist vanguard party, they can only succeed in frustrating the bourgeoisie, not conquering it. The capitalists will return to the offensive, perhaps in league with the fascists, if the reformists can no longer play their former role, and the working class remains intractable. In terms of class struggle in Europe, this is the opening act in this new historic period.

In the new world *disorder*, the capitalist onslaught against the working class will not abate—nor will the resistance against it, in the form of demonstrations, strikes, etc. It is in the crucible of such class struggles that an internationalist workers party will be built, a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, forged on a program to lead the working class and all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. This is the crucial lesson of the French strikes. ■

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(continued from page 2)

engaged in pitched battles with the cops and against the government that wants to do to the entire labor movement and society in France what Reagan started when he busted the air traffic controllers union here. The power exercised in the streets of Paris today, throughout all of France, is what Marx called "the class *in* itself." But how do we wield that power to make it "the class *for* itself"? How to break the power of the capitalist rulers, to put the wealth of the society into the service of humanity. That is a question of leadership.

Those who call themselves labor leaders in this country have sown the seeds for the decimation of the unions by tying the working class to their exploiters through the Democratic Party. They have demonstrated *in the negative* the truth of Karl Marx's statement, "Labor in the white skin cannot be emancipated where in the black it is branded." Many who now have a "life" of poverty, disease and death in the inner cities are the product of givehack contracts which sacrificed hundreds of thousands of jobs. But the destruction that was visited first on the black population is now becoming a reality for the majority of the working class.

In desperation, many blacks grabbed at Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March. This sinister demagogue who attempts to turn the anger of the ghetto against the Jewish, the Arab, the Korean shopkeeper preaches the sermon of Gingrich and Clinton that blacks are responsible for their own oppression and that they must "atone." This poison is directly counterposed to the struggle for black freedom. It's the program of a desperate black middle class who want to "do for self" off the backs of the ghetto population, who they consider to be "holding down the race."

The struggle for workers' rights and black rights must go forward together or we will all fall back separately. The power of labor must be mobilized in the fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal—in the hands of the multiracial working class lies the power to not only win freedom for Jamal but freedom for all of us from a system which has condemned Jamal to death and which erodes the bodies and spirits of the working people and the poor through mass unemployment, hunger, lack of medical care, the destruction of welfare, illiteracy.

In a message from death row in 1993, Mumia powerfully captured the contradiction of a ruling class that must enforce its rule through terror: "The extension of the death penalty to dozens of new crimes is not a reflection of a secure state but a state swimming in *in*security. As they scuttle the Constitution and create judges fit for a star chamber, they loosen the very ground on which they stand, quickening their demise. This government which bombed babies in Philadelphia *and* in Baghdad, which mows down babies in Somalia"—and which now I might add is pouring in 20,000 troops to mow down babies in the Balkans—"is sowing the seeds of their own destruction. It is a time, not for confusion, but for opportunity, to transform what *is* into what must be."

What must be is the revolutionary transformation of this society, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society. The working people need their own party, a workers party that doesn't respect the property rights of the bourgeoisie, one which says we produced all the wealth of this country, it's ours and *we want it*, we're going to take it. A workers party which understands that labor must champion the cause of all the oppressed, which inscribes on its banner the fight for black freedom, to finish the Civil War by overthrowing the rule of American capital which robbed the black population of the promise of liberation for which they so courageously fought. A workers party which champions the cause of the desperate immigrant, saying anyone who made it to this country has the right to stay here—Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

I'll leave you with some words from James P. Cannon, the founder of the International Labor Defense, whose heritage of class-struggle defense is carried forward by the Partisan Defense Committee today, and whose fight for an international revolutionary Trotskyist leadership is carried forward today by the Spartacist League and the International Communist League. It is from a 1921 article appropriately titled "Who Can Save the Unions?": "Let the labor unions put aside their illusions; let them face the issue squarely and fight it out on the basis of the class struggle. Instead of seeking peace when there is no peace, and 'understanding' with those who do not want to understand, let them declare war on the whole capitalist regime. That is the way to save the unions and to make them grow in the face of adversity and become powerful war engines for the destruction of capitalism."

When those who labor rule, then we can genuinely talk of a society of "freedom and justice for all."

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 3)

loyal to Walesa's anti-Communist enterprise to the very end, as is evident in the name of their paper—*Solidarność Socjalistyczna* (Socialist Solidarność!). Squeamish about supporting the widely detested Walesa, they called for a vote in the first round to another openly *bourgeois* candidate, Tadeusz Zielinski, a former senator of the Freedom Union (then Democratic Union) who endorses "Christian values" and supports employer lockouts "under certain circumstances." The Cliffites brazenly amnesty the anti-Semitic Solidarność leadership, claiming that "it wants to call itself rightist only because the communist governments called themselves leftist."

The crassly pro-capitalist parliamentarism of the SLD has pushed many radical youth in Poland today to reject all political parties in favor of "direct action" anarchism. Denying the possibility of a political struggle to break the proletariat from its social-democratic and nationalist misleaders, the anarchist youth turn in despair to substitutionist actions which ultimately lead nowhere. At most, they occasionally land a few good blows against the fascist thugs but have no strategy to deal with the entrenched power of the anti-Semitic Catholic hierarchy and racist Polish nationalism.

What is necessary to sweep away the racist and sexist filth promoted by capitalist counterrevolution is the mobilization of the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution. The Polish proletariat must reappropriate the revolutionary-internationalist heritage exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg—the greatest workers leader that Poland has produced—placing at the center of their struggles defense of the rights of women and minorities. Key to this is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party that will act as a tribune of all the oppressed. As demonstrated by its role in bringing to Poland the international campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, the SGP fights to cohere the nucleus of such a party as part of a reborn Fourth International. ■

Harlem Fire...

(continued from page 12)

and have seized upon this case as the perfect vehicle. Giuliani immediately launched a sinister witchhunt operation against the boycott leaders, tapping phones, monitoring tapes of radio call-in programs, milking informers, seeking to hold the demonstrators criminally responsible for the gunman's crazed deed.

Ultimately, the fire at Freddy's is the product of a rotting social order, where the cops wage relentless war on the ghettos in the name of a phony "war on drugs," where Republicans and Democrats compete in seeking to abolish welfare and slash health care where capitalism does not supply jobs. In Harlem you can see the social wreckage of decaying American capitalism before your eyes. From the layers of devastation and hopelessness rise the poisonous fumes of nationalism and anti-Semitism; under extreme pressure applied by the state and its racists in uniform, this deadly mixture reached the combustion point in a fiery massacre.

Racist Rulers Produce Black Desperation

Giuliani's election was the product of a racist backlash against black Democrat David Dinkins. Playing to his base among small property owners, right-wing ethnic enclaves and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, "Rudy the slasher" has gone after every social program serving the minority poor with a vengeance. Hospitals, health clinics and schools being shut down, thousands thrown off welfare—the city's even charging rent for homeless shelters! This reactionary climate which leaves the impoverished black ghettos and Hispanic barrios isolated could be shattered by integrated class struggle. But NYC labor officialdom has criminally cut a private deal with Giuliani, refusing to lift a finger for the poor, in exchange for empty "guarantees" against layoffs.

From the beginning of his administration, Mayor Giuliani has pushed a program that aggressively fans ethnic hatreds. Immediately on taking office, he began pushing "quality of life" laws to harass poor people. It was one thing to chase off the guys with the fake Chanel scarves and Gucci bags outside Saks, but clearing out 125th Street was another matter. The crowded bazaar had transformed "the 1-2-5" from a devastated strip into a bustling marketplace. In 1992, the Dinkins administration tried to push the vendors out, but backed down in the ensuing standoff. So when Giuliani went in, he mobilized an army of riot cops to do the job. Roland Smith was one of those arrested. He saw it as a "cracker" conspiracy against the black community, and wanted revenge.

Now Giuliani and his cohorts are ghoulishly using the fire at Freddy's for all it's worth in their continuing drive to keep down the black population through sheer repression. Blaming the massacre on people from "outside the Harlem community," D.A. Morgenthau has launched a grand jury investigation, reportedly looking to indict Al Sharpton (who lives in New Jersey). Officials say that, whereas "comments" by demonstrators are "normally protected by the First Amendment," in this case they're looking to charge the boycotters with civil rights violations.

The ravings of the boycotters have fueled the liberals' calls to outlaw "hate speech." As the *City Sun* commented, those who want to get Sharpton for "hate speech" might listen to racist Bob Grant on the radio. The aftermath of the Harlem fire shows exactly how such legislation will be used to spy on and criminalize protest by leftists and blacks. In this, of course, Sharpton is getting the payback for his own corrupt and treacherous complicity with the racist rulers. He wore a wire for the FBI and NYPD "black desk" who were carrying out surveillance on black militants in the 1980s!

When it comes to criminal indictments, it ought to be noted that the seven people who died in Freddy's besides the shooter were workers who had sought refuge in the back of the store and in the basement. The cause of death was smoke inhalation. They were unable to get out because the building owner had bricked up the fire exit against burglars, and the fire quickly spread out of control because the sprinkler system was turned off for construction work. Freddy's had repeated citations for faulty sprinklers.

The mayor's attempt to target the demonstrators for the attack at Freddy's prompted the Rev. Lawrence Lucas, chaplain at Rikers Island, to observe that during the Dinkins administration Giuliani "led a bunch of white cops in a demonstration in which they called the mayor all types of foul racist names, and later on they attacked a Black youth in the subway and put him in the hospital." In October 1993, then mayoral candidate Giuliani whipped up a racist mob of *10,000 armed cops* besieging City Hall. Once he got into office, the police went on a deadly and sustained rampage against minorities: in 1994 the number of black and Hispanic people killed by the cops shot up 42 percent.

Nationalist Bigots Feed on Despair

The boycott outside Freddy's had been going on intermittently since last fall. It was put together by Sharpton and a nationalist demagogue named Morris Powell, head of the "125th Street Vendors Association." Its ostensible purpose was to save the lease of the Record Shack, owned by black South African Sikhulu Shange, who subleased space from Freddy's and was being evicted. In the convoluted real estate wheeling and dealing of New York, it turns out the building owner was actually a wealthy black Pentecostal church, the United House of Prayer founded by "Sweet Daddy Grace." Freddy's wanted to expand into the space occupied by the Record Shack, and the church wanted the higher rents. The church used a similar strategy in other real estate conflicts, such as in Cleveland last summer, where its plans to evict elderly residents to make way for a new church building and parking lot were exposed.

The protests were rife with anti-Semitism, focusing on Fred Harari, the Jewish owner of the clothing store. In an affidavit by the store's security guard, who died in the fire, he recounted hearing repeated threats to "Get the Jew owners out," "Kill the crackers," "Burn and loot the Jews." This is the language of pogroms, of lynch mobs. The day after the fire at Freddy's, the boycotters were out in front of Bargain World, another Jewish-owned store on 125th Street. Ominously, at least ten white or Korean store owners in the area have since received threats. This poisonous anti-Semitic and anti-Asian chauvinism plays into the hands of the white racists who hold power.

In the mouths of the boycotters, Jews were "bloodsuckers" and blacks who bought in their shops were "cracker lovers." Heard more and more on the street, the current revival of these murderous words is because they are Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan's epithets of choice. Days before his "Million Man March" in Washington, D.C. last October, Farrakhan said in a TV interview: "The Jews who owned the homes, the apartments in the black community, we consider them bloodsuckers.... And when the Jews left, the Palestinian Arabs came, Koreans came, Vietnamese...and we call them bloodsuckers." Now that Farrakhan has stepped so prominently into the vacuum of black leadership, his rhetoric of ethnic hatred is being echoed by all sorts of imitators.

At a rally for Sharpton, Powell and Shange at the Slave Theater in Brook[illegible]. December 14, a packed crowd applauded CCNY professor Leonard Jeffries, Alton Maddox, and NOI minister Conrad Muhammad, who railed, "There's many more Roland Smiths out there," and praised Powell's fight for "economic empowerment in the Black community." Powell, in turn, accused the "crackers and the Asians on 125th Street" of "stealing our dollars." The dollars this bunch is after are the $300 million slated to be spent over the next decade in the federal government's "Empowerment Zone" in Harlem and the South Bronx. Similarly, Farrakhan talks of separatism while getting federal contracts for "NOI Security Agency, Inc." at housing projects from Baltimore to L.A. Prisons and police are the real "expansion" industry in the inner city, and Farrakhan is selling his services to police the ghetto.

A mass outburst of class struggle would break down the poison of nationalism and can beat back the racists with state power like Giuliani. The sit-down strikes of the 1930s may appear remote, but the working people who make this city run can bring it to a screeching halt. In New York, the heavily black and Hispanic hospital workers in AFSCME Local 420 are on the verge of rejecting a sellout contract. A struggle by these workers in defense of labor rights and against the life-threatening cuts in social services for the poor, the soaring tuition and mass purge of working-class and poor students from CUNY, could galvanize tens of thousands in struggle and break down the deadly divisions fostered by the capitalists and their agents such as Farrakhan and Sharpton.

Desperately necessary is the forging of a revolutionary workers party which can lead the fight to oust the treacherous misleaders of labor and lead the working people and oppressed minorities in fighting their way out of the churning cauldron of racist oppression, nationalist demagogy and ethnic hatreds into a fight against the common oppressor, the capitalist system, for a revolutionary socialist future. ■

Boeing...

(continued from page 12)

comparison. But a "victory" it isn't.

In order to get the contract approved, Boeing agreed to offer a hefty strike settlement "bonus" just before Christmas. Real wage increases are a pittance, and won't come for two years. The hated medical copayments were only *delayed* until mid-1998. On the key issue of "outsourcing" jobs, despite talk of "consulting" and "retraining," Wall Street analysts were boasting that the contract "still protects management's freedom of action" (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 14 December 1995).

This means that the dramatic cuts in the Boeing workforce, down to 105,000 today from 165,000 six years ago, will continue unabated. In just the nine months before the strike, *12,000 were laid off*. And the Machinists tops slipped in an extra year on the contract, granting *four years* of labor peace to Boeing, through its heaviest years of pre-scheduled production.

This continues IAM chief Kourpias' wretched program of "partnership" between the aerospace giant, the government and the union, centered on President Clinton's calls for protectionist measures against Japan and pushing an anti-Communist crusade against the Chinese deformed workers state (see "Protectionism vs. Class Struggle: Exchange on Boeing Strike," *WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995). This program serves the interests of Boeing and American imperialism.

To enlist Boeing strikers in a reactionary diversion from their struggle, the IAM tops brought Harry Wu to the picket line on December 1. Once a victim of Stalinist repression in China, Wu has become a professional anti-Communist (employed by the right-wing Hoover Institution) who declared at the AFL-CIO convention that "The strike by Boeing members is really a strike against the Chinese government. It is a strike against those in America who would let China dictate American policy."

The national chauvinism and anti-Communism of the labor misleaders tie the working class to the class enemy, as U.S. imperialism ratchets up exploitation at home and aims to bring "free market" immiseration to China through capitalist counterrevolution. As a striker told *WV*, "The enemy is not other workers fighting for their jobs, it is those exploiting all of us."

From the start of this strike, we called for workers to build mass pickets, occupy the plants and shut production down tight. We repeatedly warned that poisonous protectionism would dig a trap for the strike; we called instead for Boeing workers in the U.S. to forge a fighting alliance with Boeing workers in other countries. But the IAM brass would sooner pit U.S. workers against "foreigners" than call for joint strike action that necessarily threatens the profitability of U.S. capitalism.

The labor bureaucrats *oppose* the mobilization of workers' power because this would threaten not only the offices they cling to, but also their goal of class peace. It will take a political fight within the unions to oust the existing bureaucracy, replacing the sellouts with a class-struggle leadership based on a program of proletarian internationalism. This task is inextricably connected with the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Giuliani Set It Off

Racist Cops, Black Nationalism and the Harlem Fire

A deranged individual burst into Freddy's Fashion Mart on 125th Street, central Harlem's biggest shopping area, on Friday morning, December 8, brandishing a .38 revolver and a container of flammable liquid. Outside, a boycott was going on, trying to drive the Jewish-owned shop out of business, or out of Harlem. In fact, the owner of the building was a wealthy black church. The gunman shot and wounded four people, then set fire to the shop before shooting himself. Eight people died in the fire at Freddy's, seven of them store workers who died of smoke inhalation, as well as the gunman himself. The dead were five young Puerto Rican saleswomen, a man from Guyana and an American black security guard. All fighters for social justice and defenders of black rights must condemn the hideous attack on Freddy's and any attempt to apologize for it, as well as denouncing the vile anti-Semitism of those who were pushing the "buy black" boycott. But the far greater danger is from the racist rulers who sermonize about "racial harmony" and "conciliation" as their cops gun down black youth in Bed-Stuy and stage mass arrests in Hispanic barrios from Brooklyn to the Bronx.

Nubile/JB Pictures

Sotomayor/NY Times

Lee/NY Times

Racist NYC mayor Giuliani ordered police sweep of Harlem vendors in 1994 (above), setting stage for hideous fire at Freddy's Fashion Mart.

The smoke had barely cleared at Freddy's when New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani went before the TV cameras at One Police Plaza to call the blaze "racial arson." Police immediately began going over videotapes of the boycott, looking to prosecute the protesters for "bias crime." Yet it was the Giuliani administration which set the stage for the tragic fire as its cops tromp on Harlem like an occupying army. The shooter, Roland Smith, had been a sidewalk vendor on 125th Street selling African jewelry. He was driven into a fury when a police sweep ordered by City Hall drove off the vendors and ruined his meager livelihood in late 1994. He had recently lost his apartment and was living in a homeless shelter. Roland Smith snapped. As he lashed out, his head was full of Jew-baiting, black nationalist rage. It is the masters of this oppressive capitalist society who fuel that rage and now seek to feed off it.

The mayor, police commissioner and district attorney want to use the power of the state to suppress all black protest

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Boeing Strike Called Off As Bosses Were Hurting

In the second week of December, strikers at Boeing aircraft plants in Washington, Oregon and Kansas voted heavily in favor of a contract negotiated by the leaders of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and returned to work. This ended the 69-day walkout by more than 30,000 workers, the longest since Boeing was struck for 140 days in 1948 during the post-World War II strike wave.

A striker in Portland told *Workers Vanguard* that the IAM bureaucrats arrogantly thought they would have the workers "signed, sealed and delivered to Boeing by Thanksgiving, like a turkey." But in mid-November, strikers who were furious at multimillion dollar stock options awarded to the Boeing executives decisively repudiated a sellout deal which would have imposed medical co-payments, a key issue in the strike.

Although management scabs kept production crawling along during the walkout, the strike blocked delivery of 30 aircraft. Boeing customers and its profit-bloated bosses were clearly beginning to hurt. Boeing workers were in a position of strength, but at this point Machinists leader George Kourpias called off the strike.

The same IAM tops who three weeks earlier tried to ram through the first miserable sellout crowed that the settlement represents the "renewal of the labor movement." For the new heads of the AFL-CIO, the Boeing contract was a "'slam-dunk' win" (*AFL-CIO News*, 18 December 1995). The bosses' press portrayed the settlement as "the only significant union victory across a national landscape littered with labor defeats" (*Seattle Times*, 14 December 1995).

The Boeing strike certainly gives the lie to the notion that strikes are "outdated." Coming just days after the devastating defeat of the Caterpillar strike—a total surrender ordered by the UAW's top bureaucrats and backed by AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney—the settlement at Boeing can't help but look good in

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Haley/Tacoma News Tribune

Boeing strikers burned sell-out contract proposal in November. Strike ended three weeks later as IAM tops pushed through back-to-work deal.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 637

19 January 1996

Mandela Regime Cracks Down on Black Labor

The "New" South Africa

Jodi Bieber

T J Lemon

Striking black municipal workers protesting in downtown Johannesburg last September were met with brutal repression by "new" apartheid police.

Down With Neo-Apartheid Rule! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

In Anglo American's giant Vaal Reefs gold mine, a runaway locomotive crashes down into an elevator cage, killing over a hundred black miners. In rural KwaZulu-Natal, a white landowner, guarded by police, uses his tractor to pull down the mud and cow-dung hut of a family of black tenant farmers. Immigrant workers from Mozambique and other neighboring states are routinely rounded up by police and deported back across the border. As striking black municipal workers take to the streets of downtown Johannesburg, they are met by police firing tear gas canisters and stun grenades. Such are some scenes from the "new" South Africa since Nelson Mandela was elected its first black president a year and a half ago.

Of course, significant changes have taken place at the political level. Open white-supremacist rule based on police-state terror has been replaced by a "power sharing" arrangement between the African National Congress (ANC) and the former white ruling National Party of F.W. De Klerk. The legal structure of apartheid—the passbooks, the rigid segregation of the Group Areas Act, the impoverished bantustan "homelands"—has been dismantled. The establishment of an ANC-led Government of National Unity naturally awakened the expectations of the black toilers of radical improvements in their conditions of life.

But increasingly bitter black workers and unemployed youth are saying that nothing has changed in their jobs, their townships, their homes. Much, however, has changed in the lives of their leaders. A few thousand ANC cadre—now become parliamentarians, government officials, corporate executives, as well as top union bureaucrats—have jumped aboard the "gravy train," buying BMWs and Pierre Cardin suits and moving into posh, formerly white-only suburbs. Black workers see some of their comrades of yesterday literally growing fat since they're now eating meat three times a day. Yet these very same people are telling the impoverished masses they have to be patient in waiting for housing, electricity, running water and a decent education for their children!

The white ruling class entered into the "power sharing" deal with the expectation that the ANC and closely allied South African Communist Party (SACP) would use their immense political authority to restore a semblance of bourgeois order without seriously threatening the whites' wealth and privileges. The township revolt in the mid-1980s undermined the apartheid system: effective control of the segregated black cities like Soweto and Alexandra passed into the hands of popular committees generally supportive of the ANC; rents went unpaid for years as did charges for electricity and water and property taxes.

However, the development of a powerful and combative black workers movement posed a far more fundamental threat to the rule of the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange. Formed in 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) quickly became one of the strongest and most militant labor movements in the Third World. This was signaled by the great gold mine strike in 1987, the largest in South African history. On the shop floor, it became commonplace for workers to walk out in solidarity when any worker was fired or otherwise victimized by management.

In South Africa, it is recognized that the ANC is not a unitary movement; people speak rather of the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance." This is a *nationalist popular front* in which the black proletariat is bound to their exploiters and oppressors through the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. Here is how Amrit Manga, a labor columnist for the pro-ANC *New Nation* (29 September 1995) describes "the challenge for the alliance—to balance the needs of all South Africans, the rich and the poor, without substantially compromising the interests of either group"! And in South Africa, the rich are white and the poor are black or "coloured" (mixed-race). Whites own 87 percent of the land and 90 percent of the productive wealth, and have an average income ten times that of blacks.

To balance the interests of the rich and poor in South Africa is a "challenge," as Manga puts it, which the ANC *cannot* meet. For the moment, the Randlords and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London are relying on the political authority of Mandela & Co. rather than the armed fist of the state to prevent and suppress black labor, township, student and other social struggles. However, De Klerk recently told his coalition partners that he could have used

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Workers Vanguard Interview

Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

SEE PAGE FOUR

WV Photo

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Down With Police-State Repression in Peru!

Last November 30, some two dozen people were seized in a raid by the Peruvian political police, DINCOTE, in a residential district in Lima. Five members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) were killed in a six-hour firefight. Surrounded by government forces, the remaining members of the rebel unit surrendered, including a top MRTA commander, Miguel Rincón. Also arrested in the sweep was Lori Berenson, 26, a Latin America solidarity activist from New York. On January 11, those arrested were sentenced to lengthy terms in prison, including life imprisonment for Rincón, Berenson and two others.

The Túpac Amaru movement, named after a descendant of the Incas who rose in rebellion against Spanish colonial rule in the late 1700s, is a Guevarist rural guerrilla group politically sympathetic to left-wing parties in the popular-front opposition. Over the last decade, it has mainly struck at military installations and foreign-owned businesses, in distinction to the Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) movement, which has often launched murderous attacks on workers and peasants unions as well as armed clashes with the MRTA. Hundreds of MRTA supporters have been thrown into Peru's dungeons, along with thousands jailed as alleged Sendero militants.

The military-backed government of Alberto Fujimori intensified its draconian security crackdown after the president dissolved the Congress in 1992 and instituted brutal police-state measures. Prisoners accused of "terrorism" are routinely tortured, taken before secret military tribunals, denied any legal defense, and sentenced by unseen judges. The Fujimori regime and the Peruvian military are heavily backed by Washington, despite occasional run-ins between their respective "anti"-drug forces and notwithstanding the "human rights" rhetoric of the Clinton administration. The fact that in this case an American citizen was seized has produced some liberal protest where normally the Peruvian military butchers carry out their dirty work outside the glare of international publicity.

The workers movement internationally must denounce these vicious sentences and demand that all the victims of this rightist "civilian" dictatorship be freed. The Partisan Defense Committee issued the following protest statement on January 15:

Embassy of the Republic of Peru
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

On January 11, twenty-two members and alleged supporters of the leftist guerrilla Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement were sentenced to decades in prison by Peru's special military courts. Among them was Miguel Rincón, Túpac Amaru's second in command, and Lori Berenson who was charged with treason and sentenced to life. We demand freedom for Miguel Rincón, Lori Berenson and all victims of right-wing government repression.

As Ms. Berenson so eloquently announced at her sentencing, her "crime" is "to worry about the subhuman conditions in which the majority of this population lives." That majority of the population has been the victims of brutal massacres at the hands of Peru's military, heavily financed by the U.S. for its so-called "war on drugs." With the blood of thousands on their hands, the generals and colonels were recently given a blanket amnesty by your government, including those responsible for what is considered one of Peru's most notorious human rights cases, the kidnapping and murder of nine La Canuta University students and a professor suspected of being supporters of the Shining Path.

Commentators in this country have

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New York Times

Lori Berenson, sentenced to life in prison by Peruvian military court.

Lenin and the Revolutionary Party

TROTSKY

LENIN

In honoring the memory of V.I. Lenin, who died on 21 January 1924, we reprint the following remarks by James P. Cannon, a founding member of the Communist and Trotskyist movements in the United States. Lenin was the architect and leader of the Bolshevik Party, which was the vital instrument for the October 1917 seizure of power by the workers of Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in history. Lenin's terminal illness and death greatly aided a bureaucratic political counterrevolution led by Stalin under the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," which ultimately laid the basis for the restoration of capitalism nearly seven decades later. But the fight for the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution was carried on by Trotsky and the Fourth International, and is continued today by the International Communist League.

Iskra (The Spark), as most of our readers know, was the paper founded by Lenin in 1900.... *Iskra* made its first appearance at a time of rise in working-class activity, when the spontaneous labor movement was running ahead of its conscious political organization. The ideas of economism—that is, of limiting the political work of the Social Democrats—were being propagated by an influential group of leaders. The Social Democratic movement of the time consisted of loosely connected circles, and was lacking in a uniform program and cohesive organization. Lenin dedicated *Iskra* to the task of uniting the political movement and overcoming the opportunist doctrines of economism....

First of all he called for the formation of a fighting organization: "Work for the establishment of a fighting organization must be carried on under all circumstances, no matter how 'drab and peaceful' the times may be, and no matter how low the 'depression of revolutionary spirit' has sunk. More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such periods that this work is particularly required: for it would be too late to start building such an organization in the midst of uprisings and outbreaks. The organization must be ready when the moment arrives." These words were true for tsarist Russia thirty years ago, and they are no less true for America today. Even now it is necessary to prepare for the future day.

The organization he projected was to be a *political* organization; in other words, a party. Lenin was an irreconcilable foe of all eclecticism, narrow-mindedness, and localism. The movement had to be united on a national scale; it had to invest all its detailed activities with a sweeping perspective of revolutionary overthrow....

The article "Where to Begin" was a brief synopsis of the views he was to elaborate a few months later in his famous pamphlet *What Is to Be Done?* In this pamphlet, which became a cornerstone of Bolshevism, Lenin settled accounts with the economists and with the revisers and "critics" of Marx. He elucidated the limitations of trade unionism with a profound insight which the whole history of international syndicalism has completely vindicated. He outlined the role of the party—extending and concretizing Marx's theory of the vanguard—and brought forward for the first time the project of a body of *professional revolutionaries* who would devote their lives wholly to the revolution and take upon themselves the leadership and direction of the entire movement.

—James P. Cannon, "Lenin and the 'Iskra' Period" (March 1931)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is January 16.

No. 637 **19 January 1996**

Defend NAMBLA!

In the latest installment of a years-long witchhunt against the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), just before midnight on January 9 a New York City police "vice" squad broke down the door of NAMBLA member Roy Radow's apartment, arresting him and his friend Clark Inwald for "endangering the welfare" of a 12-year-old boy. The youngster was in the apartment because his mother is a friend of Inwald's and let her son stay there after school and on weekends. But all it took was an anonymous tip from a nosy, bigoted neighbor for the cops to stage their outrageous invasion of Radow's home. The youth insists there was no sexual contact—even the cops admit there is no evidence of this—and his mother steadfastly denies he suffered any harm. So the NYPD has now hit Radow, a former school psychologist, with an additional charge of "obstruction of governmental administration."

The lack of any evidence whatsoever against Radow and Inwald hasn't stopped the gutter press from spreading vicious smears against NAMBLA, which advocates repealing reactionary "age of consent" laws. A *Daily News* (11 January) headline blared, "Pedophile Charged." The next day, an editorial in Rupert Murdoch's right-wing rag, the *New York Post*, demonized NAMBLA, claiming, "it's time for authorities to begin seeing NAMBLA for what it is—a child-molestation club, not a collection of oddballs."

A similar cop-media campaign against NAMBLA in 1993 was led by former WNBC-TV reporter John Miller, who went on to become a gun-toting "press information" officer for the NYPD. Miller made his name with an "investigative report" retailing bogus charges from "undercover cops" that NAMBLA advocates child molestation. Like the current *Post* editorial which advised the cops to look for a list in Radow's apartment to reveal if any of NAMBLA's 1,500 members are employed by the school system, in 1993 NBC's Channel 4 broadcast the names, faces and addresses of NAMBLA school employees—an open call for firings, and a set-up for violent attacks against NAMBLA members.

As we wrote then, this was "a cruel attack against a vulnerable group, one which is ostracized even by most self-proclaimed radical homosexual activists.... Attempts to portray sex between older and younger people as equivalent to child molestation are aimed at enforcing social conformity and reactionary sexual mores, and are in no way related to protecting the interests of youth" (*WV* No. 571, 12 March 1993).

The state's persecution of NAMBLA is part of a broader effort at government enforcement of a puritanical sexual code which deems all homosexuality "deviant." Attempts by "mainstream" gay organizations to isolate NAMBLA have helped fuel this reactionary climate, where pregnant teenagers need "parental consent" for abortion and sex education, condom distribution is banned in schools, and hysterical charges of "sex abuse" result in the persecution of day-care workers and teachers—a campaign that began with witchhunting homosexual teachers.

The Spartacist League defends NAMBLA against governmental snoops and cops seeking to regulate private, consensual sexual acts. We say: Stop the witchhunt of NAMBLA! Drop the charges against Roy Radow and Clark Inwald!

Longshoremen in U.S., Canada, Australia "Hot Cargo" Scab Shipping

International Solidarity with Liverpool Dock Strike

A lesson in labor solidarity: when members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) saw three picketers on the Newark, New Jersey docks on December 19, they got the message and refused to cross the line. The Atlantic Container Lines (ACL) ship *Companion Express* had earlier tried to unload its cargo in Baltimore, but when picketers showed up there, too, the Baltimore ILA also honored the line. And when the ship moved on to Norfolk, Virginia, it got the same treatment.

The pickets represented 500 dock workers in Liverpool, England, members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), who since September have been engaged in a bitter fight against union-busting by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company, which sacked hundreds of the workers for honoring a picket line. In response to their appeals for international support, longshoremen in Australia, New Zealand and Canada also refused to touch ACL containers, and dock workers in Sweden and Spain have vowed to do likewise. In "hot-cargoing" ACL ships, these workers have resurrected a couple of basic principles of the class struggle: *Scab goods are too hot to handle! Picket lines mean don't cross!*

These actions breathed new life into the struggle in Liverpool, where the local Labour Party administration has presided over devastating layoffs and cutbacks in social services. The London *Guardian* (20 December 1995) noted, "For an industrial cause widely dismissed as hopeless, the dockers' campaign has succeeded in calling on a reserve of international solidarity which is causing significant damage to their employer."

The Liverpool dock strike takes place amid a growing wave of labor struggle throughout Britain and against a backdrop of intensified racist terror against blacks and immigrants. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain emphasize in a special *Workers Hammer* supplement (12 January), excerpts of which are reprinted below, what is needed is a revolutionary leadership with an internationalist program to drive forward the kind of solidarity shown toward the Liverpool dock workers.

* * *

Since September the Merseyside dockers have been fighting bitterly against casualisation and de-unionisation, winning the support of dock workers internationally. This week dock workers at the Isle of Sheppey refused to cross a picket line mounted by the Liverpool dockers. Protests are mounting against the brutal, racist Asylum and Immigration Bill. Vauxhall [auto] workers are banning overtime and balloting on their claim, after chucking out the management offer at mass meetings. Ford workers are to ballot on strike action this month, after a wildcat walkout at Dagenham in November [and again last week]. And from Liverpool to the capital firefighters are taking or discussing action to fight the fire brigade cuts. The obstacle to co-ordinated, joint strike action—and to powerful union and minority community action and protest against state racism—is the present reformist union leadership.

The attacks on the working class across Europe today are being dictated by the drive by each national capitalist class to improve its position vis-à-vis its imperialist rivals. The French and German governments want to do to their working classes what Thatcher did to us and Reagan did to the American workers. The British rulers seek to hone their competitive edge by ensuring that wages and working conditions remain lower than those in Japan and the rest of Europe. Now that capitalist counterrevolution has destroyed the Soviet Union and East European deformed workers states, the imperialists think the way is open to reintroduce the untrammelled exploitation and oppression that existed in the nineteenth century.

What is needed is the kind of uncompromising, Marxist class-struggle workers party that led the Russian workers to power in October 1917. An internationalist party that fights for the interests of all the oppressed—against the racism of the capitalist system, typified by the sequence of police killings of black people last year and by the brutal Asylum and Immigration Bill. One that opposes the imperialist troops in the Balkans and Northern Ireland and fights for the unity of working people across national boundaries.

The splendid action of dockers around the world points the way forward. The Merseyside docks should be shut down tight by mass picket lines, which nothing and nobody can cross. But [TGWU leader Bill] Morris & Co. are so in awe

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Christopher Thomond

Liverpool dockers have waged bitter four-month battle against union-busting.

David North, "Socialist" Apologist for Scabbing

Four years ago, the organization known as the Workers League, led by one David North, decided to write off the trade unions, saying "to define the AFL-CIO as a working class organization is to blind the working class" (*Bulletin*, 10 January 1992; see "Workers League vs. the Unions," *WV* No. 580, 16 July 1993). Now, in the context of the defeated 17-month-long Caterpillar strike and the four-month battle by Liverpool dockers against union-busting, North & Co. have taken this formulation out of the realm of theory and shown it for what it really is: an open prescription for strikebreaking.

Early last month, as dock workers unions from North America to Australia announced their refusal to handle ships loaded in Liverpool by scabs, North's followers in the British International Communist Party (ICP) wrote a scurrilous article, "Dockers Must Reject Fake Internationalism" (*International Worker*, 2 December 1995), calling this basic declaration of solidarity a "fraud." Yet some two weeks later, American trade unionists of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) turned back a scab Atlantic Container Lines ship from three U.S. ports by honoring picket lines put up by dock workers who had flown in from Liverpool, giving a huge boost to their strike.

As a cover for their *anti*-internationalist, *anti*-working-class line, the Northites point to the ILA's "history of working with the U.S. State Department and CIA backed operations abroad." This is pretty cheeky coming from these political bandits, who took up the cause of every imperialist-backed anti-Soviet movement from the Lithuanian nationalists to the bloodthirsty Afghan *mujahedin* reactionaries. North's Workers League spent decades crudely fawning after the anti-communist labor tops, calling on the likes of George Meany to form a "labor party." Now, when the world's capitalist rulers are escalating their war against the unions, the poor and immigrants following the destruction of the Soviet Union, North's followers tell workers that *any* struggle by the trade unions against these attacks is useless.

The link between the Northites' current anti-labor line and their historic anti-Sovietism was captured in a recent appeal by ICP National Secretary David Hyland to the deeply reformist Militant Labour group for a "mass socialist party." Openly calling to "destroy the influence and control of the old unions," Hyland offers as proof that any "trade union perspective" is bankrupt... "the example of Solidarnosc in Poland" (*IWB*, 11 September 1995). Solidarność, in fact, was a counterrevolutionary political movement masquerading as a "union" on behalf of its CIA and Vatican bankrollers, which was *cheered by the Northites* as it organized Polish workers behind a program of capitalist restoration.

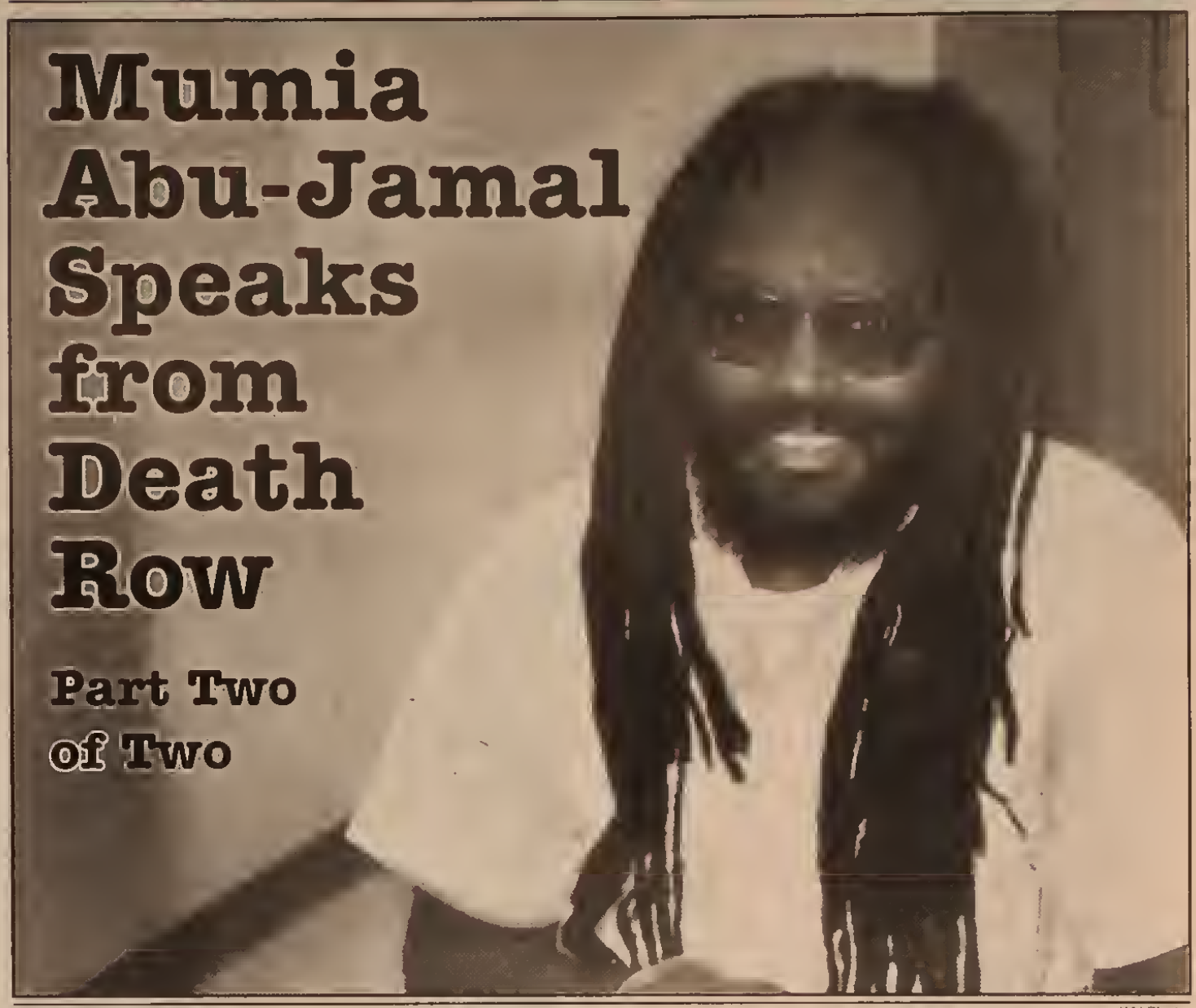
Never ones to differentiate the trade unions from the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that keeps them chained to the exploiters and their state, North & Co. have now become lawyers for scabbing. Reporting on the Caterpillar UAW strike, which was betrayed outright by the UAW bureaucracy, their American newspaper writes, "UAW officials have attempted to absolve themselves of blame for what has happened by diverting the anger of strikers towards the 'scabs,' i.e., those union members who decided to cross picket lines" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 18 December 1995). Putting quotation marks around "scab" is no slip. In fact, the article *justifies* scabbing, claiming that "the large majority of the 4,000 union members who returned to work were not right-wing or anti-union. Most simply recognized the futility of the policies being pursued by the UAW, which had, after all, abandoned the previous strike." Now that corporations are shelling out billions every year to hire union-busting law firms and private police, are the Northites offering themselves as PR agents for the growing army of strikebreakers?

The "hot-cargoing" of scab shipping by dockers internationally is an example of the kind of genuine solidarity in action which can fortify the unions against the worldwide capitalist offensive. Our perspective is the forging of a new, class-struggle leadership in the labor movement as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. This requires a hard political struggle to drive out the sell-out bureaucracy—the "labor lieutenants" of the bosses—that is undermining and destroying the unions. That fight must also be waged against *scab "socialists"* like the Northites, who spit on the best traditions of working-class struggle as they stand on the side of the capitalist union-busters.

Workers Vanguard Interview

Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

Part Two of Two



WV Photo

Workers Vanguard interviewed death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at the SCI Greene maximum security prison in western Pennsylvania on 21 December 1995. A former Black Panther, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group and award-winning journalist, Jamal was framed and sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman. Part One of this interview was printed in WV *No. 636, 5 January.*

Workers Vanguard: Let's talk about the protest movement this past summer. It's amazing how your case took off around the world. One of the most interesting things to us was how much support was generated among the trade unions. Your fellow journalists in Germany, South Africa, Britain and many other countries made you a member of their unions. What has this kind of support meant to you?

Mumia Abu-Jamal: Like all support, you know, it kind of sends one the spirit of solidarity. By solidarity, of course, I'm not talking about the former trade union that existed in Poland. I'm talking about real solidarity, the feeling that you are a part of us. That was a feeling that was communicated by MWASA [Media Workers Association of South Africa], by IG Medien [in Germany], by the writers group in France, that even in the darkest depths of death row, you are a colleague, you are a part of us. And I appreciate it.

It's interesting that you mention South Africa, Germany, Great Britain, France, so on. You've mentioned nothing about the United States [laughs]. And I think there's a reason for that as well. I think that in many of those countries, they see the role of journalists far differently than the journalist in the United States. The journalist in the United States is kind of a salesman for selling this system. That's the undercover role. The system is never to be criticized. To the extent the system is to be criticized, it is to be personalized to make it the criticism of a specific person, not the whole. The system is never to be questioned: that's the unwritten rule that all journalists in this society must adhere to. You're not taught that in journalism school. That's not a rule that's written on the walls of the editor's office in radio stations or newspapers. But it's a role that comes with the territory. It's communicated almost *sub rosa* to all their colleagues.

It's also interesting when you consider that in most other societies—like South Africa, like Germany—journalists are perceived as part of the working class. They're average Joes, you see, like the guy who works at the auto factory, like the guy who works at a service station. In America they're perceived as the upper class. They are wealthier than most. And they speak from their class perspective. And that's how they're kind of sucked in, bought into this protective system at all costs. It's like protecting a privilege.

WV: That leads me right into South Africa. Probably more there than in any other country, your cause won massive support among the working class, particularly black workers who identify the death penalty with the racist apartheid system. So your cause was really near and dear to their hearts when they heard about it.

Mumia: Well, of course, for anyone who has been involved for any length of time in the black liberation movement, the black consciousness movement in the United States, many if not most of us have been deeply inspired by what has transpired in South Africa. There are even very strong correlations in the civil rights movement in relationship to South Africa. Many of us have looked at the system in South Africa and see kind of eerie parallels with the United States.

I know that in my personal life experience, years ago when I was in college and I met black people from the whole diaspora—the Caribbean, North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa—it was those from Southern Africa who kind of touched me the deepest. I felt their kinship. Perhaps it was because in many of the other countries, the African countries, people had experienced independence. They were mostly freed. It was African Americans in this country and people sucked into the apartheid system who had a sense of struggle, whose basic fundamental dignities and human rights were abused. And I think it's those kinds of elements that have lessons, one for the other. Of course, in the United States and in South Africa, the death penalty has been used extrajudicially, but also as a tool of white-supremacist power. Not as an instrument of justice.

In today's South Africa, the former minister of defense, Magnus Malan, and maybe 13 others were just indicted on homicide charges. It's interesting to note that it's been over ten years since May 13, 1985 in Philadelphia and not one policeman, not one politician, not one government official who conspired to massacre eleven people, to bomb MOVE to death, to shoot them and to dismember them, not one has even been charged for a single crime! I think it speaks volumes about which system is more progressive, that of South Africa or that of the United States. I think because we both are living in systems where we have to struggle for the most basic fundamental human rights and dignities, and survival, many South Africans see similarities. Repressive societies are very much alike, and people who rebel against those societies are also very much alike.

WV: In Brazil there have been demonstrations of support for you also. In August there was a rally at the memorial to Zumbi, who led the slave republic in Brazil and who was murdered 300 years ago by the slavocracy. I understand that your sister, Lydia Wallace, just spoke in November at an international conference on the anniversary of Zumbi's murder.

Mumia: Yes, she just sent me some beautiful pictures of the people, people who were organizers, workers at the conference. She spoke at several health conferences, also a general conference. She met a lot of these people, like Benedita da Silva [a black woman senator from the Workers Party]. She told me it was a life-changing experience for her.

I remember reading a book when I was in college the first time, '70-'71, a book called *Maroons*. And it talked about free African societies in the Americas. It talked about Zumbi and Palmares, which is the state he founded, and how African societies rebelled through the centuries over corruption and oppression. And since that time—although of course I've not had occasion to speak or to consciously invoke that spirit—that was an inspiration for me.

WV: I wanted, of course, to ask you a bit about the hearings this summer in Albert Sabo's court on your petition for post-conviction relief. I sat through a couple of sessions, but you had to sit through the whole thing.

Mumia: Well, it wasn't fun, I'll tell you that. Sabo is like "déjà vu all over again." I am reminded by a lot of questions that people, especially journalists, ask me: Well, if you had to do it all over again, would you behave at a new trial the way you did at your old trial? Why were you acting so crazy? I have to use the example that we saw in court. I said, well, OK, you can say I acted out at my first trial. But look at this hearing. Here you haven't heard me say one word. I've sat quietly at the defense table. Here you have one of my lawyers, Rachel Wolkenstein, carried away in shackles, you have another one of my lawyers, Leonard Weinglass, fined $1,000 literally for not moving fast enough. You have all of them threatened with contempt for daring to ask a question. You had them literally threatened by the court for trying to do what defense lawyers are supposed to do, that is, defend.

It's very clear that what happened in that court had nothing to do with how I behaved in court; it had everything to do with the fact that this was Sabo's courtroom. This was the courtroom of a life member of the Fraternal Order of Police. This was a courtroom of the F.O.P., who literally could walk in unmolested, untouched, armed, who threatened people, who manhandled people. I remember hearing about a German journalist who comes from Berlin, I believe. This was a young mother, and while she was waiting in line she was brutally pushed, her foot was stepped on. When she asked this guy why is he doing it, the cop looked

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal, 1969: As Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panthers, Mumia was a target of FBI's COINTELPRO campaign to destroy black militants.

at her—it was a cop who was doing it—looked at her with utter contempt: "What are you doing here?" This was a cop working for the city of Philadelphia brutalizing a journalist from overseas for daring to come to cover the hearing.

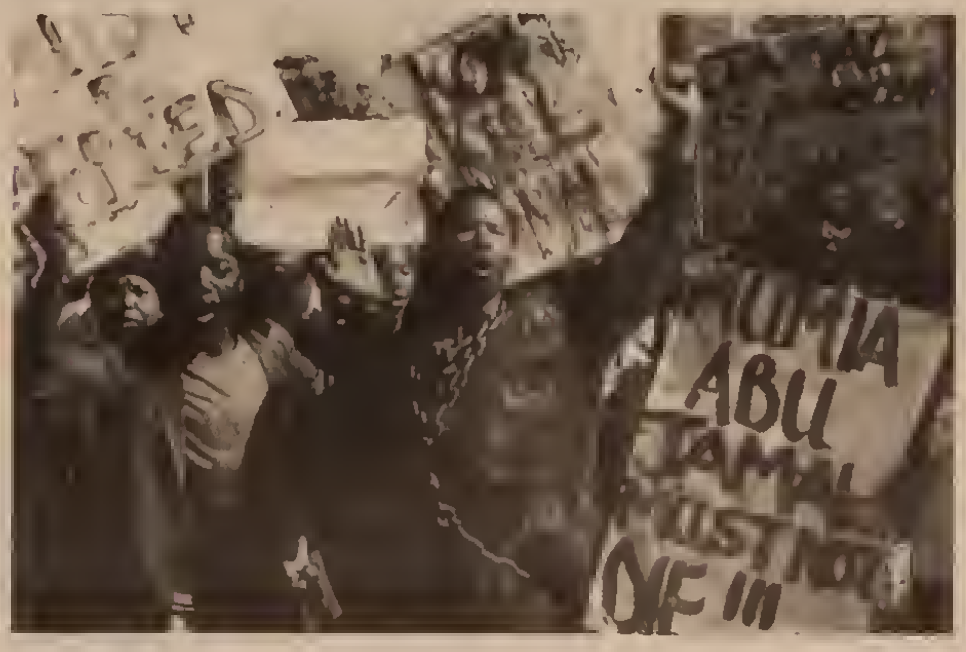
I heard from another group, the Bruderhof—a religious Christian center—who had come to cover the trial. One guy said he went out for the lunch break, he was walking around City Hall, and he's doing nothing, he's simply walking around, he had a few leaflets he gave to some of the young people. A cop walked up to him, in full uniform with sergeant's stripes on him, hawk-spits him right in his face. I think that for a lot of people, and this is not just so-called Jamal supporters, but for a lot of people the summer of 1995 was a revelation of the real heart and heartless message of Philadelphia, the cold, naked face of the city. No amount of P.R., posters, sweet jingles can replace the real horror and vicious treatment that people got in this context.

WV: Our newspaper has raised the demand that you be freed, now, that justice will begin the day you walk out of prison. Relating back to what you just said, almost all the people involved in your original frame-up conviction and in the penalty phase of your frame-up in 1982 are all there, right? You've got the same Judge Sabo. The 1982 prosecutor, Joseph McGill, is a very prominent spokesman for the F.O.P. and for the District Attorney's office—he was on the radio everywhere over the summer. The current D.A., Lynne Abraham, who really grooves on the death penalty, was the original arraigning judge. Then you've got Ron Castille, who was the D.A. on the appeal, he's now on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. And, of course, the District Attorney in 1982, Ed Rendell, is now mayor of Philadelphia. This describes perfectly well the whole frame-up system that passes for so-called justice in your case.

Mumia: Well, there ain't none. As for the editorial position of the paper, I wholeheartedly agree. You won't hear me disagree. I think that what you're talking about here is a system that rewards corruption, a system that rewards repression, a system that rewards the worst instincts of prosecutors, judges, and all of those in that whole process. It's easy when you make those analogies about my case. But for instance, when we talk about the 39th District in Philadelphia, well, people will scream and cuss and point their finger at those sick, corrupt cops who framed those hundreds if not thousands of people. But they couldn't have done it alone, you see. Every one of those people that were framed, victims of the 39th District, they were prosecuted by a prosecutor. Many of those prosecutions happened when

AP photos

Campaign of international protest against scheduled execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal received broad support in Brazil (above) and South Africa last summer. International outcry helped win stay of execution.



Castille was the D.A. They were prosecuted before a judge. Some of those were before Judge Lynne Abraham when she was on the bench. All of them were in front of judges of the Court of Common Pleas. Most of them were before the Superior Court on appeal or the Supreme Court. All of them were denied relief—hundreds of people.

So what we're talking about is a *system* that is corrupt. And not just about Jamal, not just about MOVE, but about tens and hundreds and thousands of everyday people, who were not radicals, who were not ex-Black Panthers, who were not MOVE members, but were everyday people. Like Betty Patterson, who was a church-going grandmother who served three years and eleven months, going through the hell and humiliation of being in one of the worst prisons for women—or for anybody—in Pennsylvania. Because a cop felt like kicking her door down, going through her house and dropping some cocaine down there and telling 'em, oh, look at what we found. The very fact that that could happen to her really makes it clear what could happen to someone who has a political history for over 20 years.

My lawyer, Len Weinglass, points out that in fact the D.A.'s office should have been introducing my FBI files as mitigation evidence, because from the time I was 14 years old they've been following me, reading my mail, listening to my phone calls, putting informants on me, the whole deal. In fact, we later learned that they've actually been writing letters in my name, bogus letters, in my name, to other people. This is your government at work, the FBI, the government and the Philadelphia police department. Well, during all that time they never saw me commit one crime. But they turned around and said: Ooh, look, he was a Black Panther many years ago and that's why you should kill him today, because he's been planning all these years to kill cops. It's just turning the truth on its head. That's the function of policemen, that's the function of the prosecutor, and that's the function of the judiciary. I think we should at this juncture quote Judge Sabo, aptly and accurately, on the question you raised about justice. In his words, "Justice is just an emotional feeling."

WV: It has also come out that the Philly cops kept files on some 18,000 people during the '60s and '70s. What was it like for you to read some of your new files? You got about 100 more pages this year that you didn't know about before.

Mumia: You're talking about FBI, it wasn't Philadelphia. It was precisely in that last hundred pages, of the full 700 or 800 pages, that we found out about the letter-writing campaign of the FBI. When they raided the Panther office, I'm sure just like the Leoncavallo center in Milano [see *WV* No. 636, 5 January], well, they didn't just destroy the files, they stole the files. They wrote crazy letters, with real crazy messages, and they signed them with my name. And also another brother, they wrote and signed his name and sent it to Washington and said: Check this signature, doesn't it look good? Uh-huh, looks great. OK, send them out. This is what the government did. And this is what they *admit* they did. So, again, your tax dollars at work—at work for the government and its deception.

To broaden the discussion also, I might add, there's a recent book that was published, written by Kenneth O'Reilly, *Black Americans: The FBI Files* (Carroll & Graf, 1994). He's the same guy who wrote the book *Racial Matters*. He actually documents how back in the '30s, '40s and '50s, the FBI kept files on prominent black Americans like Harry Belafonte, like Dorothy Dandridge, like, of course, Martin Luther King Jr. *and* Sr., Malcolm X when he was a prisoner in, I think, a Massachusetts jail. It's astonishing to see how these people go to those who do hard work, to average hard-working Americans, to "law-abiding citizens," who are also the subject of FBI disinformation campaigns, snooping, simply because once or twice they may have announced an opinion, let's say in support of Martin Luther King. Or let's say they dare believe that their government was their government, and they met with someone and said: Well, we want some changes. It shows that this is not a new thing, that it did not begin with the Black Panther Party. It's going on now, even as we speak, and has been going on for over 50, perhaps 60 years.

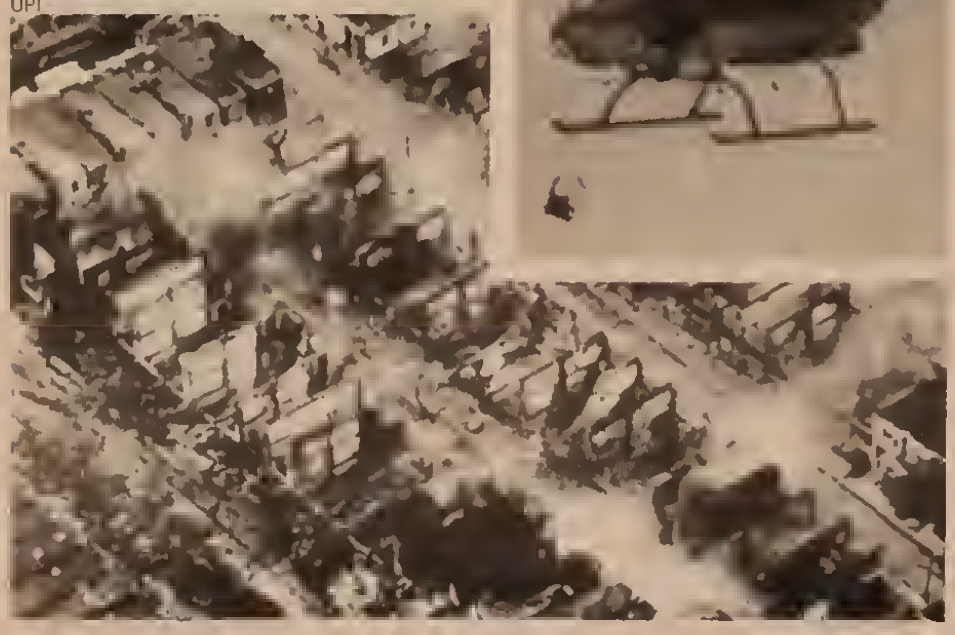
WV: Certainly there was heavy FBI and Philly cop collaboration in victimizing MOVE. We had protested the May 1985 police bombing of the MOVE home on Osage Avenue, and we first heard of your case from some of the MOVE prisoners in the Partisan Defense Committee's stipend program for victims of capitalist repression. Certainly in the 1985 bombing of MOVE the FBI was all over that and helped plan the attack with the Philly cops, and we have to assume they worked with the police in the attack on the Powelton Village MOVE home in 1978 as well. As a reporter you covered then-mayor Frank Rizzo's press conference following that. So there's quite a bit of history with FBI and police victimization of MOVE.

Mumia: I wouldn't just say Philadelphia police and FBI, and I'll tell you why. The weapons that the Philadelphia police were using were weapons that were not provided by the FBI in Washington. The anti-tank weapons and .50 calibre machine guns they were using were provided by Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, ATF. The bomb components were provided by the FBI, C-4, it's a military explosive. And the helicopter was provided by the Pennsylvania state police. So all of those elements of so-called law enforcement were integrated into one

continued on page 10

May 1985 police firebombing of Philadelphia MOVE commune, approved by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, with explosives and weaponry provided by FBI and BATF, killed eleven people and burned down entire black neighborhood.

Barger/WCAU-TV



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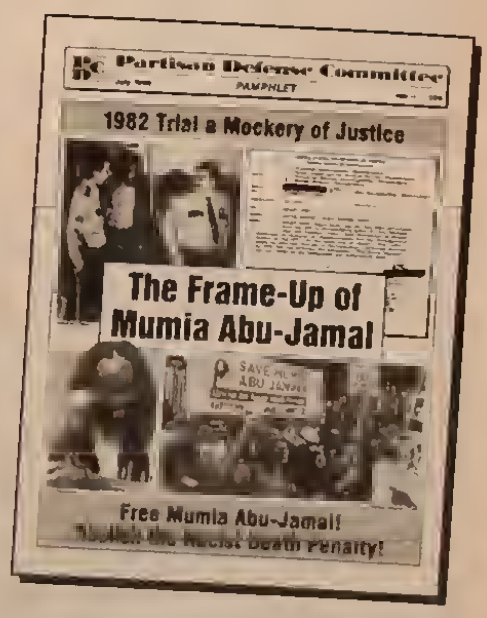

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet exposes government conspiracy to railroad Mumia Abu-Jamal. To order, send $.50 to PDC, P.O. Box 99 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

the army to remain in power for five or even ten years. This is a not-so-veiled threat that elements of the white ruling class might attempt a military coup if the "new" South Africa proves not to be to their liking. And any move by the ANC to purge the white officer corps which still commands the army will explode the fragile neo-apartheid arrangement.

The Government of National Unity—ranging from black African union bureaucrats to white bankers—is bound to fracture, and when it does South Africa will be thrown into a period of violent political conflict and turmoil. Already we are seeing in the province of KwaZulu-Natal that the Inkatha tribalist movement, backed by right-wing white supremacists, has escalated its murderous attacks on ANC supporters. There has also been formed a "Coloureds Resistance Movement" (KWB), fighting for a "homeland" for coloureds and modeling itself on the fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). If the many-sided tensions and conflicts in South African society are not centered around a class axis, they will be fought along racial, ethnic and tribal lines. In conditions of unrelieved poverty, if the nationalist principle prevails, Zulu will be set against Xhosa, black Africans against coloureds and Indians, South Africans against immigrant workers and refugees—and this will be done by self-styled "progressives" in the ANC alliance no less than by open reactionaries. Already the housing program under since-deceased SACP leader Joe Slovo led to an explosion of hostility to coloureds, as the government tried to collect back rents from them (but not from black Africans). A revolutionary workers party must be built to lead the working class in *the struggle for state power*, drawing behind it the rest of the oppressed black African, coloured and Indian masses along with non-racist whites.

Such a revolutionary party will not simply defend the economic interests of the workers against capital but will combat *all* the manifold forms of oppression which beset South Africa: the demolition of squatter camps in the townships and eviction of farm laborers from the land, the deportation of "illegal" immigrants and refugees from neighboring African states, the degradation of women by, for example, such tribalist patriarchal practices as polygamy and *lobola* (bride price). South Africa conforms in an exceptionally clear way to Trotsky's conception of *permanent revolution*: national liberation and social and economic modernization in backward countries can be achieved only through proletarian revolution and its international extension to the advanced capitalist countries.

AFP

May 1994 inauguration of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black president in "power sharing" deal with white capitalist ruling class. At left, deputy president Thabo Mbeki.

"Neoliberalism" Comes to Neo-Apartheid South Africa

The economic bedrock of the apartheid system was the superexploitation of black workers, which enabled the whites (who make up 13 percent of South Africa's population) to enjoy "First World" living conditions. Skilled workers, almost exclusively white, were paid six times as much and middle-level managers 15 times as much as black laborers. ANC and especially SACP/COSATU spokesmen have vowed to eliminate the apartheid wage structure. Legally the color bar has been abolished and blacks can apply for any job. But it is still white management which decides whether or not blacks get the better-paying jobs—and they still do not. More fundamentally, the technical and administrative skills needed to run a modern industrial economy are concentrated in the dominant white caste. Over half of the adult black African population cannot read, a result of the "bantustan education" imposed by the apartheid rulers.

For significant numbers of blacks to become skilled workers, technicians and administrators will therefore require a massive financial expenditure on education and training. Obviously the white capitalists are not going to do this. And the Government of National Unity is committed to not raise taxes on business or otherwise redistribute wealth from the affluent white community to the impoverished black toilers. In fact, the ANC would not do so even if it governed independently of De Klerk's National Party.

Like all popular fronts, the ANC/SACP/COSATU tripartite alliance practices a division of labor between its bourgeois and labor-reformist components. Mandela and his No. 2 man, Thabo Mbeki, reassure the spokesmen for capital at home and abroad that they are committed to serving their interests. South Africa's first black president declared that one of his most important accomplishments was creating "an investor-friendly environment." At the same time, SACP and COSATU leaders are pushing the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which promises dramatic improvements in the conditions of the black masses. For example, it calls for ten years of free, compulsory education for all children in South Africa. But the minister of education has already reneged on this, saying that it will take seven or eight years before such schooling is possible. According to the RDP, a million new houses are to be built in five years. Yet in the first year of the ANC-led regime, a mere 11,000 houses were built with government funds.

Instead of exposing and denouncing the Reconstruction and Development Program for the sham that it is, much of the South African left agitates for the ANC to carry out this utopian, reformist program. Typical in this regard is the Socialist Workers Organisation, part of the British-centered international tendency led by Tony Cliff, which writes: "There is no real shortage of money. The real problem is the greedy minority who control most of it. It's time the ANC stopped trying to impress these scum and got on with meeting RDP promises" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 August 1995). As if the bourgeois party of Mandela, Mbeki, Ramaphosa & Co. could be pressured to act in the interests of the black toilers! The ANC leaders have become the political agents for the greedy minority who control most of the money in South Africa, a job for which they are being quite well rewarded.

Historically, South African capitalism has rested on the superexploitation of black labor, including many contract workers drawn from outside the country's borders, in the mining sector. The profits from the Rand gold fields, along with the platinum, diamond, coal and other mines, have supported a modern manufacturing industry producing both strategic goods (e.g., armaments) and consumer goods (e.g., autos) for the affluent white community. The emergence of a powerful and combative trade-union movement coupled with a particular economic structure has over the past decade raised wages in key manufacturing sectors in South Africa to a level higher than in Latin America and some East Asian countries. For strategic reasons, the Afrikaner nationalist regime sought to maximize the country's economic self-sufficiency through trade protectionism, generous subsidies to business and extensive state ownership and controls. But in agreeing to the "power sharing" arrangement, the white ruling class now expects the ANC to suppress worker militancy and hold down labor costs. And with a black government in Pretoria, the capitalists are no longer willing to carry the overhead costs of a fortress economy.

Despite all the pious lip service to the RDP, the actual program of the Mandela regime conforms to the neoliberal economic model prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank: fiscal austerity, tight control over the money supply, dismantling of trade protectionism, selling off state-owned enterprises or running these on the basis of market profitability. The London *Financial Times* (21 November 1995) points out, "Quasi-Thatcherite supply-side policies are replacing the protection and export subsidies put in place by previous administrations." For example, as part of a cost-cutting program the big state-owned steel firm Iscor plans to reduce its labor force from 48,000 to 42,000 over the next five years. Barlow's, a major manufacturer, is threatening to stop producing household appliances in South Africa because, with reduced tariffs, it cannot compete with cheaper imports from East Asia.

The layoffs generated by the ANC-led government's neoliberal policies occur under conditions, more or less permanent, in which half of the black workforce has no regular, full-time employment. Bourgeois economists project that of the 400,000 black youth who will leave school this year, only between 50,000 and 100,000 will be able to find jobs in the so-called formal sector of the economy, i.e., government bodies, corporations or other white-owned businesses. The large majority will either be unemployed or eke out a living as petty traders, day laborers, doing whatever they can to survive.

Peters/Newsweek

Armed supporters of reactionary Zulu tribalist Inkatha Freedom Party marching in Johannesburg in 1994.

ANC Demobilizing Black Workers Movement

In 1986, the leadership of the newly formed COSATU issued a joint statement with the ANC proclaiming the latter as head of the "national liberation movement." In turn, COSATU was declared to be "an important and integral part" of the "democratic forces of our country." In subsequent years, the unions acted as the main mass combat organizations in undermining the apartheid system. Strikes, even around narrow economic issues, were viewed by the black populace as weakening the white power structure as, in fact, they did.

But now the language of nationalism and "nation building" is being used *against* the black workers movement. ANC leaders are trying to mobilize black sentiment against the unions, claiming that the relatively high wages in the industrial sector are responsible for mass

Weinberg/NY Times

Rural black family's home destroyed last year after eviction by white landowner. A Bolshevik workers party in South Africa is needed that would defend all the oppressed.

Mbuzeni Zulu

Black COSATU trade unionists demonstrate in Johannesburg last June to improve terms of new Labour Relations Act, which aims to shackle labor militancy through class collaboration.

unemployment in the townships and abject poverty in the countryside. Strikes and shop floor militancy are blamed for repelling multinational corporations from investing in South Africa. Mandela has denounced some unions for continuing a policy of resistance rather than switching to "reconstruction."

The new Labour Relations Act (LRA) aims to place the trade-union movement in a straitjacket of tight government control. COSATU general secretary Sam Shilowa, a member of the SACP Central Committee, approvingly stated that the LRA's "primary purpose" is to "minimize conflict on the shop floor." An oppositional resolution by the chemical workers union summed up the nature and intent of this corporatist legislation:

> "The main objective of the new Labour Relations Bill is to push the working class into a collaborating and co-operative relationship with the bosses through the employee based workplace forums. This will undermine the political and ideological fabric of the trade union movement."
>
> —*New Nation*, 27 October 1995

A new, lucrative profession has developed for South African ex-leftists who didn't make it into parliament or government office. They've set up labor mediation services since they speak the same political language as the union bureaucrats, who are in many cases their former comrades-in-arms.

However, it will not be easy to get black workers to accept government-regulated "business unionism," where the fight on the shop floor and picket line is replaced by backroom deals. In June, the metal workers signed a three-year deal with the auto companies, including a no-strike pledge, which was hailed as a model for harmonious labor relations in Mandela's South Africa. Yet a few months later thousands of workers at Volkswagen's giant plant in the Eastern Cape walked out to protest the firing of a fellow worker as a result of a fistfight with a white foreman.

Reuters

Highway blockade by long-distance truckers in September 1994, organized by militant Turning Wheel Workers Union, was dispersed by police and army at gunpoint.

The immediate aftermath of Mandela's election as president in May 1994 saw a sharp upsurge of black labor struggle. Since then, however, the ANC-led government and allied union bureaucrats have succeeded in dampening worker militancy. For the first three quarters of last year, man-hours lost to strikes totaled 870,000 compared to a five-year annual average of 2.6 million. Furthermore, the most significant labor struggles which have taken place have either been defused or defeated outright.

A major auto strike in July-August 1994 was ended on the companies' terms when the government ordered a cut in tariffs on imported cars, a clear threat to the workers' jobs. A month later, a highway blockade by long-distance truckers organized by the militant breakaway Turning Wheel Workers Union was dispersed by the police and army at gunpoint. This September, a strike by municipal workers was shunted onto the track of government mediation. And, most ominously, the nurses strike last fall was condemned as "counterrevolutionary" by SACP/COSATU bureaucrats while the government threatened—and later carried out—mass firings of the nurses.

As a letter recently received from a South African militant reports:

> "The South African society is increasingly becoming divided along racial lines: De Klerk's Nationalist Party was lobbying the extreme right-wing organisations, Constant Viljoen's Freedom Front and the Conservative Party, to form an election pact against the ANC which never succeeded. On the other hand, the Popular Front government is starting to use an iron fist against the working class. I am going to give you typical examples of a growing tendency: Tuesday, 5 September 1995, City Deep Market strike, workers go on strike demanding at least R300 [US$80] minimum a week. The highest paid worker is taking home R140 a week. Bosses offer R26 increase and arrogantly tell workers 'to go to hell' if not satisfied by that dehumanising wage offer—far below the breadline. Workers block the entrance to the market and refuse to move when told to. Police are called—apparatus of organised violence against the whole population. Strikers are brutally forced out while many are arrested, including those with blood-soaked faces."

South African capital and its partners in Wall Street and the City of London cannot and will not long tolerate the powerful and combative black workers movement which developed in the last period of direct white-supremacist rule. Thus, this is a dangerous period for the South African proletariat. Trade-union gains in South Africa today cannot be defended simply with a program of militant trade unionism. Yet this is the line pushed by groups to the left of the ANC/SACP. For example, the International Socialist Movement (ISM), the more leftist of the two Cliffite groups in the country, ran a front-page headline in its press, "Build the Fightback." After denouncing the attacks on the working class carried out by the Government of National Unity, the *Revolutionary Socialist* (August 1995) concludes:

> "We have to rebuild our democratic, rank and file organisation. Our unions are us. They do not belong to the bureaucracy. United on the shopfloor we can win the democracy and independence necessary to fight back against the rotten deal."

This amounts to nothing more than a call for militant *economism* within the framework of neo-apartheid capitalism. But to break the working class and plebeian masses from the nationalist popular-frontism of the tripartite alliance requires a *revolutionary vanguard party fighting for a black-centered workers government.*

Municipal Workers and Nurses Strike

The *anti*-working-class character of the ANC-led regime was clearly demonstrated in different ways by the municipal workers' and nurses' strikes, both of which took place in late September-early October. The first, organized by the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), involved some 50,000 workers in more than 40 cities and towns in four provinces. The strike was centered in Johannesburg, the country's major metropolis, and also embraced the capital city of Pretoria.

In the "new" South Africa as in the old, striking black workers invariably face attacks by the police. In Johannesburg, they used tear gas and stun grenades, which proved ineffectual against the strikers. But in Pretoria the cops used rubber bullets and in Pietersburg live ammunition. At least one striker was killed.

The strike in Johannesburg was basically directed against the apartheid wage structure. The local authorities have divided Greater Johannesburg into four sub-districts, each of which has the power to negotiate its own separate agreement with the municipal workers union. This would mean that workers in the affluent white suburbs and downtown business district would get far higher wages than those in the impoverished black townships, thus "perpetuating the social and economic apartheid that we have inherited" in the words of local SAMWU leader Mbongeni Mahaso (*Johannesburg Star*, 27 September 1995).

The strike began in spectacular fashion on September 26, as the workers stormed through the streets overturning garbage bins, uprooting trees and opening underground water pipes. The bourgeois media was scandalized by "the trashing of downtown Jo'burg." But the union bureaucrats used the "trashing" of Jo'burg—letting the workers blow off steam—as a substitute for a genuinely effective strike. No attempt was made to cut off electric power or the water supply. Nor were picket lines set up at key workplaces to prevent scabbing.

An experienced trade unionist and supporter of the International Communist League, who was in Johannesburg at the time, reported:

> "Several times during these rallies I saw angry workers rush the podium and ask why were some of their members working during the strike? The bureaucrats handled this by retorting, 'Hey, you're asking the wrong people,' implying that the workers who were angry about this development should be 'talking' to the scabs. But no picket lines were set up to keep them out. It was quite clear that the bureaucrats were not fighting to win and were maneuvering to get the ranks back to work, which they finally managed to achieve eight days later by accepting a mediation deal."

The strike saw the white ruling-class parties and ANC use a typical hard cop/soft cop approach. In the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council, representatives of the National Party moved to take "disciplinary action" against all strikers. The ANC councilmen *abstained*, thereby allowing the motion to pass. At the same time, ANC labor minister Tito Mboweni entered the scene, stating that "all of us would like to see normality return as quickly as possible," and called for statutory mediation with the threat of compulsory arbitration if that didn't work. The SAMWU bureaucrats were more than willing to "return to normality," that is, the neo-apartheid system.

Because the municipal workers were in a COSATU-affiliated union, the ANC/SACP leaders responded to their strike through diplomatic maneuvering. The nurses, however, were given the bare-knuckles treatment. This strike—or rather its underlying causes—also demonstrated in a very clear way the sham of the ANC's social reform program embodied in the Reconstruction and Development Program.

One of the first acts of the Mandela government was to decree free health care for all children under the age of six at local clinics and hospitals. But *no*

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

additional funds were allocated to hire more nurses and other health care workers. Quite the contrary! As part of the regime's commitment to fiscal austerity, government spending cuts closed down hospital wards, deprived clinics of drugs and medical staff of equipment needed to treat patients. The lines in front of hospitals and clinics are endless, people in need of treatment have to wait forever and the quality of public health care is poor since nurses and other health care workers are terribly overburdened. In some hospitals nurses have to single-handedly manage wards of up to 50 patients.

As in other countries, many nurses in South Africa, who are overwhelmingly black or coloured, consider themselves "professionals" distinct from the mass of industrial workers. Only a minority of nurses are organized by the COSATU union covering health care workers. The main body of nurses sought to represent their interests in a newly formed association, Nursing Forum, which, however, was not recognized by the government as a union.

When the nurses demanded a 33 percent across-the-board pay increase and improved working conditions, ANC officials flat out said that no more money was available for health care. Mandela got on television and in effect told the nurses to go to hell. The minister of health, Nkosazana Zuma, sought to whip up popular feeling against them, declaring that a "strike will put innocent lives at risk." In addition to the demagogic attacks of the ANC leaders, the nurses also confronted a pervasive disdain for women in a society saturated with patriarchal attitudes. An article sympathetic to the nurses in the *Johannesburg Star* (7 October 1995) noted that "the strike escalated to the point that it did because the strikers were women working in a profession whose main attributes are compassion and servility."

But the nurses were anything but servile. On the picket lines, many carried signs reading "Away with Zuma" and sang derogatory songs they had made up about Mandela, whom they labeled "the driver of the gravy train." This was something new. It has become commonplace for black working people to complain that the ANC-led government has done nothing to improve their lives and to denounce "the gravy train." However, Mandela was considered sacrosanct. His personal authority is a key factor in holding down the explosive contradictions generated by the neo-apartheid arrangement.

Thus the nurses' attack on Mandela, far more than the strike as such, threw the leaders of the tripartite alliance into a frenzy. A number of SACP/COSATU bureaucrats branded the nurses' action a "counterrevolutionary strike." This

Spartacist

Growing discontent with neo-apartheid exploitation was reflected in nurses' strike last September. Nurses called Mandela "driver of the gravy train."

seems to have caused some tension within the SACP, for the *African Communist* (Third Quarter 1995) criticized the "allegation, which is sometimes heard from within our own alliance ranks," that the striking nurses and also municipal workers had been "manipulated by third force elements."

In directly attacking Mandela the nurses showed themselves far to the left of self-styled "revolutionary socialists" in South Africa. These groups criticize the ANC regime in ever-so-polite terms and never in a way disrespectful to Mandela. Thus, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) of Neville Alexander issued a leaflet, "Support Nurses and Municipal Workers," which doesn't even mention the role of the ANC/SACP in breaking the first strike and sabotaging the other.

Without a trade-union organization of their own, without the support of and even facing opposition from COSATU, and with the prospect of wholesale dismissals, the nurses resorted to a series of one-day wildcats. But this tactic could not be sustained and the strike petered out by mid-October, broken by the ANC regime and its labor lieutenants. In the aftermath, *6,000 nurses* were dismissed by the provincial government of the Eastern Cape headed by Raymond Mhlaba, who is also national chairman of the SACP!

For a Bolshevik Workers Party in South Africa!

In the weeks leading up to the nationwide local elections in early November, ANC spokesmen openly voiced concern that the black populace was becoming apathetic and disillusioned with the slow pace of social reforms. Even De Klerk demagogically lambasted the ANC for failing to build houses, while at the same time lashing out at strike actions for "disrupting services."

Much of the South African left moved to shore up the ANC's faltering popularity and authority. Under the headline "Don't Give the Nats a Chance," the *Socialist Worker* (6 September 1995) maintained "we must vote for the ANC in order to defend the reforms we have won from the system" while adding "we shouldn't be under any illusions that they will lead a fight for full realisation of our needs." The bourgeois-nationalist ANC has become the *main political agent* administering the exploitation of South Africa's black toilers by domestic and foreign capital. But the Socialist Workers Organisation, self-described supporters of "workers struggles against the bosses' greed," portray the ANC as representing the interests, albeit inadequately and partially, of the black masses.

In order to divert attention from their own right-wing social and economic policies, Mandela & Co. made a show of political militancy against the white right. Two days before the elections, the ministry of safety and security announced that arrest warrants had been issued for former defense minister Magnus Malan and ten retired military officers for their involvement in a 1987 massacre of black Africans, mainly women and children, in KwaZulu-Natal. Malan and his colleagues were the supposed "third force" which financed and trained the terrorist squads of the Zulu tribalist Inkatha in its war against the ANC. Everyone in South Africa knows that the former defense minister of the white-supremacist regime acted with the full knowledge and approval of his then boss, F.W. De Klerk. And Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, now a minister in the Government of National Unity, was obviously also deeply involved.

An important, though unwritten, clause in the "power sharing" agreement was that officials of the former apartheid regime would *not* be prosecuted for their crimes. Key sections of the white ruling class now see Mandela & Co. breaking this promise under the pressure of the black masses. De Klerk predictably declared that "selective prosecutions are totally unacceptable" and that the action against his former defense minister was harming "racial reconciliation." For the first time since Mandela was elected president, talk of a military coup by the white officer caste is rife in South Africa.

As proletarian revolutionaries, we, of course, support the prosecution of former officials of the apartheid state for their crimes against the black populace. But to call on the ANC, as does the left-Cliffite International Socialist Movement (ISM), to imprison the principal leaders of the white capitalist class can only fuel dangerous illusions. The headline of the November 1995 *Revolutionary Socialist* demands "Get Malan—Now Charge De Klerk, Botha and All the Rest." To begin with, everyone in South Africa knows that the idea that Mandela would now arrest and prosecute De Klerk is absurd. This would lead to massive capitalist flight, the cessation of foreign investment and the immediate threat of a military coup. In a more general sense, the ISM feeds into the notion that the ANC could and would, under the pressure of the masses, destroy the power of the white ruling elite.

The ANC, perhaps bolstered by the arrest of Malan, won a clear-cut victory in the November 1 local elections, gaining two-thirds of the vote with a respectable turnout among black Africans. However, this vote was heavily concentrated among older blacks, whose deep-seated loyalty to the ANC derives from the decades-long struggle against the apartheid state. Furthermore, shortly before the elections the Mandela regime had falsely promised to raise benefits for old-age pensioners.

Expressing the approval of American imperialism, the *New York Times* (12 November 1995) commented on the elections: "the results suggest that the voting black majority is an anomaly in this day and age: an electorate with a high degree of tolerance and patience, despite the ruling party's shortcomings." What the results actually indicate is that *in the absence of a revolutionary working-class alternative* the black masses retain their traditional loyalty to the ANC against the parties of the white ruling class.

The elections did not, and by their nature could not, reveal the increasing discontent and tensions within the ANC's social base, especially its strategic core: the unionized industrial proletariat. Those discontents and tensions were clearly revealed at a meeting of the Witwatersrand regional shop stewards council in August, where delegates blasted the Labour Relations Bill as a "miserable compromise." Far more significantly, some even called for an end to the tripartite alliance "so that we can fight the enemy." "How can we fight with the government," one shop steward asked rhetorically, "if we are in an alliance with it?" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, September 1995).

Reuters

Former apartheid defense minister Magnus Malan, recently charged in 1987 massacre of ANC supporters.

What kind of struggle is necessary to break the black workers movement from the bourgeois-nationalist ANC? The conventional designation of the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance" expresses an important fact about South African politics. It is the Communist Party which is the *crucial link* between the now openly pro-capitalist ANC leaders like Mandela and Mbeki and the organized proletariat. Since it was legalized in 1990, the SACP has become a mass party with an officially claimed membership of 75,000. Even more importantly, the party exercises hegemonic leadership within COSATU, not only in terms of the top officials but also at the shop steward level. At the same time, the SACP has been built on the basis of its "alliance"—in fact, deep interpenetration—with the ANC for over half a century. Thus the struggle for the political independence of the South African working class will necessarily require a *deep split* in the SACP, breaking worker militants and genuinely leftist intellectuals from the right-wing leaders like Jeremy Cronin, Ronnie Kasrils and Sam Shilowa.

What would be the political basis for such a split? Not to pursue militant trade unionism within the framework of the

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neo-apartheid arrangement. The black proletariat must struggle to displace the ANC as the leader of the oppressed black African, colored and Indian peoples. This can be achieved only through the formation of a revolutionary party, a Bolshevik workers party based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the international working class in history.

South Africa—indeed, all of southern Africa—needs a genuine reconstruction and development program based on socialist economic planning. Spokesmen for the ANC/SACP and its apologists internationally maintain they have no choice but to accommodate capitalism in the post-Soviet world. An article on the South African left in *Against the Current* (September-October 1995), sponsored by the American left social-democratic Solidarity group, argues it is necessary to recognize "the limits of what is possible in this period, in both the South African and the global post-Cold War contexts." In other words, for these advocates of "the politics of the possible," there can be no prospects for socialist revolution in South Africa.

As Trotskyists, we certainly do not believe it is possible to build an isolated socialist society on the southern tip of Africa, besieged and attacked by world imperialism. It was precisely the pressure of world capitalism which led to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, undermined for decades by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Like the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, a workers revolution in neo-apartheid South Africa would face the powerful forces of Western imperialism, from an economic blockade to direct military intervention. But compared to 1917, when the European bourgeois order was massively disrupted by the World War and extension of the Russian Revolution to the West was an immediate and palpable possibility, black workers in South Africa, geographically distant from the main concentrations of the industrial proletariat, now confront emboldened Western imperialism.

Spartacist

Striking municipal workers in Johannesburg, September 1995. Combative workers movement must break with ANC-led nationalist popular front and fight for black-centered workers government.

To recognize this truth is not to argue, as does the South African Communist Party, that the South African workers movement and oppressed nonwhite masses must accept the framework set by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Rather, the establishment of a black-centered workers government in South Africa would reopen the global struggle which began with the Russian October Revolution. The decisive issue would turn on the confrontation between labor and capital in the advanced capitalist powers.

As we wrote shortly after the installation of the ANC-led regime:

> "A socialist revolution in South Africa would find *strategically powerful allies within the imperialist centers*. In particular, it would have an enormously radicalizing impact on blacks in the United States, who have strongly identified with the struggle against white supremacy in the apartheid state. And it would reverberate in particular among the nonwhite masses throughout the Western Hemisphere (notably the millions of black people in Brazil), West Indians and South Asians in Britain, and North Africans and black Africans in West Europe."
>
> —"South Africa Powder Keg: Part 4," *WV* No. 606, 16 September 1994

Thus, the fight to build a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa is inseparable from the struggle we in the International Communist League are waging to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International. ■

Dockers...

(continued from page 3)

of the bosses' state (which they want [Labour Party leader Tony] Blair to administer), that they haven't even given official backing to the dockers. Thanks to the T&G leadership's treachery, the port bosses have been able to bring in scab "replacement" workers to work the docks. Repeatedly, mass rallies in support of the dockers have brought out thousands of supporters from across the country, including Fire Brigades Union members who have carried out a series of strikes against the job-slashing attacks of the Labour-controlled Liverpool local authority. *But demonstrations alone will not win this dispute: only a complete shut-down of the port will stop the scab operation altogether!*

The 500 dockers who are on strike have the determination to win this struggle, but they don't have the power on their own. The labour movement as a whole has the potential, but it is shackled by a trade-union leadership which *across the board* fears unleashing that power because they don't want to jeopardise Tony Blair's election and their own cozy relations with the capitalist bosses. They quake in fear of a strike declared "illegal" by the bosses' state. Well, the only "illegal" strike is one that loses! Strike action alongside the dockers at Vauxhall Ellesmere Port and Ford Halewood would make Merseyside a launching pad for the working-class fightback we so sorely need.

No Deportations! Down With the Asylum Bill!

All across Europe there has been a resurgence of anti-immigrant hysteria and blatant racism, as each national capitalist class seeks to divert the anger of the working masses by pointing the finger at immigrants and minorities as the real "enemy." The British ruling class today, no less than during the Empire, rests on brutal divide-and-rule: the Asylum and Immigration Bill threatens thousands of refugees with deportation, torture and death, while condemning the vast majority of asylum seekers to a life of begging, soup kitchens, or death from hunger and cold through denying them *all* state benefits. Besides mass protest, the trade unions must block the implementation of the racist checks on immigration status by government agencies and employers.

These government attacks fuel race terror on the streets. Fascist attacks on Asians and blacks have become an endemic part of British society—reinforced by the official action of the capitalist state. In December, Alton Manning, a 33-year-old black man, died after a violent attack by warders in the privately-run Blackenhurst prison in Redditch. The same month, cops beat to death a young black Brixton man, Wayne Douglas, seven months after the similar bludgeoning to death of Brian Douglas. When protesters gathered in Brixton on 14 December to demonstrate against the killing of Wayne Douglas, they were met by a huge cop mobilisation. The cops openly carried sub-machine guns that night. When the crowd began to dissipate, the cops moved in, jabbing people with their batons. The resulting riot they provoked was an outpouring of youth anger and frustration involving running battles with cops and attacks on shops and cars. The police and press responded with an hysterical witch hunting campaign accusing Guyana-born barrister Rudy Narayan and other demo speakers of "igniting violence." *Down with the police and bosses' media witch hunt! Defend the Brixton anti-racist protesters!*

The great miners strike of 1984-85 won powerful support in the black and Asian communities in British cities, precisely because these communities saw in the miners the potential power to inflict a decisive blow against the whole apparatus of police brutality and oppression which was also aimed at *them*. Similarly, the international campaign to save the life of the American black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal has galvanised support from workers around the world who understand that the racist imperialist American state which wants to execute him is *their* enemy as well. Such solidarity can be a powerful force propelling working-class struggle, if it is consciously mobilised and channelled by a revolutionary programme and party.

The capitalists attempt to use nationalism and the "national interest," as they attempt to use racism, to keep the working classes of the world divided and at each other's throats. To protect "British" jobs, workers are supposed to accept worsening conditions and pay. Such protectionist poison fuels racism, and stands in stark contrast to the recent acts of international solidarity with the Liverpool dockers. British workers cannot see the Australian and American workers who blacked [boycotted] the scab ships as the "enemy," but as their firmest allies in the class struggle. The protectionist rubbish pushed by so-called left-wingers in and around the Labour Party, such as the call for import controls on foreign coal advocated by Arthur Scargill, is a reactionary non-answer to the "free market" ideology of Major and Blair.

The Labour Party Has Never Had a Socialist Soul

Much to the dismay of the majority of left Labour MPs (and of not a few Labour-loyal "revolutionary" groups), Arthur Scargill is making noises about breaking from Tony Blair's discredited "New Labour" Party, and forming a breakaway Socialist Labour Party [whose formation he announced in a January 13 press conference]. The Socialist Workers Party (in line with Labour left Tony Benn) cautions against departing from Labour, announcing that "a vote for Labour is a class vote" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 November 1995). This is a counterposition to Scargill, not from the left, but from the right. Workers Power enthuses over Scargill's SLP initiative but their fundamental loyalty to Labourism is captured graphically by the statement that a "revolutionary" Socialist Labour Party "would call for a vote for Labour in any constituency where there was no revolutionary candidate, and continue to demand that Labour acts in the interests of those workers" (*Workers Power*, December 1995).

The problem with Scargill's proposal is not that he wants to break from the Labour Party, but the reformist politics of the party that he wants to create. Scargill cites Blair's junking of the 1918 constitutional Clause IV as the definitive betrayal of Labour's "socialist" soul. But Clause IV was never more than a figleaf to improve Labour's "socialist" credentials in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. The Labour Party is a *bourgeois workers party*, with a working-class base but a pro-capitalist leadership. Blair wants to turn back the clock, and sever the links with the trade unions: to abandon even the pretence of class independence. Arthur Scargill wants to maintain the pretence.

But the working class doesn't need a pretence—it needs the real thing: a party which actually represents the separate class interests of the proletariat, which can only be satisfied by a *workers state*. A revolutionary party will be built by widening the contradictions and antagonism between the aspirations and objective interests of the working class, centrally organised in the trade unions, against the policies and actions of the pro-capitalist leadership. Marxists seek to win the support of the working-class base of reformist parties like Labour, in order to build up a vanguard party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, which can lead the working class to victory in the class battles which *will* rend apart the new world disorder. The purpose of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League, is to pursue this perspective, in order to bring about the overthrow of bloody British imperialism, its monarchy, House of Lords and parliament, and to replace it with a federation of workers republics. For a workers government based on workers councils (soviets) to expropriate the bourgeoisie! ■

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California Bans Prisoner Interviews

As the U.S. prison population grows daily, the country's racist rulers rapidly eliminate what little is left of "prisoners' rights." The chain gang is back in the South, access to education is withdrawn, legal services for prisoners to challenge the brutality of racist guards and their bosses are on the chopping block. Now, in what will most likely start a trend across the country, California prison officials are banning inmates from face-to-face interviews with reporters.

Prison authorities contend that their motivation is to eliminate what they deem to be interviews for "entertainment" purposes and allow only those they consider "legitimate news." These draconian restrictions are of a piece with Supreme Court decisions and Congressional legislation to do away with the right of *habeas corpus* challenges to convictions and sentences. They are intended to prevent exposure of hideous prison conditions like those at the notoriously brutal Pelican Bay "supermaximum" prison near the Oregon border, and to prevent victims of the racist frame-up system from proving their innocence.

Foremost among the prisoners they are silencing is former L.A. Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been the subject of a number of newspaper and TV reports disproving the charges on which he was imprisoned. For over 25 years, Geronimo has been imprisoned for a 1968 murder in Santa Monica which the government knows he did not commit. In his recently published book, *FBI Secrets: An Agent's Exposé*, former agent M. Wesley Swearingen reveals that there were at least *three* different sets of FBI wiretaps on Panther offices revealing that Geronimo was 400 miles away in Oakland at the time of the murder.

Geronimo has tenaciously fought to prove his innocence and to expose the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operations against the Panthers. Every time his case has caught the interest of the press and won increased support, prison officials have retaliated. In January 1994, when FOX TV aired a three-part series detailing his innocence, prison officials immediately transferred Geronimo to Mule Creek prison, placed him in a double cell and intensified a pattern of interfering with his right to counsel, including restricting paralegal visits. Litigation challenging the ongoing harassment of Geronimo, first filed in 1989 by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West and Geronimo's attorney Stuart Hanlon, is still pending. Three months ago, prison officials turned down *60 Minutes*' request to interview Geronimo.

In a similar vein, Pennsylvania death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal suffered punitive measures following announcement of the publication last year of his book, *Live from Death Row*. Visits from paralegal assistants were restricted and Jamal's legal correspondence was intercepted; in addition, he was barred from speaking with the media for eight months. Jamal described his fight against this harassment in the first part of our interview with him (see *WV* No. 636, 5 January).

Drop the ban on interviews with prisoners! Free all class-war prisoners!

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, was interviewed in 1987 by *60 Minutes* (right), which was refused further interviews.

CBS

Mumia...

(continued from page 5)

unholy objective, to destroy MOVE, kill them root and branch. Again, when you look at the corollaries between what happened in Philadelphia, May 13, 1985, and the political murders that happened in South Africa against the anti-apartheid movement, the ANC, SWAPO and so forth, you see how there was no difference between one branch of the government and another, because their objectives were ultimately the same. They worked together no matter what their department was, and their objective was to destroy revolutionary organizations.

WV: The first opportunity our organization had to actually work with you was when you gave a very powerful statement to the Labor/Black Mobilization, in November of 1988, in Philadelphia against the Ku Klux Klan and the skinheads. The PDC wrote to the state to demand that you be given a special parole to address the rally, because you belonged there.

Mumia: Right.

WV: And of course they refused.

Mumia: Of course.

WV: But I can say this: at the victory party after the rally you could hear a pin drop when your statement was played by tape. People were exhausted, they were cold, and they were very happy, they were very jubilant. It was powerful.

Mumia: Long live John Africa.

WV: We were struck in reading what of your FBI files were made public that apparently one of your first acts of protest was at a rally commemorating the victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Mumia: Yeah, I think it was 1969.

WV: Well, this year the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II was used by the ruling class to promote a very ugly wave of anti-Asian racism. Clearly, the U.S. sees Japan as one of its main competitors in the post-Soviet world. So I wondered if you had any comments on this.

Mumia: The question is to really talk about the future. Unless masses of people around the world begin to organize in *their* best interests, then the elite, in terms of the ruling class of their countries, will begin organizing them *against* their best interests. War is never in the interests of the poor, never in the interests of the working people, never in the interests of the masses of the country, but always in the interests of the industrialists, or the military-industrial complex. So unless people organize to push forward those interests in their countries, then they will be organized against their best interests, against their very life, by utilizing their own nationalism, racism, all of those chauvinisms.

When you think about wartime, no matter what you're talking about—Vietnam War, Korean War, world war, whatever—they utilize those real deep-seated hatreds. That means people from America going to Vietnam and killing over 2 million people and calling them "gooks." People from the United States going to Japan and talking about "Japs"—that racist projection that is so easily used by the state to achieve its narrow interests, and its economic interests. But they're never the people's interests. So they should organize, they should fight, organize and fight to create a war against the rulers.

WV: I wondered if you might have a comment on Lynne Abraham's trip to Poland, where she said that if you're going to have capitalism, you need capital punishment.

Mumia: I think the real reason you need capital punishment, of course, is tied to the destruction of the capital infrastructure in terms of jobs we need, in terms of industry unable to serve the needs of this country, in terms of not hiring people. They know that there are people who are going to rebel against the poverty and hunger and homelessness that's going to result. They need places to cage that growing number. They need those places.

WV: In closing, I wonder if you have any additional comments for our readers?

Mumia: Well, I thank the readers for providing me a platform. As any writer, the best thing for me writing is to be read. And I thank your readers for reading my writings. It makes me feel as if I'm a part of your lives, and it makes me less isolated. I should also let you know the latest issue, *WV* No. 635, was held up by the prison.

WV: It's been a privilege, and we look forward to hearing more from you in the future.

Mumia: Give my love to everybody. ■

Lipchitz/AP

Emergency press conferences by international writers' group PEN protesting impending execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal were held in Paris (above) and New York City, 1 August 1995.

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NYC Strike...

(continued from page 12)

lower wage levels of maintenance workers in other parts of the country. The building owners' union-busting assault in what is still the strongest bastion of organized labor in the U.S. is a frontal challenge. As one striker told *Workers Vanguard*, "They want to bust our union, like they did to PATCO" air traffic controllers in 1981.

The *New York Times* (15 January) headlined, "High-Stakes Strike: Building Workers' Walkout May Set Union Pattern Nationwide," noting that new AFL-CIO president John Sweeney came out of Local 32B-32J. Everyone is watching to see how the shock waves of the wretched betrayal of the Caterpillar strike (see page 12) are felt in his hometown. While claiming to represent a "new voice for American workers," Sweeney, now a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, is no less wedded to class collaboration than "Lame" Kirkland. Instead of preparing the ranks for this battle, he came to New York last month to address an audience of businessmen, including many real estate tycoons: "Offering an olive branch, he said he and the labor movement might tone down their confrontational oratory and adopt a cooperative attitude if business would treat workers fairly and with respect," the *Times* reported. But while Sweeney was begging for "cooperation," the bosses were gearing up for union-busting.

The *Wall Street Journal* (12 January) reported that the strike is taking a toll on package deliveries, but even so UPS drivers are allowing office workers to pick up packages on the street and bring them upstairs. Without the organized support of the unions, the picket lines will remain like sieves. In the first few days of the strike, Teamster-organized trash haulers not only crossed picket lines, but on several occasions threatened the strikers, brandishing pipes and shovels! Teamster officials have claimed no knowledge of this, but as yet have not officially told drivers not to cross the lines or service struck buildings.

Victory in this strike centrally depends on the *organized solidarity of other unions*. The Teamsters, including UPS drivers, are key—they can cut off deliveries. Moreover, many Fed-Ex workers, who are not unionized, have been refusing to cross the picket lines. A militant Teamster leadership would use this opportunity as a springboard to begin unionizing this key transport company nationwide. But under "reform" president Ron Carey, the Teamsters are saddled with a leadership that was installed by the federal government, which still effectively runs the union. Carey is himself a member of the Sweeney "team."

Scabs hired before the strike immediately started appearing inside the office buildings. That was to be expected, but the real scandal is that union electricians, operating engineers, plumbers and elevator repairmen are crossing picket lines with the approval of both 32B-32J and their own union tops! One worker outside the World Trade Center (WTC) told *Workers Vanguard*, "We should shut the whole place down. All the unions should be out."

Dozens of janitors gathered outside the Twin Towers in the first days of the strike to block the street near the main loading dock, confronting delivery drivers and turning many of them away. Half of WTC's 600-plus janitors are women who have been instrumental in stopping deliveries. But at hundreds of smaller buildings, the pickets mostly consist of only two, three or four workers who can barely cover the main entrance.

Wherever 32B-32J picketers gather, there are women and men, West Indian and East European, black and white and Hispanic, recent immigrants and native-born, fighting together—notable in a city plagued by racism and rampant cop terror against minorities. Multiracial class struggle is essential to this strike and to every advance of the working class. As part of their divide-and-rule strategy, the real estate bosses are looking to use desperately poor, undocumented immigrant workers to scab on the building strike. A class-struggle leadership would undercut this racist ploy by fighting for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*, and for a *union hiring hall*, to fairly distribute the available work and also protect high-seniority workers from victimization. *For jobs for all, through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!*

WV Photo

Labor must defend the oppressed! New York demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal last August drew 1,000 people, including contingents from SSEU Local 371, Local 1199 hospital workers, Mail Handlers and Teamsters.

Playing by the Bosses' Rules

On the third day of the strike, New York City was hit with one of the worst blizzards on record, piling snow up on sidewalks, outside building entrances and loading docks. But when Mayor Giuliani threatened striking janitors with arrest if they interfered with snow removal, Local 32B-32J president Gus Bevona ordered his members to cooperate with the scabherding bosses and city authorities while $2/hour snow shovelers took their jobs.

Meanwhile, the strikers are getting practically no information from the union. Frustration over the conduct of the strike, which seems to be just dragging on, is mounting. The $50 per week strike benefits are scarcely enough to get to and from the picket lines. Bevona is talking about the strike going on "for a long time," but every day that scab cleaners and scab deliveries skip across the picket lines strengthens the union-busters.

On January 10, a meeting of the Central Labor Council drew over 100 officials from New York unions to discuss how to deal with the strike. At a press conference the next day, Bevona declared that the other unions would be "honoring our picket lines" and support the strike "any way they can." However, no officials from other unions showed up, and when pressed to explain exactly what the Teamsters and skilled trades would do, he said they would only do what they could "legally"—i.e., whatever the bosses will allow. He added, "What that means remains to be seen."

Bevona's business unionism is a dead end. But the only opposition to Bevona within the union is an outfit frequently touted in the bourgeois press. To supposedly fight corruption, "Members for a Better Union" is playing a treacherous game of suing the union and local officials in the bosses' courts. Letting prosecutors and court-appointed monitors pry into union affairs is the kiss of death for workers' struggle. Labor's got to clean its own house!

Going to the courts against the union feeds right into the employers' strike-breaking. Striking janitors have already suffered close to a hundred arrests. Police have taken to ambushing strikers: hiding in the back of delivery trucks, cops pounce on picket line militants. Many strikers are learning that the police are on the other side of the class line. Breaking strikes is as fundamental to their job as terrorizing urban ghettos and barrios. And scandalously, Local 32B-32J includes some of the building security guards, whose job is to act as a private auxiliary to the cops. Police, "correction" officers, prison guards and all the bosses' uniformed thugs are not part of the labor movement!

Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

A lot of the devastation and decay of this metropolis can be placed at the doorstep of real estate speculators. The Rockefellers were the granddaddies of them all. Today the names Leona Helmsley and Donald Trump epitomize the rezoning, rent-raising and profit-gouging practices of this propertied elite. While tens of thousands of homeless people have been thrown into freezing streets because of extortionate rent increases, the Helmsleys and Trumps are claiming poverty and inability to pay the janitors' wages because of supposedly high vacancy rates and inadequate commercial rents. Yet vacancy rates for commercial space in Midtown and lower Manhattan are down and rents are sky high. Meanwhile, their pols in City Hall just gave themselves raises averaging more than what the 32B-32J workers make in an entire year.

NYC labor officialdom's "strategy" for fighting layoffs, privatization and Giuliani's replacement of laid-off unionized municipal workers with "workfare" recipients is to endlessly lobby their supposed "friends of labor" in the Democrat-controlled City Council, while doing "anything they can" to suppress class struggle. Meanwhile, hospital workers Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera (a longtime vice president of the state Democratic Party) has drained the union treasury lobbying the legislature in Albany against budget cutbacks—with nothing to show for it. While these labor misleaders beg for more crumbs from Albany and City Hall, the two million union members in the state are under an all-sided attack by both Democrats and Republicans.

So far, New York's labor traitors have worked hand in glove with Giuliani to knife the poor and kept a lid on the seething discontent at their base. But in November, teachers rebelled against social-democratic union president Sandra Feldman, voting down a five-year contract she worked out with Giuliani which froze wages until 1998. Meanwhile, Stanley Hill, president of the 120,000-member AFSCME District Council 37, is sweating bullets trying to ram through a similar package for city workers. And in late December, the heavily black and Hispanic Local 420 municipal hospital workers, who face massive layoffs and closures, voted against Hill's contract by 4,402 to 34! The sentiment is there for an explosion of union struggle, which could link up with the janitors' strike, but what's missing is the leadership to take it forward.

In his own way, John Sweeney recognizes this potential for an explosive labor upsurge—and fears it like the plague. Remarking on how impressed he was by the recent mass strikes in France, the AFL-CIO chief quickly added, "I hope it never comes to that here in America." From failing to build picket lines to refusing to defend black people against pervasive cop terror, the labor bureaucrats are sworn enemies of class struggle against the capitalist rulers. The key to unleashing labor's muscle is to sweep out the pro-Democratic Party agents of capital within the unions, and transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

A class-struggle leadership of the labor movement will be forged in the fight for a workers party. This is what the Spartacist League fights for, a party that champions the cause of all the oppressed as part of the struggle for a workers government that expropriates the propertied exploiters. That is the road to an egalitarian socialist society that will provide homes, jobs, education and a future for all working people and minorities. ■

Peru...

(continued from page 2)

voiced their concern that Ms. Berenson, an American citizen, was tried without any rights in Peru's special military courts. Her trial, as well as those of the members of Túpac Amaru, before a masked military judge, in which they were not allowed to call any witnesses or confront their accusers, was a travesty. Countless fighters for the oppressed have already been sentenced by those courts to Peru's notorious jails, and millions are racked by starvation and disease under President Fujimori's austerity programs championed by Washington. We demand that Miguel Rincón, Lori Berenson and all leftist victims of government repression be immediately freed.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein

CAT Sellout...

(continued from page 12)

strike action, let alone an industry-wide strike. The first big strike was called off in April 1992, just one day after the AFL-CIO endorsed Democrat Bill Clinton for president. For the next two years they ran an "in-plant strategy" work slowdown that resulted in dozens of activists being victimized by the company while amassing scores of (still unresolved) Labor Board complaints. When rank-and-file anger erupted into another major strike in June 1994, the bureaucrats substituted chauvinist appeals to Clinton's government to "defend the American Dream" for a hard-nosed fight to stop CAT's scabs with mass pickets.

Throughout this fight, working people across the Midwest were itching for a chance to win one for labor. Tens of thousands would have eagerly responded to the call for mass pickets to shut down Caterpillar, which is exactly why the UAW International never made such an appeal. To organize such a fight, a class-struggle leadership is needed which is unremittingly opposed to the capitalist, racist Democratic Party and which refuses to bow before the dictates of bourgeois legality. What's needed is a revolutionary workers party such as we of the Spartacist League are striving to build. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to NYC Building Workers Strike!

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

WV Photo

World Trade Center, January 10: Striking building workers picket loading dock. All NYC labor must honor Local 32B-32J picket lines to win this strike.

On the morning of January 4, over 30,000 building maintenance workers began their strike against New York City's multimillionaire real estate barons. Streaming out of skyscrapers like the Empire State Building, World Trade Center and Rockefeller Center, the commercial building workers represented by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32B-32J slung red-and-white picket signs over their shoulders and braced themselves against bosses and scabs, as well as record snowfall and arctic cold. With pickets all over Manhattan's business districts, this is a very visible strike. Over 1,300 buildings are struck, including such citadels of capitalist greed as the New York Stock Exchange and Trump Tower.

Negotiations between the Realty Advisory Board (RAB), representing the filthy rich building owners and property managers, and Local 32B-32J broke off over the landlords' demand that newly hired workers have their pay slashed by 40 percent. This union-busting two-tier wage demand is the key issue of the strike. Although the RAB cutthroats reportedly demanded a slew of other givebacks, these have not been revealed by either union or management negotiators. But 32B-32J strikers across the city keenly understand that this is a recipe for getting rid of the current workers. As one striker said, "They'll find reasons to let us go one by one and then they'll put in new guys at a much lower wage."

The existence of the union and the jobs of every one of its workers are at stake in this battle. A hard-fought strike by this heavily integrated workforce could be resoundingly popular with the ground-down working population of New York. *But the passive, legalistic road being pursued by the union bureaucracy is leading to disaster.* Even at the biggest sites, the picket lines are not being organized to *stop* anything, but rather as moral witness appeals. To win this one you need picket lines at every location that *nobody and nothing crosses*: no fuel deliveries, no mail, no UPS or Fed-Ex packages, no garbage pickup! If the skilled trades walk out, building system breakdowns could effectively make office towers uninhabitable.

Mobilizations of pickets drawing in other sectors of city labor should mass at key sites like the World Trade Center and Rockefeller Center to *shut them down*. NYC workers, who are themselves facing Mayor Giuliani's budget ax, should be mobilized in the streets and on the picket line to see this strike through to victory. If every union in town honored the elementary labor principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*, the strike could be won in a matter of days. But to do that will mean going head-on against the powers of finance capital that run this city, and their politicians, cops and courts.

This is the *enemy* that has to be defeated, and the biggest *obstacle* to doing so is the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. They police the unions on behalf of the bosses, rather than mobilizing labor's power against the bosses. There must be a political struggle within the unions to sweep away the misleaders whose first loyalty is to the capitalist order and replace them with a fighting leadership that doesn't bow to the bosses' rules. In the present strike there is an immediate, pressing need for an *elected strike committee* to take control of the strike and hammer out a strategy to galvanize the union for the hard battle it will take to win.

"All the Unions Should Be Out!"

After 48 years without a single strike, the 32B-32J commercial building workers are now engaged in a bitter fight for their jobs. What the bosses want is to slash starting wages from $573 to $352 per week—givebacks that could total over $300 million each year, to be pocketed by the bosses. The employers want to drive wages down from $30,000 a year, which makes for a barely livable existence in New York, to the drastically

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CAT Sellout Sets Up "In-Plant" Repression

JANUARY 16—Caterpillar, Inc. is wreaking revenge on the 8,700 workers whose long and grinding walkout against the heavy-equipment giant was liquidated by United Auto Workers (UAW) president Stephen Yokich last December 3. Deserting 150 strikers that the company had fired, Yokich sent the rest back with no contract and no grievance protection. Since then, at least 88 unionists have been fired or suspended under CAT's draconian "rules of conduct" for "offenses" ranging from wearing union T-shirts to "shunning," i.e., not shaking hands with a scab. Strikebreaking Vance Security thugs walk the aisles and salaried "bird dogs" are constantly looking over workers' shoulders. Management says they have called back 90 percent of the strikers, but one returning UAW member told *Workers Vanguard* that he only spent one half-hour in the plant before they laid him off and told him to come back in April!

While the CAT bosses purge the workforce of the most determined and conscious unionists, Yokich & Co. claim their hands are tied. What a crock! It was the UAW International along with the entire AFL-CIO bureaucracy that handed victory to Caterpillar on a silver platter by *preventing* militant mass action that could have shut the company down tight. A year ago, central Illinois was being called a "war zone" for labor, with striking rubber workers and locked-out Staley workers on the picket lines alongside the CAT strikers. "It was a time for all the union leaders to get together and say, 'Let's bring this country to a halt'," a CAT worker in Decatur told *WV*, adding that pickets "four lines deep" would have won the strike in short order. Instead, all three struggles were sold down the river, by the same bureaucrats who last fall elected a new AFL-CIO leadership pledging to "renew" the labor movement!

The only thing these fakers will ever "renew" is their role as labor lieutenants of capitalism, *company cops* enforcing class peace so the bosses can get on with the business of exploitation. The "new" AFL-CIO leadership of John Sweeney and Richard Trumka push "political action" through the bosses' Democratic Party, no-fight diversions like consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns," and shackles like binding arbitration. At a transit union meeting in Chicago last month some members spoke out against the arbitration straitjacket; pointing to the massive strike wave in France, one militant called for strike action to win a new contract. The local president responded by demagogically asking who wanted to "go out on strike and lose your job" like at Caterpillar. The union misleaders counterpose the betrayal at CAT to the strikes in France in order to argue that strikes supposedly don't work anymore!

What doesn't work is pressuring the bureaucrats who misled, disorganized and sold out the Caterpillar fight from Day One. In the four years since the last CAT contract expired, the UAW International steadfastly refused to even call all its CAT members out in joint

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

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In Wake of Electoral Humiliation

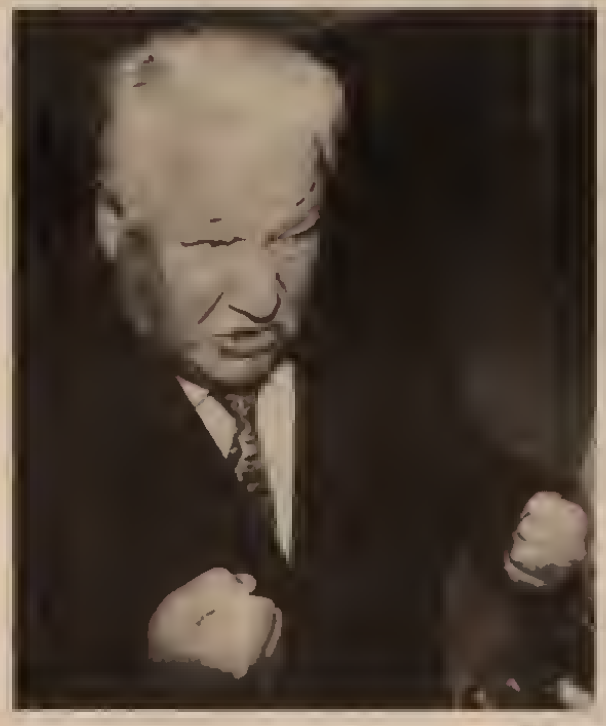
Yeltsin's Bloody Chechnya Massacre

"Red-Brown" Stalinist Leftovers Push Great Russian Chauvinism

Less than a month after his stinging rebuff in the December 17 parliamentary elections, Russian president Boris Yeltsin moved to shore up his authority as would-be tsar in his characteristic manner: by ordering his army to carry out a massacre. Culminating a ten-day siege that began on January 10, Russian troops leveled the village of Pervomayskoye on the border of the rebellious Chechen republic in the Caucasus with a steady barrage of artillery and missile fire extending over four days. This murderous new atrocity in the ongoing colonial-style war against the Chechen people was Yeltsin's way of kicking off his re-election campaign for the presidential ballot this spring. More fundamentally, the Chechen war aims to divert the massive discontent of Russian working people away from the immiseration caused by capitalist counterrevolution by whipping up anti-Caucasian racism and Great Russian nationalism.

Indeed, the results of the parliamentary elections were a sharp protest against the catastrophic effects of the counterrevolution. With a high voter turnout of 65 percent, the December elections to the Duma saw a humiliating defeat for the "party of power" headed by Yeltsin's prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. Despite the backing of state television, an expensive advertising campaign and untold vote-rigging, Chernomyrdin's "Our Home Is Russia" slate scraped into third place with less than 10 percent of the vote, trailing behind fascistic demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovsky. The dominant party in the Russian legislature is now the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), headed by Gennadi Zyuganov, which captured 22 percent of the vote and more than a third of the 450 Duma seats.

While many people supported Zyuganov's Communist Party because they lived better under the Soviet collectivized and planned economy, despite its bureaucratic deformations, the heavy vote for the KPRF does not represent a step forward for the working class in Russia. Despite its red flags and talk of restoring the Soviet Union, the KPRF is neither a communist nor even a reformist working-class party, but rather a bourgeois-nationalist party which promotes Russia's imperial ambitions.



Russian president Boris Yeltsin ordered troops to level village of Pervomayskoye. Tens of thousands have been slaughtered in year-long war against Chechen people.

AP photos

Russian liberal Grigory Yavlinsky, whose Yabloko bloc was the only other party to make it over the 5 percent vote barrier for proportional representation in the legislature, remarked that the Duma has "all the power of a library reading room." Set up after Yeltsin's bloody October 1993 bombardment of the former parliament, aimed at liquidating any challenge to his high-handed rule, the Duma is an impotent talk shop. It can refuse to accept Yeltsin's budget and his nominees for prime minister and other key government positions...at the price of its own dissolution.

Even so, significant elements of Yeltsin's entourage sought to cancel the Duma contest, which was widely seen as a primary for next June's elections for president. As one of the "new Russians," a bank chairman, put it bluntly, "If people tell me that for the sake of symbolic democracy I must give up my property—well democracy is not worth that much to me" (*Financial Times*, 7 November 1995). Although the Russian bourgeoisie is not yet confronted with a class-conscious proletariat, the very rapid transformation of a relatively egalitarian society into one where income distribution is roughly commensurate with most Latin American countries does not lend itself readily to bourgeois parliamentary rule.

As Trotskyists, we were the most resolute defenders of the Soviet Union against the forces of capitalist counterrevolution, both the NATO imperialists from without and various reactionaries—whether anti-Communist Baltic nationalists or Russian "democrats"—from within. Today, millions of working people from Siberia to the former Baltic republics complain bitterly, "It was better under Communism." But such nostalgia for the Soviet Union, though understandable, can do nothing to reverse or even ameliorate the ravages of capitalist restoration. And in the mouths of Zyuganov & Co., it is but a cover for rapacious Russian nationalism whose real program can be seen in the killing fields of Chechnya.

Thus, there was no question of support to any of the slates in the Duma elections. The plight of Russia's working people and subjugated nationalities will not be bettered by replacing one set of nationalist thieves and butchers at the head of the Russian capitalist state with another. What is necessary is the reawakening of the dormant workers movement and its entry into the arena of class struggle, fighting for its interests and those of all the oppressed on the road to a workers revolution that sweeps away the new exploiters and their state. Key to this is

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Capitalist Counterrevolution and the Russian Stalinist "Patriots"

Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call "Restore the Soviet Union"

See Page 3

Farrakhan and the Sudan Slave Trade

See Page 4

OCAW Workers: Strike Against All the Oil Giants!

January 29—In a large, spirited rally, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and other unions massed outside the gates of the Chevron refinery in Richmond, California four days ago in preparation for the January 31 expiration of the national oil and refinery contracts covering 40,000 workers. Chanting "Dump the lump or we shut off the pumps," workers denounced the companies' demand for one-time cash payments instead of wage increases. As workers milled around the gate, one arrogant boss drove over a unionist's foot—and then quickly discovered his windshield was punched in.

Just three days before the rally, Amoco and Exxon announced profits of *$1.9 and $1.6 billion* for 1995. But the fabulous wealth of the petrochemical companies has only whetted their appetite to go after the unions. In "Facing the Oil Giants" (*Monthly Review*, April 1993), Michael Tanzer detailed Big Oil's labor strategy for the '90s: "a savage process of layoffs, speedups, contracting-out, and erosion of safety standards and working conditions, along with unremitting pressure on wages and benefits—all designed to squeeze every drop of blood out of labor."

WV Photo

Oil workers rally at Richmond, California Chevron refinery, January 25, as strike deadline approaches.

A militant strike against the oil corporations would be hugely popular across the country. For these workers, the strength of their union is literally a question of life and death. An OCAW member at the rally told *Workers Vanguard* that in the refineries "we risk our lives every day we go to work." Meanwhile, the bloodsucking oil companies daily gouge working people at the gas pump. And to safeguard their precious profits, they send young working people off to fight their murderous imperialist wars. That's what George Bush's 1991 high-tech slaughter in the Persian Gulf was all about, as the Pentagon rained death and destruction down on the Iraqi people. Today, Clinton maintains an entire fleet of U.S. warships to protect oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

Striking Big Oil means class war. Bay Area workers remember the picket-line murder of Greg Goobic, who was run down and killed by a scab in a 1983 OCAW strike against Unocal. The industry is heavily capital-intensive, with a high level of technology and automation. In the last national OCAW strike in 1980, when the union tops allowed managers and technicians to waltz across picket lines, plants ran up to 80 percent of capacity and the strike dragged on for months.

There must be a fight for a class-struggle leadership that doesn't how to the bosses' rules. What's needed are mass picket lines that no one dares cross. Strikers must use the tactic of plant occupations at key sites to stop production in highly automated plants. The OCAW brass dissipate the membership's strength in "selective" strikes against individual companies, but in this industry the companies routinely "swap product" and will use their offshore refineries to keep supplies flowing. Industrywide strike action is necessary to win this battle. That could lay the basis for a powerful, single industrial union for this strategic workforce, which is now divided into numerous different unions (OCAW, Teamsters, Steelworkers, etc.) with hundreds of separate contracts.

There must be an appeal to seamen and refinery workers internationally to support the oil workers. Longshoremen, tugboatmen and Teamsters must "hot cargo"—refuse to handle—crude oil and refinery products. In the 1980 strike, the Harbor Council of unions in Los Angeles shut down the entire port in a one-day strike in solidarity with OCAW. Today, actions like these could be linked to the ILWU longshoremen's fight against non-union jobs at the huge coal terminal planned in L.A., the largest such project at any port in the country. The unions must also forge links to workers at major refineries in the Caribbean and elsewhere.

The current OCAW tops are widely known for promoting "Labor Party Advocates" (LPA). LPA exists to sucker workers fed up with the Democratic Party hack into Clinton's fold by claiming to offer a working-class alternative. But as longtime OCAW official and LPA founder Tony Mazzocchi and OCAW president Robert Wages have repeatedly proclaimed, their "labor party"—if it ever comes into being—is intended solely as a tactic to pressure the racist, capitalist Democrats, to put the "lesser" back in the Democratic Party evil. The last thing Wages and Mazzocchi want to see is a sharp, militant strike in the midst of Clinton's re-election campaign. Just look at the OCAW tops' friend John Sweeney, who knifed Caterpillar and Staley strikers in the Midwest right after being elected AFL-CIO president.

As we wrote in "Why 'Labor Party Advocates' Doesn't Advocate a Labor Party" (*WV* No. 622, 5 May 1995) the Spartacist League uniquely fights "for labor to break with the Democratic Party and form *a workers party to fight for a workers government*. Only a party which opposes the capitalist profit system down the line, which acts as an organizing center for workers in struggle everywhere, which fights to uproot every manifestation of racial and sexual oppression, can truly claim independence from the parties of Wall Street. And only such a party can lead the struggles of the workers and oppressed to victory." ■

The Bolshevik Revolution and the Oppressed Islamic Peoples of the East

TROTSKY

LENIN

Undermined for decades by a parasitic and nationalist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was finally destroyed by Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution. Today, as the Yeltsin regime wages a war of colonial subjugation against the Chechen people of the Caucasus, various self-styled "Communist" fragments of the former Stalinist bureaucracy promote the vilest Great Russian chauvinism in the name of "restoring the Soviet Union." The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which created the Soviet workers state was internationalist to the core, shattering what Lenin had called the "tsarist prison house of peoples." In one of its first proclamations, the Soviet republic recognized the national rights of the traditionally Islamic peoples of the former tsarist empire, linking their liberation to the struggle against Western imperialism.

Great events are taking place in Russia! An end is drawing near to the murderous war, started by the bargainings of foreign Powers. The rule of the plunderers who exploit the peoples of the world is tottering. The ancient citadel of slavery and serfdom is crumbling under the blows of the Russian revolution. The world of violence and oppression is approaching its last days. A new world is being born, a world of the toilers and the liberated. At the head of this revolution stands the workers' and peasants' Government of Russia, the Council of People's Commissars....

Moslems of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Trans-Caucasia, Chechens and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia!... Know that your rights, like those of all the peoples of Russia, will be protected by the might of the revolution, by the Councils of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies!...

It is not from Russia and its revolutionary Government that you have to fear enslavement, but from the European imperialist robbers, from those who laid waste your native lands and converted them into their colonies.

Overthrow these robbers and enslavers of your country! Now, when war and desolation are demolishing the pillars of the old order, when the entire world is blazing with indignation against the imperialist brigands, when the least spark of discontent bursts out in a mighty flame of revolution, when even the Indian Moslems, oppressed and tormented by the foreign yoke, are rising in revolt against their slave-drivers—now it is impossible to keep silent. Lose no time in throwing off the yoke of the ancient oppressors of your land!...

Comrades! Brothers!

Advance firmly and resolutely towards a just and democratic peace!

We inscribe the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world on our banners!

—"Appeal of the Council of People's Commissars to the Moslems of Russia and the East" (December 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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On the United Front

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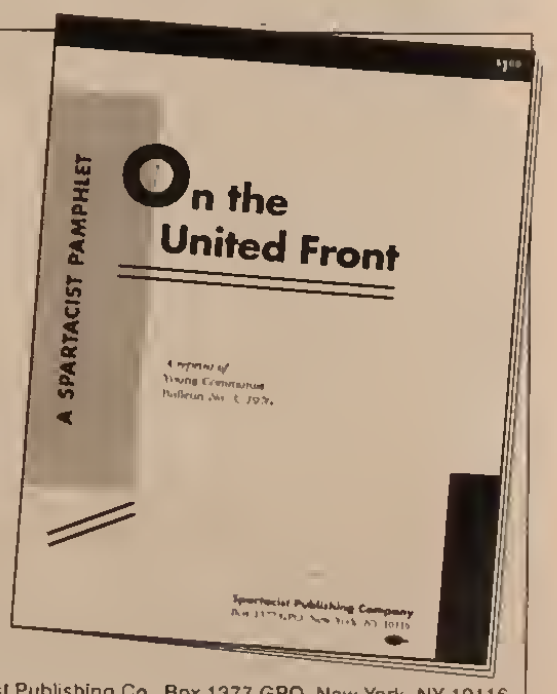

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Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call "Restore the Soviet Union"

Capitalist Counterrevolution and the Russian Stalinist "Patriots"

Part One of Two

We print below the first part of an article translated from the Russian-language Biulleten Spartakovtsev *(Supplement No. 12, November 1995), published by the International Communist League. It was originally written in reply to a letter from a reader in the Ukraine.*

In your letter, you advocate the slogan of "restoration of the USSR," which is raised by a number of Russian-nationalist groups which originated as splinters of the defunct Stalinist bureaucracy.

There are a number of considerations, both conjunctural and historical, to be addressed in explaining why proletarian internationalists would not raise this call today. First and foremost for Trotskyists is a correct understanding of the state. Russia, the Ukraine and the other states on the territories of the former Soviet Union are bourgeois states that appeared as a result of capitalist counterrevolution. We stand for socialist revolution in these countries, that is, for mobilizing the working class under the leadership of an internationalist revolutionary party, to sweep away these capitalist regimes. This position has been in the forefront of our propaganda in the former USSR since we drew the conclusion that the counterrevolution which took the ascendancy in August 1991 had, in the absence of working-class resistance, gone on in the year that followed to destroy the remnants of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

As we explained in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," responsibility for this world-historic defeat lies above all with the Stalinists. We noted that the preservation of proletarian power depends principally on the *consciousness* and *organization* of the working class. At the time of the October Revolution, this was in its quintessence embodied in the Bolshevik Party's leadership, which was imbued with the Marxist understanding that an isolated workers state—moreover, an economically weak and backward one—could only survive for any length of time by spreading the revolution internationally.

The kind of revolutionary vanguard party which Lenin built in tsarist Russia did not exist elsewhere in Europe in 1914, when the outbreak of World War I signaled what Trotsky later called the epoch of capitalism's death agony. Reaction to the mass slaughter of the first imperialist world war combined with the inspiration of the Bolshevik Revolution produced revolutionary turmoil throughout Europe, centrally Germany, between 1918 and 1923. However, given the weakness and inexperience of the nascent Communist parties, the European bourgeoisies were able to restore order—with the indispensable aid of the social-democratic bureaucracies.

Der Spiegel

Russian Orthodox priest on Yeltsin's barricades, August 1991. Counterrevolutionary destruction of Soviet Union brought immiseration and resurgence of chauvinist reaction.

Thus Soviet Russia emerged from the Civil War bled white—its industry in a shambles—internationally isolated and besieged by world imperialism. Many of its most conscious worker cadres had been lost on the fronts of the Civil War. Decades of Stalinist falsification to the contrary, at that time not only the Bolshevik leadership but the mass of Soviet workers understood that extension of the revolution was critical, particularly through the seizure of power by the German proletariat, the strongest in Europe. The definitive defeat of the anticipated German revolution in 1923, due to the conscious counterrevolutionary policies of the Social Democratic bureaucracy and the incapacity of the Communist leadership, led directly to the ascendancy of a conservative and nationalistic bureaucracy in the Soviet workers state. Trotsky later explained in his 1940 "Letter to the Workers of the USSR":

> "The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin."

In pushing the lie that Stalin was Lenin's heir, the Stalinists are particularly wont to point to the fact that in 1921, at the Bolshevik Party's 10th Conference debate on the role of the trade unions, Lenin himself headed the opposition to Trotsky, which included Stalin. (In any case, this was a conjunctural factional dispute carried out according to the norms of Bolshevik inner-party democracy, utterly counterposed to the bureaucratic and murderous conception of "factional struggle" later imposed under the Stalin regime.) However, as increasing evidence of bureaucratism and Great Russian chauvinism in the party, directly attributable to Stalin, came to the fore, Lenin definitively shifted over to Trotsky and sought to remove Stalin from his position of power as general secretary. Trotsky was not sufficiently vigorous or programmatically decisive in picking up the gauntlet, although the increasingly ill and incapacitated Lenin urgently urged him to do so.

By the time of Lenin's death and the party's 13th Conference in January 1924, Stalin was able to impose qualitative measures in the strangulation of the Bolshevik Party. He suppressed party democracy and with it, the revolutionary vanguard, the Trotskyist opposition. This was a defeat of that very force which was key to the maintenance and renewing of the revolutionary consciousness and organization which had made the October Revolution: revolutionary leadership. The party could have been reformed at that time, but only through the decisive ousting of the bureaucratic clique consolidating around Stalin. Instead, Stalin prevailed. This defeat of the Bolshevik vanguard was soon given unambiguous programmatic expression, as Stalin/Bukharin abandoned the program of international proletarian revolution in favor of the utopian notion of "building socialism in one country."

This anti-internationalist doctrine, which Khrushchev called "peaceful coexistence" and Brezhnev called "détente," was the political hallmark of Stalin and his successors. In the '20s, this resulted in a disastrous careening from ultraleft adventures to class collaboration. Trotsky characterized Stalin as the "gravedigger" of revolutionary struggles abroad, from the second Chinese Revolution in 1925-27 and the British General Strike of 1926 (where the Comintern amnestied the labor traitors who ran the British trade unions) to Germany, where the CP, as well as the Social Democrats, allowed Hitler to come to power without firing a shot. Stalin may not have started out plotting to become the murderous head of an anti-revolutionary bureaucracy. But after the Kirov assassination and by the time of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, the repeatedly purged gang remaining in power consciously beheaded the Spanish workers revolution, with the GPU butchering leftists who were seen as any sort of opposition to the popular-front *bourgeois* republican regime. The bureaucracy's central role in strangling proletarian revolution was a policy carried out as a "guarantee" to Stalin's then-allies, the "democratic" imperialist governments of France and Britain. And by selling out revolutionary opportunities at the end of WW II, particularly in Italy, France and Greece, Stalinism enabled capitalism in West Europe to survive.

Having initially argued for a perspective of reforming the CPSU from within, by the 1930s Trotsky believed that a *proletarian political revolution* was necessary in the USSR to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and restore workers (soviet) democracy (see "Stalin Drowned the Communist Party of Lenin and Trotsky in Blood," *Biulleten Spartakovtsev* No. 4, Spring 1993 [translated in Spartacist Pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*, August 1993]). The founding document of the Trotskyist Fourth International stated:

> "The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains a *degenerated workers' state*. Such is the social

continued on page 9

Viktor Bulla

1920: Putilov factory workers vote for delegates to Petrograd Soviet. Under Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, soviets were organs of working-class rule. Stalin's political counterrevolution destroyed Bolshevik Party and liquidated soviet democracy.

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Nation of Islam demagogue Louis Farrakhan (left) maintains cozy relationship with Islamic fundamentalist leader Hassan al-Turabi of Sudan (right), denies existence of slave trade there. Above: black slaves sold at market in Sudan.

Farrakhan and the Sudan Slave Trade

Louis Farrakhan is currently traveling through Africa, where he has met with, among others, Libya's Muammar Qaddafi and Nelson Mandela in South Africa. Farrakhan launched his "friendship tour" in order to pursue his political and social aims and projects and for evident self-enhancement, newly magnified by his leadership of the Million Man March in October. Particularly in light of the Nation of Islam (NOI) leader's heightened prominence, it behooves all those who struggle for black emancipation to look even more sharply and closely at the aims and practices of Farrakhan's movement as shown in concrete circumstances.

Through newspaper articles, conferences and demonstrations, "new abolitionists" have exposed the continuing existence of black chattel slavery in Mauritania, on North Africa's Atlantic coast, and in Sudan, Africa's largest country. When this issue hit the black press, it naturally caused an uproar among American blacks, who were emancipated from slavery barely 130 years ago with the victory of the Union Army over the slaveholding South. What particularly made this a red-hot issue for black people was the revelation that Farrakhan and the NOI are acting as *apologists for black African slavery*, stemming from their close ties to the vicious military dictatorship of Sudan, which professes Islamic fundamentalism.

WV Map

Farrakhan's support to the Sudanese slave masters is yet another example of his utterly reactionary program and purpose. Last fall, *Workers Vanguard* forthrightly called his Washington, D.C. march for "atonement" a "poisonous reactionary mobilization" which was "*directly counterposed* to any struggle for black emancipation" (*WV* No. 631, 20 October 1995). We noted that despite the racist rulers' hypocritical denunciations of Farrakhan's anti-Semitic and anti-white demagogy, capitalist politicians ranging from Democratic president Clinton to Republican Senate leader Bob Dole embraced the march's aim of making black males take "responsibility" for the conditions of their own oppression. Almost all black politicians hailed the event as they courted Farrakhan's increased following, while virtually all the black press signed on as publicity agents for the march. And much of the reformist "left" threw its support to the march while claiming to separate the "message" from its "messenger."

Many blacks who marched in Washington did so out of a desire for some, *any* action that claimed to fight for the rights of blacks in this increasingly vicious racist society. Farrakhan's posture as a black "leader" who stands up to the racist rulers will likely be strengthened now that he is being vilified by right-wing yahoos in Congress for securing a promise of financial assistance from Libyan strongman Qaddafi, who was himself targeted for assassination by U.S. imperialist air strikes on Tripoli in 1986. For its part, the Justice Department immediately threatened to force the NOI leader to register as an agent of a foreign government. Yet the U.S. government didn't bat an eye over Farrakhan's embrace, during his tour, of Nigerian military dictator Sani Abacha, whose recent execution of well-known poet Ken Saro-Wiwa and seven other dissidents has provoked international outrage.

However, Farrakhan's trip got major media attention when he met with South African president Nelson Mandela. The NOI head hypocritically played up to Mandela by appealing for "Muslims and Christians and Jews" to "work together for the common good." Nonetheless, Mandela felt the need to distance himself from the racialist NOI demagogue, admonishing him about the ANC principle of "nonracialism."

Louis Farrakhan is no fighter for black rights. He is a sinister huckster who seeks only to be an exploiter of "his" people. Farrakhan's backward worldview degrades black people themselves, not least black women, who lead a strictly segregated existence in the NOI and were excluded *en masse* from the Washington march. And his cozying up to brutal military chiefs who engage in and protect the growing market for black African slaves in Sudan gives further proof of what we have said all along, that Farrakhan is bad news for black people.

The Scourge of African Slavery Today

The Brooklyn-based black newspapers *City Sun* and *Daily Challenge* have run literally dozens of articles in the past year exposing the horror of contemporary slavery in northern Africa, notably a three-part series last February by the *City Sun*'s Samuel Cotton. Others who have been active in the anti-slavery campaign include Nate Clay of Chicago's *New Metro News* and WLS radio, Washington, D.C. radio host Joe Madison, and Republican Tony Brown, whose PBS TV show aired documentary evidence. Protest meetings and debates have been held at Harlem's Schomburg Library and at black churches and schools uptown and in Brooklyn. Abolitionist conferences at Columbia University and the New York Law School have featured eyewitness reports on slavery in Mauritania and Sudan.

"As you read this," wrote Cotton, "there are Black people being bought and sold in two North African countries" (*City Sun*, 1 February 1995). Cotton continued:

> "Although slavery was declared abolished three times since Mauritania's independence in 1960, it persists. Slaves are given as wedding gifts, traded for camels, guns or trucks, and inherited.... "In the Islamic Republic of the Sudan, as a result of an Islamic vs. Christian civil war, Black women and children (mostly Christian) are being captured in raids on their villages and sold as chattel slaves."

Such reports have been widely documented in recent years by a number of human rights groups, such as Anti-Slavery International in London and the Puebla Institute, affiliated to the Catholic church.

In 1994, a United Nations special report on Sudan by Hungarian lawyer Gaspar Biro detailed systematic torture and "disappearances" of opponents of the regime and reported that women and children "are kept in special camps where people from the north or from abroad come to purchase them for money or goods such as camels." In its report, *The Tears of Orphans* (1995), Amnesty International confirmed reports of abduction and enslavement of women and children in Sudan, adding that the southern Sudanese anti-government forces have also murdered and abducted villagers, not only suspected government sympathizers but others who fell afoul of tribal and factional conflicts.

Village Voice columnist Nat Hentoff has also written a number of articles recently on the slave trade in Sudan. In one of them, Hentoff cites an account by Professor Ushari Ahmad Mamoud, who was imprisoned by the previous Sudanese regime in 1986 for his reports on the slave trade: "What usually happens is that Arab armed militias go into the Southern villages or the Nuba mountains.... They burn the villages. The men are killed if they don't escape, and the women and children are rounded up. The survivors are tied up and taken to the Arab north.... The women and children are put to work in the fields—all without pay—and are also available as slave concubines" (*Village Voice*, 12 December 1995).

Farrakhan's Sudan Connection

Enraptured by Farrakhan's new political clout, much of the American black political establishment has utterly ignored the revelations of slavery in Africa. Jesse Jackson has yet to make a statement, although both the NAACP and the head of the Congressional Black Caucus have issued condemnations, but they are seeking to refurbish the "democratic" credentials of U.S. imperialism.

African anti-slavery activists wrote to Farrakhan asking for a speaker on the subject at the Million Man March; he turned a deaf ear to them. This was no aberration: Farrakhan had already dismissed the issue of slavery in Sudan as a concoction of the "Western press." This was hardly a statement of concern for the hypocrisy and lies regularly doled out by the mainstream imperialist media. His protestations came in the form of a letter read by NOI international spokesman Abdul Akbar Muhammad to a "Popular Arab & Islamic Conference" in Khartoum last March. The conference was run by Islamic fundamentalist Sheik Hassan al-Turabi, the power behind the Sudanese regime. The year before, Farrakhan himself had been feted as a guest of Sudanese leaders General Omar Hassan al-Bashir and Sheik Hassan al-Turabi, who of course themselves deny

that slavery exists in their country.

In a venomous anti-Semitic diatribe in the NOI's *Final Call* (12 April 1995), Muhammad denounced the anti-slavery campaign as a "Big Lie," later charging that it seeks to "divert attention from the role Jews played in the slave trade" (*Final Call*, 26 April 1995). In an outraged response to this despicable disinformation campaign, which was picked up by some of the black press, black journalist William Pleasant wrote in his new weekly paper, the *Liberator* (4 January), that much of "the Black media either turned its back on the African slaves or adopted the numbskull, Jew-baiting arguments in support of the slaving regimes of Sudan and Mauritania served up by the Nation of Islam's Akbar Muhammad."

As part of its attempt to channel black anger against capitalist oppression into anti-Semitism, including in such tracts as *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, the NOI has long purveyed the absurd claim that 75 percent of slaves in the American South before the Civil War were owned by Jews. As we pointed out in "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People" (*WV* No. 600, 13 May 1994): "In reality, the not very numerous Jews in the South in 1860 owned a tiny fraction of the four million slaves, and only a tiny proportion of the Atlantic slave trade involved Jewish merchants." Arab merchants and black African tribal chiefs were heavily involved in the Atlantic slave trade, too. But of course Farrakhan disappears this incontrovertible historical fact.

For all of Farrakhan's hypocritical denunciations of the Atlantic slave trade, the vile bigotry of his racialist demonology reveals shared social values with the contemporary slave traders in the Sudan, particularly their anti-woman fundamentalism. NOI doctrine holds, in Elijah Muhammad's words, that "the woman is man's field to produce his nation." This is no doubt music to the ears of the Islamic establishment in Sudan, which imprisons women in the veil and where the hideous practice of female genital mutilation is pervasive. The would-be exploiter of the black ghetto masses in the U.S. clearly feels at home with the heads of African dictatorships.

Despite his affinity with the Arabic-speaking Islamic fundamentalist regime in Khartoum, in the U.S. Farrakhan purveys anti-Arab and anti-Asian no less than anti-Jewish bigotry. In his infamous "bloodsuckers" speech on the eve of the Million Man March, Farrakhan ranted: "We considered them [the Jews] bloodsuckers because they took from our community and built their community but didn't offer anything back to our community. And when the Jews left, the Palestinian Arabs came, Koreans came, Vietnamese and other ethnic and racial groups came. And so this is a type and we call them bloodsuckers." This is pogromist, a recipe for all-sided race war, which could only benefit the likes of the KKK and other fascists and in which black people would be the biggest losers.

U.S./UN Imperialists: Hands Off Africa!

A number of opponents of slavery in Africa have appealed to the U.S. government or the United Nations to act to end the trade in human chattel. For example, the "Coalition Against Slavery in Africa" demonstrated outside the UN in September demanding, in the words of CASIA president Dede Ombombassa, that Sudan and Mauritania be "diplomatically, financially and culturally isolated" (*Daily Challenge*, 25 September 1995). Such calls are an invitation to continued imperialist exploitation and oppression. In Zaire in the 1960s, UN intervention was a cover for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the fight against Belgian colonial rule in the Congo. More recently, the 1993 neocolonial occupation of famine-stricken Somalia, also carried out under the UN flag and in the name of "humanitarianism," was marked by brutal massacres like the slaughter of some 200 civilians in Mogadishu who were gunned down by U.S. troops firing from Cobra helicopters.

Today Washington labels the Khartoum regime as "terrorist." But today's "terrorist" is often yesterday's CIA "asset." During the Cold War, Turabi and his reactionary Muslim Brotherhood group were considered an "asset" by the State Department because of his vehement anti-Communism and his alliance with mullahs fighting against the USSR in Afghanistan. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. no longer needed this relationship with the Sudan regime. As *CovertAction* (Summer 1994) noted, "Throughout the Cold War, the official U.S. position was that the [southern] SPLA rebel army was simply a communist organization set up by the Eastern bloc to destabilize a pro-Western Sudan." But now American attentions have shifted south, and the U.S. "is looking

AP

January 28: Farrakhan and South African president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg.

for any excuse to provide more substantial assistance" to the rebels.

Historically, it was the imperialist "scramble for Africa" in the latter part of the 19th century which created the structure of Sudan today. This is the period of the British drive to create a "Cape to Cairo" East African empire linked by rail and telegraph, which the French sought to spike by creating a colonial belt across Central Africa from the Congo to the Red Sea. The Italians and the German Kaiser grabbed bites wherever they could, and the treacherous King Leopold II of Belgium carved out a monstrous regime of terror in the Belgian Congo, under which some eight million Africans died over a 50-year period—the holocaust of the 19th century. The rival imperialists tore the tribal structures and agrarian societies of the continent apart, while ensuring the survival and reinforcement of ancient tribal practices suited to the Europeans' "divide and rule" program. This is what the Dinka people of southern Sudan call "the time when the world was spoilt." As David Levering Lewis writes in his book, *The Race to Fashoda* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), by the late 19th century:

> "Territorial dispossession, institutional chaos, collective panic, and disease and famine had ignited a wave of flesh-eating that spread from inveterate cannibals like Bakusa to Batetela, the Mangbetu, and much of Zande. Before the end of the decade [the 1870s], the felon interplay of raids, migrations, and animal and crop wastage would open the Interior to tsetse fly. Trypanosomiasis, sleeping sickness, would soon devastate whole peoples from the mouth of the Congo to Lake Victoria. Much of Africa was becoming as anarchic, pestilential, and brutal as the arriving missionaries, physicians, soldiers, and commissioners never tired of reminding the outside world that it had always been."

The first British attempt to control Sudan in the 1880s ended in humiliation when the forces of the Islamic Mahdi creamed the insufferable General Gordon at Khartoum. When the British finally established colonial rule in 1898, they instituted a policy to keep the south segregated, welcoming Christian missionaries there while banning Islamic proselytizers. The "Southern Policy" kept the area economically primitive, as the British concentrated economic resources, investments, roads and schools in the north. The northern region, whose black population has intermixed for many centuries with Arab settlers, is now defined as primarily Arab and Islamic, with a mingling of Egyptians, Turks and Circassians. The south is populated mainly by black tribal groups. The educated elite in this region tends to be Christian, while many of the poorer farmers, marsh fishermen and cattle herders maintain animist beliefs.

British colonial rule was ended in 1956 after having exacerbated these regional and religious divisions in this country which encompasses peoples speaking more than 400 different languages. Since independence, Sudan has been ruled by a series of more or less eccentric and ruthless military regimes in Khartoum, interspersed with a very few, very short periods of parliamentary "democracy." The social devastation of civil war combined with Islamic fundamentalism has intensified barbaric horrors, from punishment by flogging and amputation to female genital mutilation.

For Permanent Revolution!

Today, apologists for Western imperialism, which has brought us such barbarities as the Holocaust and the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, pontificate about the "lack of civilization" in backward countries of Africa. While condemning such racist hypocrisy, we do not share the outlook of some liberals who, in the name of "cultural relativism," condone the inhumane legacies of the past practiced by semicolonial peoples. In many cases, this goes hand in hand with support to "Third World" nationalism.

In order to mobilize sufficient support to establish themselves as the ruling class in their own countries after gaining independence, the new bourgeois rulers had to rely on backward-looking "cultural traditions." Thus, Jomo Kenyatta, the darling of Pan-Africanists, endorsed female genital mutilation as a form of nationalist resistance to European colonial domination. Likewise, cheerleaders for the Ayatollah Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic Revolution" in Iran whitewashed the imposition of the head-to-toe chador—which reflected the social segregation of women and their imprisonment in the home—as a symbol of opposition to Western imperialism. And what of the Indian practice of *suttee*, in which the widow is burned alive after the death of her husband? Is this, too, simply a matter of "cultural heritage"? Such heinous practices are vestiges of pre-capitalist and even pre-feudal stages of human development and are representative of the all-sided sexual, social and economic oppression of women.

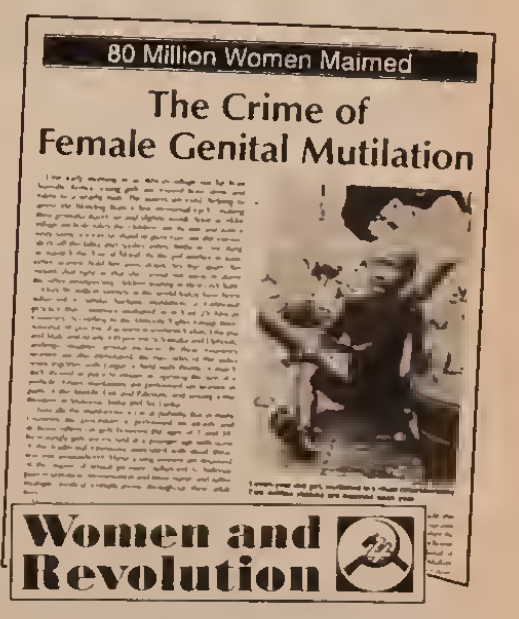
Marxists are not advocates of "national culture." Even in writing about the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and the oppressed peoples of the Tsarist empire, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin remarked that "the general 'national culture' *is* the culture of the landlords, the clergy and the bourgeoisie," adding that socialist internationalists "take *from each* national culture *only* its democratic and socialist elements; we take them *only* and *absolutely* in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of *each* nation" ("Critical Remarks on the National Question," December 1913).

Industrial capitalism in the West drew women into the proletariat, and bourgeois-democratic revolutions legally and formally wiped out the more abhorrent aspects of women's oppression. But the Western "democracies" did not bring these bourgeois-democratic reforms with them into the colonial countries. The penetration of decaying capitalism into the "Third World" has fostered the most reactionary aspects of degenerated tribalism. This underscores the validity of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, that in the semicolonial countries the gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can only be achieved through the proletarian seizure of power and the extension of socialist revolution to the imperialist centers. This requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International.

Today, the fight against chattel slavery is intimately linked to the struggle against all forms of oppression and for world socialist revolution. As we wrote in "The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation" (*Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992) in regard to Sudan and other parts of Africa:

> "The banner of revolutionary socialism seems an empty reference in sub-Saharan Africa, where the Marxist conception of 'combined and uneven development' would only encompass marginal pockets of industrialization. There are oil workers in Nigeria, dock and rail workers in Kenya, miners in Zambia. They are presently isolated and politically subordinate to demagogic nationalist regimes, but they represent a strategic industrial workforce. It is the challenge of an international revolutionary party to transform this sector into a human link to the workers movements of the Near East and the industrial proletariat of South Africa. Mobilized against their capitalist exploiters, these vanguard layers can launch a struggle to emancipate the cruelly oppressed men and women throughout Africa."

This revolutionary perspective is closely linked with the struggle against black oppression in the U.S. imperialist heartland. Black workers are a strategic component of the multiracial U.S. working class. We fight to build a revolutionary workers party which will champion the cause of all the oppressed as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. This requires telling the truth about people like Farrakhan, who give aid and comfort to the murderous racist ruling class at home and to its slaving neocolonial regimes abroad. ■



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U.C. Students Mobilize to Defend Affirmative Action

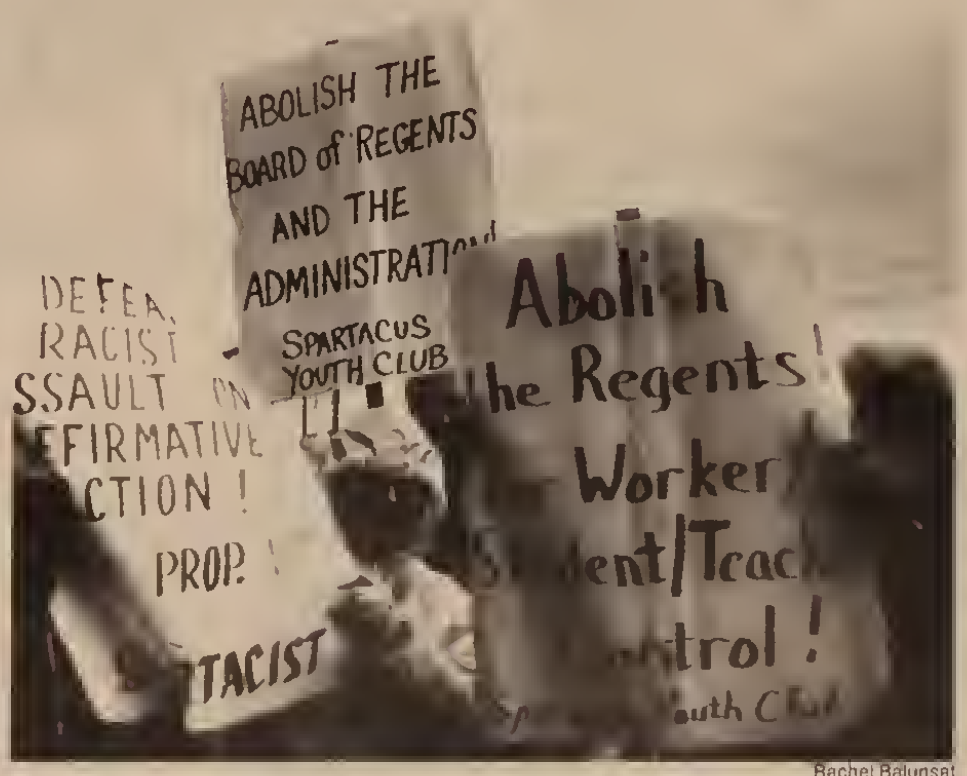
Fight the Racist Purge, Fight for Open Admissions!

At about 7 a.m. on January 17, several hundred students at the University of California at Santa Cruz blocked the main entrances to campus to protest the UC Regents' racist decision last summer to abolish affirmative action in the UC system. The student protest was opposed by Santa Cruz "socialist" mayor and UC professor Mike Rotkin, whose riot cops participated in attacking student protesters and arresting 14. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: Drop all the charges now!

The campus action at Santa Cruz was timed to build for a protest at the UC Regents' meeting the following day in San Francisco, where motions to overturn or delay the enactment of the Regents' decision to end affirmative action were to be put forward. In addition, the faculty senates of all nine UC campuses had voted protest motions against the abolition of affirmative action. Students from Santa Cruz, San Diego, Los Angeles and other UC campuses piled into cars and buses, hoping to force the Regents to rescind their vote. On January 19, UC president Richard Atkinson issued a directive saying undergraduate students will not be affected until the fall of 1998. Atkinson's plan was made public four days later, infuriating regents like Ward Connerly and Republican California governor Pete Wilson, architects of the racist rollback in admissions in the UC system. Atkinson was bowing to widespread opposition to the axing of affirmative action, particularly among the faculty, and obviously was hoping to defuse any protest.

Opponents of the attacks on affirmative action should have no illusions in the UC administrators. At San Francisco, the Regents made it clear that they did not intend to seriously consider student and faculty protests at their "public" Regents' meeting. The majority of protesters were herded into a police-guarded bantustan where they could only hear the meeting proceedings over a sound system. Of the select few who were allowed to enter the Regents' meeting room and engage in "discussion," eleven students were hauled off by police and arrested for going over their allotted speaking time of *one* minute! Charged with "disturbing the peace," the protesters face a March 4 court hearing at the San Francisco Hall of Justice. *Be there to demand that all the charges be dropped!*

At midday during the Regents' San Francisco meeting, 300 angry UC students took to the streets in pouring rain. Trailed by a long line of motorcycle cops and squad cars, the protesters stopped traffic at intersections and chanted for over an hour despite being buffeted by driving rain and wind. A contingent of Spartacist supporters chanted, "Open admissions, free tuition, abolish the Board of Regents!" A few minutes later the crowd began chanting, "Hey, hey, ho, ho—UC Regents gotta go!" which quickly became a favorite. It is critical to understand that the millionaire-dominated Board of Regents (which includes California governor Pete Wilson) rules the UC system to serve the needs of the capitalists: carrying out a racist purge of the campuses and training an increasingly privileged few to maintain and administer their system. The Regents let stand last July's decision to abolish affirmative action both in hiring, beginning immediately, and in admissions, beginning with the freshman class of 1997, by declining to vote on the motions.



Rachel Balunsat

Spartacist contingent at January 18 protest in San Francisco against racist rollback of affirmative action at University of California.

Yet it is precisely to the Board of Regents that the various coalitions in defense of affirmative action appeal for redress against the racist attacks on black and minority student enrollment! Rejecting the demand to end race and class privilege in education through open admissions, the "Students for Social Justice" (SSJ) looks to channel student outrage over rampant racist reaction into electoral support for the Democratic Party. Dominated by student bureaucrats and supported by the ultra-reformist Committees of Correspondence, the SSJ in their leaflet to protesters urged: "The first thing to do is to register to vote."

But Bill Clinton's wimpy lip service to affirmative action ("mend it, don't end it") notwithstanding, both the Democrats and Republicans have presided over a generalized assault on immigrants, blacks, Latinos, Asians, women and the working class as a whole. In 1994, the liberal and fake-left misleaders took the massive demonstrations of outrage against anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and subordinated them to their effort to elect Democrat Kathleen Brown (who advocated militarizing the border with Mexico as the Clinton administration is now doing) as governor. Now they seek to use opposition to the misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative"—a racist ballot measure to eliminate affirmative action in the state—to drum up support for the Democrats in the presidential elections.

Posing as a "militant" alternative to SSJ is the "Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary." A front group of the Revolutionary Workers League (although lately the RWL rarely acts separately from its front groups), the Coalition shares the same strategy of trying to pressure the Board of Regents, the only difference being that it calls for "Militant, Mass Action to Force the Regents to Rescind Their Vote!" Just as it can see no other vehicle for defending affirmative action than the very board of capitalist administrators who are waging the racist rollback in the UC system, the RWL's coalition fundamentally accepts the barriers to higher education set by the racist capitalist rulers. They simply seek to move the goal posts a little.

In its leaflet calling for "mass, militant" protest at the Board of Regents' meeting, the Coalition poses as its maximum strategy a fight to "win positive gains like greatly expanding affirmative action to ensure that the percentage of black and Latino students on the campuses is at least as high as their percentage in the population of the state as a whole." In other words, it's OK to impose quotas on access to university education for blacks and minorities as long as they are more "representative"!

In contrast, the Spartacus Youth Club participated in the Santa Cruz student strike and the SF protest with the perspective of fighting for free, quality education for *all*! While we oppose the racist rollback of affirmative action in college admissions, quotas are not our program, and these tokenistic measures inherently acquiesce to the racist status quo. In fact, quotas have more often been used *to restrict* groups such as Jews and Asians, rather than to enhance minority enrollment. Against the race and class bias of higher education, we fight for open admissions, free tuition and a living stipend for all students. As we wrote last semester (see "Fight for Open Admissions!" *WV* No. 628, 8 September 1995): "A fight for open admissions that challenges the racial oppression which is the foundation of American capitalism poses the possibility of social struggle *outside* the framework of capitalist pressure politics." Such a fight would necessarily entail mobilizing the social power of the working class in a fight against the entire system based on class exploitation and racist oppression. The elimination of affirmative action in hiring means that students have powerful allies in the workforces at every UC campus and beyond. Yet the fact that it is minority workers who will first be hit by the rollback of affirmative action doesn't even merit a mention in the RWL's leaflet. This power was dramatically demonstrated by the recent workers' strikes in France, which along with a wave of campus protest, brought the country to a virtual standstill. But from France to California, unleashing that power requires the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party to break the chains binding the oppressed to the twin capitalist parties. This is the perspective of the Spartacus Youth Clubs. Join us! ■

Former CPer Joins SYC: Why I Came to Trotskyism

I am writing this as an application for membership in the Spartacus Youth Club. This step comes after many years of thinking, reading, and discussion.

For many years I was involved as a member and supporter of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). I left the Party in late 1992-93 over its lack of Marxist analysis of the events of August 1991 in the former Soviet Union, and because of my beginning awareness of its reformist program. I sought a Leninist-Bolshevik analysis and a party that would fight for its program, a truly revolutionary program.

Through my reading of *Workers Vanguard*, which began as a member of the CPUSA, I came to know the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club's program and Leninist-Bolshevik politics with its Trotskyist perspective.

I came to Trotskyism through my contact sessions with members of the SL and SYC classes—Trotsky's perspective of proletarian revolution, unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the gains of October, and the transitional program of the Fourth International. I came to Trotskyism because I want to be a Marxist Communist with a Leninist-Trotskyist-Bolshevik program and party, not a reformist hanging on the coattails of the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie.

In short, I agree with and will fight for the program of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and will abide by its organizational discipline.

Comradely,
R.F.

Judge Orders Daughter Chained to Mother

Cruel and Unusual

In 17th-century Puritan Massachusetts, Hawthorne's Hester Prynne was ordered to wear a scarlet letter for adultery. Now in South Carolina a 15-year-old girl, Tonya Kline, and her mother, Deborah Harter, are victims of a similar Puritanical climate. On December 7, a Judge Creech ordered the girl to be *tethered with a chain to her mother 24 hours a day* until January 27. One Southern judge said of the case, "Maybe we ought to consider some of the old-fashioned forms of punishment" (like stocks and dunking stools?!). Since last February, 20 youths have been subjected to tethering, and Creech has ordered 15 new nylon tethers. Down with this cruel and unusual punishment!

According to the family's lawyer, Tonya and her mother initially agreed to be tethered so that she would be home for the holidays, rather than in hated juvenile detention, while she awaits sentencing on charges of truancy, shoplifting and breaking into a house. But Harter soon found the lack of privacy and having to parade her daughter around on a leash intolerable.

Almost as sick as the treatment against Tonya, her mother Deborah was ordered not to smoke or drink in Tonya's presence and was charged with contempt of court for allegedly smoking while with Tonya at school! Here we have the repressive "anti-smoking" crusade combined with "family values" insanity, producing complete state prohibition of normal human behavior! They drive you to drink but won't let you! Finally, on January 10, the mother suffered a collapse after taking pills for anxiety.

Across the South, there's a big push in the racist legislatures to turn back the clock in the overflowing jails and prisons. The chain gang, a signature of the racist Jim Crow era, has been restored in Alabama and Florida, with Alabama now also considering *caning* for young convicts! The lawmakers can't find enough ways to humiliate and degrade prisoners—no smoking, no television, no weightlifting, no nothing. In South Carolina, where the Confederate flag of slavery flies over the state capitol, the "new thinking" means having to scrub public toilets for saying "nope" instead of "no, sir" to the judge!

AP

Fifteen-year-old Tonya Kline shackled to her mom, Deborah Harter, by order of South Carolina judge.

The special backwardness of the Southern judicial and penal systems reflects their continuity with the old system of chattel slavery and the racist system of Jim Crow segregation which was installed after the defeat of post-Civil War Reconstruction. Because the liberal civil rights movement of the 1960s relied on the federal government, and accepted capitalist rule, it could not uproot the racist Good Ol' Boys network which enforced Jim Crow and still runs the halls of "justice" across most of the South.

The reactionary "family values" crusade pushed by Democrats and Republicans targets women, gays, blacks and youth, with the patriarchal bourgeois family posed as the solution to all social problems. Thus, out the window with welfare, and that will mean epidemic starvation especially for black people and women. Since women are supposed to stay in the home taking care of the kids, day-care center workers are witchhunted as "child abusers." Youth are ordered to be obedient to both their parents and the imperialist government, which is now attempting to impose a "New World Order" using American troops, tanks, bombers—and backed up by a massive nuclear arsenal.

Clinton joins the Christian Right in pushing for prayer in schools—but the fundamentalists say sex education mustn't be taught. The state of Alabama just declared that biology textbooks must add a disclaimer that evolution is not a fact! Defend the separation of church and state! As in Tonya's case, the state wants to literally chain youth to their parents—we Marxists believe that teenagers who so wish ought to be provided the means to live independently from their parents.

Especially for black youth, life is hell today. Public education is separate, unequal, and increasingly targeted for elimination. "Paddling" and slapping kids around are preferred methods of discipline in Southern schools. Clinton's program for youth is juvenile boot camps. Students are suspended from schools for wearing hip-hop clothes or Malcolm X symbols. Last year in Union Point, Georgia, officials and merchants arbitrarily banned 21 black youths from entering all downtown stores, under the pretext of an anti-shoplifting campaign. The ban was lifted after widespread controversy and a federal lawsuit filed by 13 of the individuals.

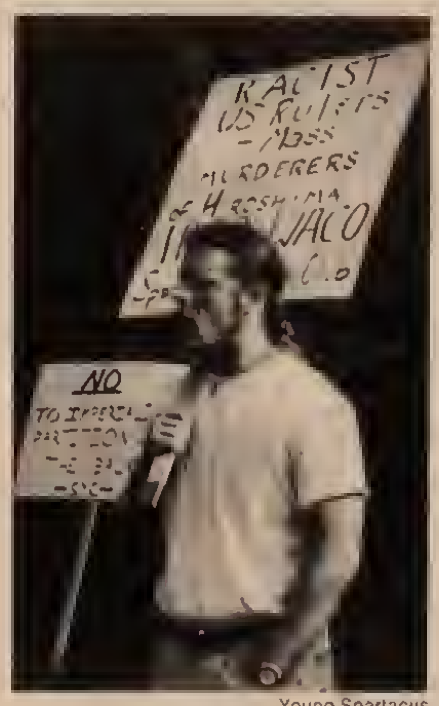
Racist repression is inherent in this capitalist system—where a tiny ruling class lives like kings while the masses sink into poverty and desperation. The return of the chain gang is a Southern signpost for the intensification of prison repression nationwide. The bourgeoisie is on a drive to imprison and execute ever-increasing numbers of youth and poor people. The only way out of a grisly future of poverty, starvation and prison for millions of youth lies in a revolutionary working-class struggle to sweep away the capitalist profit system. Fight for a socialist future! ■

SYC Speakout Against Imperialist Troops in the Balkans

Eugene, Oregon

On January 10, in opposition to the U.S. deployment of 20,000 troops to the Balkans as part of a 60,000-strong NATO force, the Eugene Spartacus Youth Club called a united-front protest against the imperialist intervention to demand "U.S./UN/NATO—Out of the Balkans Now!" This was the first political protest seen on the University of Oregon campus since the upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops in the Rodney King case more than four years ago. It was also endorsed by James Johnston of the leftist, environmentalist campus paper, the *Student Insurgent*.

The SYC spoke out sharply against the illusions in the benevolence of the NATO forces in the region peddled by the Communist Party USA, the World Committee for Peace and other campus groups. We warned that imperialist intervention will only bring more bloodshed. As SYC speaker Julie Lawrence said, "There can be no peace through imperialism because imperialism is founded on the exploitation of the workers of the world." Taking up the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, she added, "The world capitalist order results in economic blockades and military invasions. The bombing and blockade of Iraq has resulted in the deaths of over 500,000 Iraqi women and children...all done in the name of 'peace' or 'democracy.' The triumph of the capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has led U.S. rulers to conclude that they can do anything they want to workers, blacks, Hispanics and the poor here at home. The CPUSA calls for removing U.S. troops, but they want to replace them with UN 'peacekeeping' troops. The UN is just a cover for imperialist intervention around the world. We are glad that the *Student Insurgent* is here today to oppose U.S. imperialism, but point out that to consistently defend the working class, it is just as necessary to defend the struggles of striking workers in this country, which the *Insurgent* betrayed in crossing the picket lines of the OPEU [Oregon Public Employees] strikers last spring."



Young Spartacus

The bloody Balkan conflict epitomizes the need to resolve the crisis of worldwide proletarian leadership. We must build an international Leninist vanguard party which can break the Balkan masses from the nationalist demagogues on all sides, and lead the overthrow of the imperialist butchers through socialist revolution. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League, providing a training ground for young communists. We want to lead working people to victory here in the heart of the imperialist beast. U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

EUGENE
Alternate Saturdays, 4 p.m. Next class, February 17: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*; University of Oregon, Eugene, Chapman Hall, Room 203
For more information: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, February 17: *Principles of Communism*; March 2: *The State and Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, February 10: *The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; February 24: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question*; Spartacist League Public Office, 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
For more information: (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, February 6: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question*; February 20: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question*; UC Santa Cruz, Student Center, M.C. Williams Lounge
For more information: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next classes, February 12: *For Black Workers Power in South Africa*; February 26: *U.S./Canada/NATO Out of the Balkans!*
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, February 29: *The Revolution Betrayed—The Syphilis of Stalinism*; March 14: *Forge an Internationalist, Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!*; Britannia Community Centre, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive), Room L4
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Yeltsin...

(continued from page 1)

the struggle for a revolutionary, internationalist party of the working class. This is the aim of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) as we fight to reimplant the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky in the former homeland of the October Revolution.

Smash Russia's Invasion of Chechnya!

The army siege of Pervomayskoye was justified as an attempt to rescue over 100 people taken hostage by Chechen separatist rebels after being forced to retreat from a nearby town in the Caucasus region of Dagestan. After initiating its assault on the village with the claim that the rebels had begun executing their prisoners, the government then lied that "practically all" of the hostages had already been killed anyway as it ordered the total obliteration of the village. But as dozens of survivors crawled out of the rubble after the firing stopped, it turned out that none of the hostages had been executed. "They never shot anyone," said one, "they didn't abuse us, they did not even swear" (London *Independent*, 19 January). Meanwhile, Moscow TV aired interviews with Russian soldiers "saying that killing Chechens—not saving hostages—was their assigned task" (*Washington Post*, 18 January).

Suau/Time

Yeltsin launched bloody army assault on Russian parliament, October 1993.

Pitted in a desperate struggle against a massive Russian invasion force, the Chechen nationalists, many of them influenced by Islamic fundamentalism, have increasingly resorted to the reprehensible practice of seizing Russian and Caucasian civilians. But this pales in comparison with the war of annihilation being carried out by Yeltsin to assert Russia's claim to be a regional great power. To date, 30,000 people, mainly Chechen civilians, have been killed and 600,000 Chechens driven from their homes. In a Russian-language statement issued in Moscow at the start of the war last year, the ICL declared: "Smash Yeltsin's Invasion of Chechnya!" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995). We call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces and for the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate. The military defense of Chechnya is in the interests of the multinational working class of Russia.

Yeltsin's brazen lies and bungling over the military operation in Chechnya have provoked opposition even within Russia's ruling circles. But, typically, KPRF leader Zyuganov criticizes Yeltsin not for his regime's murderous suppression of the Chechens, but for the "inept" way in which it has been carried out. The KPRF proclaims itself "defenders of the Russian army" and denounces Yeltsin for allowing withdrawing troops to leave behind "mountains of weapons" for Chechen rebels. When a Yabloko deputy proposed a motion of no confidence in the government over the Pervomayskoye siege, the newly elected KPRF speaker of the Duma instead pushed through a resolution calling for an "adequate response" to the Chechen rebellion.

Among liberals, pacifists and many pseudo-leftists, it has become commonplace to compare Yeltsin's war against the Chechens with the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in 1979. This comparison is entirely false. The Soviet Union was a workers state, albeit ruled by a parasitic bureaucracy, and the Soviet Army intervened in a *civil war* to support a modernizing left-nationalist government under attack by anti-woman Islamic feudalist reactionaries armed and organized by American imperialism. But not a single Western capital today supports the Chechen rebels, even at the diplomatic level, because the imperialists all endorse the "territorial integrity" of Yeltsin's Russia.

KPRF: Anti-Working-Class Chauvinists

The KPRF is no more opposed to capitalism than Yeltsin, as Zyuganov made clear in addressing potential foreign investors at a special luncheon arranged for him in Moscow last October by the American Chamber of Commerce. Even Wall Street's Salomon Brothers investment bank described these so-called "Communists" as "bourgeois in their outlook" (*Newsweek*, 18 December 1995). Zyuganov and his fellow rump Stalinists have been hostile to every significant instance of organized class struggle by the proletariat, refusing, for example, to support the strike of starving Donetsk coal miners in the eastern Ukraine in 1993, the most significant instance of class struggle to date in what was the Soviet Union.

KPRF campaign flyers declared, "Russia was and will become a great state power." Calling for a "national patriotic government," Zyuganov initially sought an electoral alliance with

the Congress of Russian Communities, the party of retired General Aleksandr Lebed, a self-professed admirer of Chilean butcher Pinochet and a would-be candidate for bonapartist strongman. When Lebed's party performed poorly in the polls, the KPRF scheduled negotiations with, among others, the fascistic Zhirinovsky.

As we note in "Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call 'Restore the Soviet Union'" (see page 3), Zyuganov himself is a virtual embodiment of the "red-brown" coalition—the bloc of Stalinist has-beens with fascists, monarchists and other right-wing Russian nationalists. His recent book *Derzhava* ("Great Power"!) calls for combining the "'red' ideal of social justice" with "the 'white' ideal of a nationally conceived state." In line with this, the KPRF paints the October Revolution—which Lenin saw as the first chapter of the world socialist revolution—as "Russia's only real chance to preserve itself as a nation-state." The perceptive and erudite Russian liberal Aleksandr Tsipko observed that "Zyuganov is neither a social democrat nor a communist in the traditional meaning of the word, but a *gosudarstvennik*—an advocate of Russia as a great power in the traditional, geo-political sense of the term."

Fake-Lefts Hail "Red-Browns"

When the Soviet degenerated workers state still existed, much of the Western left—from the United Secretariat (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel to the centrist British Workers Power group—enthused over capitalist-restorationist forces supported by the imperialists and the labor lackeys. Rabochaya Demokratiya (Workers Democracy), Russian supporters of the British-based reformist Militant tendency, and other "leftists" openly stood on Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades in August 1991. In contrast, we of the International Communist League declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" We pointed to the need for workers mobilizations to sweep away the Yeltsinite scum. Such actions would have marked the beginning of a proletarian political revolution.

Today, the fake-lefts in Russia and the West are seeking to distance themselves from the increasingly unpopular Yeltsin regime whose rise to power they supported. Thus, many are promoting the KPRF as a left, working-class party. While for its British audience the Militant group said, "No Choice for Workers in Russian Elections," in Russia *Rabochaya Demokratiya* ran a front-page headline screaming, "Not One Vote for the Right!" (burying any disclaimer of "political support" to Zyuganov to the fine print 29 paragraphs down). The USec's *International Viewpoint* (January 1996) carried a piece in which Mandelite favorite Alexander Buzgalin argues that "the main task of leftists today" is the formation of a "left-centrist coalition" around Zyuganov's party. This is not even a call for a class-collaborationist popular front, which ties the workers' organizations to the parties of the bourgeoisie, but rather for a chauvinist *national* front. And the British *Socialist Action* (October-November 1995), formerly affiliated with the USec, cheered that the KPRF's growing support represented a "massive revival of the left," dementedly concluding that Russia is in the throes of a "revolutionary situation"!

In a similar vein, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party in the U.S. painted the growing support for "Communists" as the result of a supposed burgeoning wave of class struggle while enthusing over the "revolutionary socialist platform" of Viktor Anpilov's Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP) and its "Communists—Toiling Russia—For the Soviet Union" slate (*Workers World*, 14 December 1995). If anything, Anpilov's outfit is even more grotesque than the KPRF in its adulation for Joseph Stalin and in the stridency of its Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Where Zyuganov seeks to be the respectable, parliamentary voice of Stalino-chauvinism, the RKRP is the "party of the streets." The RKRP's *Molniya* (April 1995) advanced as slogans for last year's May Day: "Deprivatization! De-Yeltsinization! De-Zionization!" Put bluntly, that means scapegoating Jews for the ravages of capitalist restoration.

As we wrote three years ago in "Stalin Drowned the Communist Party of Lenin and Trotsky in Blood," the KPRF, RKRP, et al. "are not parties based on the working class, but fragments of the bureaucracy, which had contempt for, and above all feared, the working class.... At least

KPRF head Gennadi Zyuganov embodies "red-brown" coalition uniting Stalinist has-beens and fascists behind Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism, as in April 1995 Moscow protest against Clinton visit with Yeltsin.

Marxists...

(continued from page 3)

> diagnosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."
>
> —*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (1938)

These were the alternatives facing the Soviet proletariat up to the very moment when capitalist restoration triumphed. However, more than six decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule politically disarmed and demoralized the Soviet working class in the face of the relentless and ultimately successful drive of the imperialists to restore capitalism in Russia and the surrounding regions.

Coal miners demonstrate outside Yeltsin's White House in April 1994 to demand back pay. Stalinist bureaucracy atomized Soviet proletariat. Now ex-Stalinist bourgeois nationalists compete to be new exploiters of Russian working people.

Real Soviets Are Organs for Workers Rule

So what does it mean when the degenerate Stalinist fragments of the gravediggers of the revolution, like the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) and the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP), claim to be for "restoring the Soviet Union"? Certainly, amidst the all-sided economic and social devastation and the wars of national fratricide which now beset the peoples of the ex-USSR, the days not long past when there was order and the factories worked can look pretty good. But such nostalgia, which today is almost universally a harking back *not* to the October Revolution but to the Soviet Union under the Stalinists, is not a program for socialist revolution. We Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution as long as it existed. This was based on its class character, the fact that it was a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated since 1924. But the Stalinist remnants who helped undermine proletarian power are trying to salvage only the perks they once enjoyed as cogs in the bureaucratic machine which administered the degenerated workers state. And today they couldn't care less whether their sinecures derive from a proletarian or a bourgeois state.

The reason for this is to be found in the character of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It was a parasitic caste that rested on the proletarian property forms of the Soviet degenerated workers state. It had a dual nature, compelled at times to defend those property forms in a bureaucratic fashion—with methods that, as Trotsky observed, "facilitate the victory of the enemy *tomorrow*" ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State," October 1933)—while simultaneously undermining them because it also served as a transmission belt for the relentless pressures of the world capitalist market and world imperialism. But with capitalist counterrevolution, the Stalinist fragments who formerly advocated "socialism in one country" have simply become outright bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists. The RKRP, KPRF, [Nina Andreyeva's] All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (VKPB), etc. are not parties based on the working class, even in the sense of the reformist British Labour Party, which is organizationally linked to the British trade unions. It is notable that all of the remaining Stalinist fragments on the territories of the ex-USSR are suffused with hostility to the proletariat; thus they all refused to support the strikes of the coal miners, or the strike of the air traffic controllers in August 1992.

The rump Stalinists have increasingly taken on the political coloration of the open reactionaries they tail, overlapping and interpenetrating with fascists, monarchists, the Orthodox Church and anti-Semitic chauvinists. The real content of their call for "restoration of the Soviet Union" is an appeal for a stronger Russian-dominated *capitalist* state, a modern version of the tsarist Russian empire. Gennadi Zyuganov, the chairman of the KPRF, is virtually an embodiment of the "red-brown" coalition—co-chairman with General Aleksandr Sterligov of the fascistic Russian National Sobor at its June 1992 founding, and a prominent figure in all the actions of the "left-right" National Salvation Front from its founding in the summer of 1992 to its formal banning in October 1993. The March 1992 "Declaration on the Founding of the United Opposition," signed by all the Stalinist leftovers as well as their monarchist and fascist bloc partners, formalized the repulsive "red-brown" coalition and called for "salvation of the Fatherland...on the basis of civil peace and national trust."

One of the by-products of 70 years of Stalinist perversion of Marxism is the violence it has done to Marxist terminology. It is necessary to be clear about what we mean by words like "soviet," "internationalism," etc. One of the reasons for not using slogans like "reforge the Soviet Union" is that even many people who consider themselves Marxists do not understand that soviets were institutions for *workers rule*. Thus, in your letter you write that almost everywhere in the former USSR, except Russia, soviet power still exists, "at least formally." But this is a Stalinist myth. The soviets that came to power in October 1917 were revolutionary organizations of the working class that wielded government power. They were organized on the basis of the principle of workers democracy—election of delegates at the workplace and subject to immediate recall, the free competition of parties and platforms which did not seek the counterrevolutionary overthrow of the state—and became the realization in practice of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat (for a fuller exposition of this question, see in particular Friedrich Engels' 1891 introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*).

In the course of the Civil War in Russia, on account of the collapse of industry and the fact that proletarian cadre were needed at the front and to administer the young workers state, the role of the workers soviets declined. The preservation of the regime of workers democracy was in practice embodied in the Bolshevik Party, where free discussion was not only normal and practiced, but was the very wellspring which fed the party's revolutionary fibre, notwithstanding the temporary ban on factions introduced at the 10th Party Congress in 1921. However, it was the onset of Thermidor in 1923-24 (see discussion below) which delivered the definitive blow to the soviets as instruments of the revolutionary will of the proletariat. The official "soviets," just like the CPSU and the trade unions, became in reality simply part of the bureaucratic state apparatus.

The "soviets" which remain today—the name notwithstanding—are in fact nothing other than subordinate organs of the bourgeois state apparatus, in no wise different from the sort of municipal councils which have long existed in capitalist countries in the West. To talk about taking over "soviets" today can at best only be camouflage for some kind of bourgeois parliamentarism. Our task is not to get immersed in such reformist fantasies, but to make known the lessons of the collapse of the Soviet workers state so that we can assemble the cadre for a party that can lead the masses to socialist revolution. And key to that is the struggle against all forms of nationalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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since 1933 on, the CPSU was basically a gang for skimming off the social surplus generated by the planned, collectivized economy" (Spartacist Pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* [August 1993]). The KPRF was founded in February 1993 by former CPSU functionaries who had proven less adept than the Yeltsins and Chernomyrdins at plundering the remains of the former USSR's collectivized economy. As an article in the London *Financial Times* (14 January) put it, the KPRF is "the political vehicle for the least dynamic members of the old *nomenklatura*, who were left behind in Russia's economic transition and now want their share of the pie."

With a new capitalist class not yet fully cohered and consolidated, Zyuganov's party acts as the political representative of one of the numerous competing banking and industrial "clans," in much the same way as Chernomyrdin's speaks for the giant natural gas monopoly. The KPRF is hostile to any conception of a workers party. Indeed, as journalist Renfrey Clarke reported in a 14 December 1995 Internet article, when one KPRF Duma deputy from St. Petersburg spoke out against the leadership's "state-patriotic positions" and argued for a "class party of working people," he was effectively purged by being dropped to the bottom of the KPRF's electoral slate.

Russian Social Democracy Stillborn

Throughout much of East Europe, the successors to the former Stalinist ruling parties have transformed themselves into social-democratic formations akin, for example, to the British Labour Party. These labor reformists—like the ex-Stalinists who were voted into office in Poland and Hungary in protest at the right-wing nationalist regimes that were popularly identified with the introduction of capitalist hardship—function as agents of the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie from *within* the labor movement. However, various attempts to form a social-democratic party in Yeltsin's Russia have been stillborn. This was the case with both the Socialist Party of Labor of Roy Medvedev, which identified with West European "socialist" parties, and the Party of Labor of Boris Kagarlitsky, which sought to be an appendage of the ex-Stalinist Moscow FNPR trade-union bureaucracy.

But the corporatist FNPR tops preferred to maintain their close ties to the industrial managers. Indeed, it is difficult to speak of a workers movement in Russia today even in a sociological sense. Atomized by nearly 70 years of Stalinist misrule, and now further paralyzed by the all-encompassing economic collapse, the working class of Russia has not embarked on class struggle in any significant way; what workers' actions do take place tend to be either desperate hunger strikes to demand back payment of wages or lobbying efforts on behalf of the industrial managers aimed at pressuring the government to subsidize their factories by printing money.

In this situation, there is little place for labor reformism. Instead, the "red-brown" coalition has filled the vacuum as the main opposition to the now

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Racist Drug Witchhunt Targets Oakland Woman

Drop the Charges Against Rena Raybon!

It isn't enough that 35-year-old Rena Raybon lost her four children and a grandchild in a tragic fire in East Oakland last October 14: now, after nearly three months of "investigation," the state wants to imprison her for being poor, black and a woman. On January 2, the D.A.'s office charged her with five counts of involuntary manslaughter and one count of child endangerment; if convicted she could face *26 years in prison*.

The fire was reportedly caused by a smoldering cigarette which ignited a couch in Rayhon's apartment. Like many homes in the black ghetto, the apartment had barred windows which lacked emergency releases required by law, due to the landlord's negligence. So the resulting inferno turned the apartment into a prison of death. Felicia Raybon, the eldest child, was seen screaming for help and frantically struggling to remove the bars illegally bolted into the window sills, to no avail. Outside, her mother ran from one barred window to another in a fruitless effort to free the trapped children.

Employing their standard operating procedure that black people are guilty until proven innocent, the cops arrested Raybon immediately after the fire, but soon released her when authorities determined that the deaths were accidental. Raybon was vindictively charged with manslaughter only *after* she had filed a civil suit against the city and the landlord. As Raybon's attorney said, "it is outrageous that she is being charged when the real criminal is the landlord" (*Oakland Tribune*, 24 January).

The cops and D.A. are trying to make Rena Raybon yet another victim of the racist "war on drugs." Maligning Rayhon as the mother of two so-called "crack babies" and alleging that the fire was started by a marijuana cigarette, the cops tested Raybon for drugs even as she was grieving for her lost family. The vendetta against Raybon is typical of the treatment being meted out today to black women, who are the fastest-growing sector of the burgeoning prison population. Between 1986 and 1991, the number of black women in state prisons for drug offenses increased more than *eightfold*. Since 1992, the women's prison population has soared 275 percent, with black women seven times more likely to be jailed than white women.

And California's new "three strikes and you're out" law mandates life sentences even for petty crimes against property. For "blind" capitalist "justice," the loss of a poor black family weighs far less heavily on the scales than the loss of rents. As it seeks to cut welfare payments to the lowest level in the state, Alameda County poses prison as the alternative to decent housing for the poor. The Women's Economic Agenda Project (WEAP), which is rallying support for Rayhon, explains that she had been forced to move from a safer apartment because she could not afford the $800 monthly rent. So her family crowded into the firetrap that was their doom.

Raybon's black East Oakland neighborhood accounts for 25 percent of the fire deaths in Oakland, which has the highest fire death rate in California. The city sits on a stockpile of free smoke alarms that could easily prevent many of these deaths. But city officials refuse to distribute them because of the dreaded H-word, "handout"! "When you do that ...you end up giving them to people who don't really need them," the city fire chief arrogantly proclaimed (*Oakland Tribune*, 27 December 1995). The black Democratic Party front men for racist rule, like Oakland mayor Elihu Harris, ensure that handouts are only for the rich. Wealthy Oakland Hills residents received lavish assistance after the 1991 fire. But what blacks in the working-class flatlands get are insulting "educational" programs such as "Learn Not to Burn."

In the eyes of the capitalist rulers, the ghetto masses are an expendable "surplus population." Meanwhile, the liberal "civil rights establishment" promotes the racist "war on drugs" and capitulates to the genocidal anti-welfare social agenda pushed by Gingrich and Clinton. Along with the sinister nationalist demagogue Farrakhan, the black liberals alibi the slashing of social programs with "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" rhetoric while pushing "community policing," the latest ploy designed to create the illusion that the cops—black or white—are something other than the armed fist of the ruling class.

The same "war on drugs" that targets the black ghetto masses is also used by the capitalist exploiters to regiment the working class, imposing drug testing to victimize union members. It's in the interest of the integrated labor movement, particularly the heavily black public sector unions, to come to the defense of Rena Raybon and all the victims of racist repression. Now more than ever we need a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. Drop the charges against Rena Raybon! ■

Yeltsin...

(continued from page 9)

despised Yeltsin regime. Kagarlitsky, whose personal ambition was always stronger than his "socialist" principles, ran on the KPRF slate in the recent Duma elections. And Medvedev, who during the Brezhnev era was a pro-socialist critic of the Kremlin bureaucracy, albeit within a liberal Stalinist framework, is now supporting Russia's would-be Pinochet, Aleksandr Lebed.

Why the difference between the ex-Stalinist social democrats in Poland or Hungary and the ex-Stalinist "patriots" in Russia? The Polish and Hungarian ex-Stalinists, though also nationalist, had to define themselves in opposition to virulently reactionary forces—like Lech Walesa's Solidarność—which spearheaded the counterrevolution and equated "Communism" with Soviet domination. In Russia, Anpilov and his ilk could—and did—ally with fascists and monarchists in the name of preserving a strong Russian-centered state as the *multinational* USSR was ripped apart by centrifugal forces. In this they followed in the footsteps of Stalin himself, who increasingly identified "Soviet patriotism" with traditional Russian nationalism and glorified feudal state-builders like Aleksandr Nevsky and Ivan the Terrible. Likewise, the Brezhnev regime in the 1970s, whose functional ideology was not even "socialism in one country" so much as "superpowerism," tolerated and promoted reactionary Russian nationalists and vocal anti-Semites like the "village writer" Valentin Rasputin.

Today these nationalists demagogically blame the economic immiseration caused by capitalist restoration on a supposed plot by the Western powers and an "international Zionist conspiracy" to degrade the Russian nation. Thus, Zyuganov claims that Russia has become a "semicolony" of the West. In fact, *every* country in East Europe and *every* former Soviet republic—regardless of the ideological character of their current governments—has experienced the collapse of industrial production, massive unemployment and the pauperization of large sections of the population.

Most of the KPRF's left apologists simply deep-six its chauvinist politics, instead playing up its populist rhetoric about "soviet power" and renationalization of industry. But *Socialist Action* actually *lauds* Zyuganov's grotesque Great Russian nationalism as a "progressive defence of Russia against western imperialism which is an absolutely necessary political position for the left in Russia." This bogus "anti-imperialism" is simply a cover for support to the Kremlin's drive for domination over the Chechens and other non-Russian peoples in the "near abroad." Nor is the increasingly strident nationalist line coming out of Moscow in any way incompatible with collaborating as a junior partner with one or another Western power in the context of widening interimperialist rivalries. The Russians have sent a contingent of troops to help enforce the imperialist-brokered "peace" in Bosnia. Capitalist Russia has sought to serve as soft cops particularly for German imperialism, while posing as the great-power protector of the Serbs as in the days of the tsars.

Within Russia, the impact of nationalism on the opportunist left is exemplified by the trajectory of the Rabochaya Borba (Workers Struggle) group of Dmitry Zhvania, variously associated with Tony Cliff's "third camp" British Socialist Workers Party (represented by the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.) and the French Lutte Ouvrière. Zhvania's outfit campaigned for Eduard Limonov's fascist National Bolshevik Party in the elections, and was congratulated for this "priceless" work in the fascists' *Limonka* (November 1995). Indeed, a scurrilous Rabochaya Borba leaflet denouncing Yeltsin & Co. as "cynical traitors" for even negotiating with the Chechen rebels was reprinted in the same issue of this fascist rag as "fully coinciding" with Limonov's own position.

Reforge the Fourth International!

There is today massive dissatisfaction with the government in factory, mining and collective-farm towns that were built up under the Soviet planned economy and are now devastated. While Yeltsin's apologists cheer that production declined by only 4 percent in 1995, this comes on the heels of an economic collapse wiping out *60 percent* of production over the previous four years. Unemployment nominally stands at 8 percent, but the reality is that a significant section of the workforce has "jobs" that pay less than the survival minimum while millions are not paid at all for months at a time. In the last year alone, real wages have decreased over 20 percent. The very economic existence of the working class is now threatened.

But the bare economic statistics do not begin to approach the magnitude of social collapse. The bulk of the former Soviet Union's towns were built up around single giant enterprises that provided virtually all social and municipal services. With their bankruptcy, whole industrial and agrarian regions are afflicted with rolling blackouts that leave families without light, heat or water for weeks and months. Diseases of poverty such as diphtheria that were wiped out during the early years of Bolshevik rule have now returned to stalk whole regions. The birthrate has plunged to barely more than half the death rate, while over the past four years life expectancy for males has dropped from 64 to 57. Despite its heavy industrial base, well-educated labor force and huge technical intelligentsia inherited from the USSR, Russia is being reduced to the social conditions of a semicolonial country.

But in the absence of an authoritative Leninist vanguard, massive social discontent is being channeled into reactionary populist nationalism. Marxists must wage an unremitting struggle against chauvinist and other bourgeois tendencies within the working class. That requires a political struggle not only against Zyuganov & Co., but against the various opportunists who act as "socialist" apologists for the new exploiters.

As long as the Soviet degenerated workers state existed, we continued Trotsky's fight to defend the gains of October through a program for international socialist revolution, calling for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the nationalist regime erected by Stalin and his heirs. Today we fight for socialist revolution against the blood-drenched Yeltsin government and the cutthroat capitalists it represents. Then as now, the crucial question is one of revolutionary leadership. We in the ICL strive to build a Leninist party, part of a reforged Fourth International, that will be a genuine tribune of the people, combatting all forms of oppression. ■

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NYC Building Strike...

(continued from page 12)

Workers to Build Solidarity" and lambastes electricians for crossing picket lines. But ISO supporters walked right through a picket line outside the New School for Social Research in downtown Manhattan in order to hold one of their advertised weekly forums. And on their way through the door, these scab "socialists" had the chutzpah to offer their "support" to the picketing strikers.

Then there is the so-called "Bolshevik" Tendency (BT). Confronted by a Spartacist League supporter after skulking out of a picketed office building, one BT supporter tried to alibi his strikebreaking with the union bureaucrats' line that the strike was not directed against his employer but against the "building management." When put on the spot about their supporter's scabbing, BTers at a "Student-Worker Strike Support Committee" meeting organized by various left groups on January 26 cynically sputtered, "Is every one of your members honoring the lines?" *Any* class-conscious worker, not just a communist, understands in his guts the elementary working-class principle that *picket lines mean don't cross!* As the traditional miners song goes, "Which side are you on?"

For decades, the labor bureaucrats have made a mockery of the picket-line principle, inventing "informational picket lines" as a dodge and abjectly capitulating to the bosses' anti-strike laws. Reflecting their real class loyalties, the CLC tops find themselves on the bosses' side of the picket line, where they're joined by not a few "leftist" groups. Workers need a class-struggle union leadership forged in political struggle against the lieutenants of capital within the labor movement, who bind workers to their class enemy through their ties to the Democratic Party. A revolutionary workers party must be forged to champion the cause of all the oppressed and fight for a workers government to expropriate the bosses. *Victory to the building workers strike!* ■

Scab "socialists": ISO supporters cross picket line at New School for Social Research, January 25, to hold meeting inside.

British Election...

(continued from page 12)

ex-miner said, "I shall vote for Arthur. It's sacrilege what's gone on here."

But the reformist program of Scargill's SLP, which tacitly accepts the framework of capitalist parliamentarism, offers no way forward for the working class. We call for abolition of the anachronisms of the monarchy, the estahlished churches and the House of Lords, leading—as the relationship of forces permits—to confrontations over the institution of the House of Commons and the City of London financiers and capitalists it represents. What is needed is a sweeping social revolution culminating with the workers in power, opening a new line of historical development.

As the *Workers Hammer* supplement (28 January) reprinted below emphasizes, what is needed is an internationalist Leninist vanguard party, forged through winning Labour's working-class base to a revolutionary Marxist program. This is what the SL/B fights for.

Vote Brenda Nixon!

We strongly urge support to Brenda Nixon of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in the Hemsworth by-election because the issues she is standing on—renationalisation of the main privatised industries, repeal of the anti-union laws and the rebuilding of the public services—speak to the felt needs of the working people of these islands. Further, she has said that the SLP will he a party of opposition to Lahour.

Everyone knows that a Blair Labour government will not redress the social crimes of the Tories. Blair's "New Labour" seizes every opportunity to show their utter contempt for the working class and oppressed. They endorse everything from the hated anti-union laws to attacks on health and education and even exceed the Tories when it comes to promoting racist "law and order" in order to carry out the City's dictates. The City is making a mess of the national economy to preserve their bloody privileges and power.

The Hemsworth electorate covers key Yorkshire mining areas that have been devastated by the pit closures and ravaged by unemployment. This is an area where miners stood firm to the very end during the historic strike of 1984-85. There is a residue of bitterness and hatred not only over the years of Tory government union-busting austerity but also against the Labour bureaucracy's treachery and betrayal.

A deep gulf lies between what working people want and what Blair promises to deliver. Labour's refusal to even advocate renationalisation of the railways has aroused fury within Labour's union base, most recently expressed in the rail unions. A real fight against rail privatisation centred in the rail unions would garner widespread support.

While the demands that Brenda Nixon has raised are clearly supportable, they cannot be achieved within the confines of capitalism. We need workers republics! Her Majesty's existing governmental arrangements are counterposed to the struggle for workers emancipation. We are for a federation of workers republics in the British Isles—for a start: abolish the monarchy, the established churches and the House of Lords! For the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales!

At the heart of Lahourism ("new" or "old") has always been allegiance to British capitalist rule and espousal of British nationalism. Protectionism is poison to the needs of the international working class. French and South African workers' aid and support to the miners strike was invaluable. Yet the call to "save British coal" and for import controls was central to Arthur Scargill's campaign over the 1992 pit closures. Only a party which fights for international working-class solidarity across national lines can fight in the interests of the working class. That means, ahove all, fighting the machinations of our own imperialist rulers.

From countries as diverse as South Korea, Brazil and South Africa there have been major outbreaks of working-class struggle. Across Britain there have been a series of bitter defensive struggles going on, from the locked-out Liverpool dockers to the firefighters and postal workers. Their struggles have been encouraged by the recent massive strike wave in France against a government assault on social welfare.

The 1984-85 miners' battle galvanised support from broad layers of British society—youth, blacks and Asians who were amongst the most active and eager supporters of the strike. This is because they saw in the miners the potential to deal a blow against the whole racist system of state brutality. What the SLP does not address, but which is vital, is the resurgence of racist anti-immigrant hysteria in this country and throughout Europe. Down with the Asylum and Immigration Bill which threatens thousands of refugees with deportation, torture and death!

During the miners strike, Scargill took militant trade unionism about as far as possible. The entire force of the capitalist state was arrayed against the miners. Their defeat was sealed by the sabotage and treachery of the Labour Party leadership of Neil Kinnock and the TUC leaders, and also by the outright refusal of the "left" leaders, especially in the railway and dockers unions, to strike alongside the miners.

But the lesson from all these struggles is that without a revolutionary Marxist programme and a Leninist vanguard party we can only succeed in frustrating the ruling class, not overthrowing it. We need the type of party that embodies what Chartist leader James Bronterre O'Brien said:

> "My motto is...'What you *take* you may have.' I will not attempt to deal with the abstract question of right, but will proceed to show that it is POWER, solid, substantial POWER, that the millions must obtain *and retain*, if they would enjoy the produce of their own labour and the privileges of freemen." (1837) ■

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For more information: (212) 267-1025

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VANCOUVER

WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Building Workers Strike

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

NEW YORK, January 30—The strike by over 30,000 janitors, porters, repairmen and elevator operators at commercial office buildings in New York City has now entered its fourth week. Striking members of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32B-32J are picketing over 1,000 commercial office buildings in a battle against the real estate barons' attempt to impose a two-tier wage system which would lower starting wages by *40 percent*. The outcome of the strike by 32B-32J, the home local of new AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney, will have an impact on labor struggle across the country.

But while the strikers remain solid, picketing and marching in snow and freezing weather, frustration and anger are mounting. The union tops have kept the membership in the dark and refused to put some muscle in the picket lines, because that would mean defying the bosses' anti-union laws. The strikers have faced strikebreakers wielding bats and guns and taken scores of arrests, as Giuliani's cops herd deliverymen and scab cleaners through the picket lines.

Strikers daily watch throngs of office workers, skilled-trades workers, delivery drivers and trash haulers walk through their picket lines. It's an outrage that

WV Photo

Picket-line solidarity by all unions is key to winning SEIU Local 32B-32J strike against real estate barons.

supervisors organized by 32B-32J, whose contract expires at the end of January, are still on the job! Mass pickets are needed to shut down major office towers like the World Trade Center. There is an urgent need for an elected strike committee to take control of the strike and start playing hardball. Many Teamster-organized UPS drivers (and many unorganized Federal Express workers) aren't crossing the lines, but many other Teamsters are. Strikers and their supporters should demonstrate outside Teamsters offices to demand that the union order *all* its members to honor their picket lines. Instead, the union tops are pursuing a dead-end strategy that can only lead to disaster.

As we wrote in our last issue, "If every union in town honored the elementary labor principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*, the strike could be won in a matter of days." After a January 10 meeting of the NYC Central Labor Council, Local 32B-32J head Gus Bevona announced that the other unions would be "honoring our picket lines." Meanwhile, *the CLC tops themselves have been crossing picket lines every day* at their own 386 Park Avenue South headquarters! The union fat cats even held a "strike support" luncheon on January 18 inside the struck Woolworth Building.

It isn't only the cravenly pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats who are spitting on the strikers' picket lines. The rad-lib *Village Voice* (23 January) actually ran a photo of pickets in front of its building where the paper continues to be published. Numerous groups claiming to be "socialist" are no better. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) headlines in its latest *Socialist Worker* that "It Will Be Up to Rank-and-File Building

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Break with Labourism, "Old" and "New"—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Britain: Election Challenge to Tony Blair's Labour Party

For the first time in decades, the British Labour Party's political stranglehold over the workers movement is being challenged by an important split from within. On January 13, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leader Arthur Scargill, who headed the militant 1984-85 coal strike, announced the formation of his Socialist Labour Party (SLP) to stand in opposition to the "New" Labour Party of Tony Blair. The SLP is now running its first candidate for Parliament, Brenda Nixon of the Women Against Pit Closures Movement, in a February 1 by-election in Hemsworth, a former NUM stronghold. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain have called for critical support to the SLP candidate.

Seeking to recast Labour in the mold of the openly capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S., Blair has pushed to rupture the Labour Party's historic ties with the trade unions and scuttled even its pretensions to stand for socialism. Thus, at last year's party conference, Labour abandoned its constitutional "Clause IV," which called for the nationalization of industry. It was this which provoked Scargill into launching his breakaway party, as the miners leader denounced Blair for betraying Labour's "socialist soul" (see "International Solidarity with Liverpool Dock Strike," *WV* No. 637, 19 January). Yet much of the self-styled "revolutionary" left in Britain is so beholden to the Labour traitors that they denounced from the right Scargill's split.

But with or without Clause IV, Labour has always been a thoroughly *pro-capitalist* party, demonstrated not least by its open strikebreaking in league with the Conservative Thatcher government's union-busting assault on the NUM in 1984-85. This betrayal by the Labour leaders, "left" and right, paved the way for a crippling attack against the entire union movement and the decimation of the coal fields. Today, Hemsworth's Frickley colliery, which once employed 2,500 miners, is an empty shell. One

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Tom Pilston

Socialist Labour Party candidate Brenda Nixon with miners union leader Arthur Scargill.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 639 16 February 1996

Clinton Militarizes the Border

Labor: Defend and Organize Immigrant Workers!

Down With "English Only" Racism!
Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Gropp/Sipa

INS cops round up Latino immigrants in San Rafael, California. Racist U.S. rulers have declared full-scale war on immigrants.

Behind 10-foot-high steel walls topped with barbed wire, under the glare of arc lights and searchlights, hundreds of soldiers and police operate motion detectors and video cameras, night-vision scopes and ground sensors, while Border Patrol agents in white Broncos man highway checkpoints and Black Hawk helicopters whir overhead in search of prey. From San Diego, California on the Pacific to Brownsville, Texas on the Gulf of Mexico, the Clinton White House is turning the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border into a militarized zone bristling with high-tech weaponry, symbolic of the ruling class' hysterical anti-immigrant campaign.

In this election year, President Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno and the Republican Congress have united to beef up the notoriously brutal Border Patrol. In such military-style maneuvers as "Operation Blockade" (El Paso), "Operation Gatekeeper" (San Diego) and "Operation Safeguard" (Nogales, Arizona), the hated *migra* (Immigration and Naturalization Service—INS) last year *expelled more than 1.2 million Mexicans* at the border. Jails are flooded with thousands of undocumented workers picked up in INS factory raids. The targets of this unprecedented military buildup are impoverished immigrants fleeing the grinding poverty and repression of the U.S.' Latin American neocolonies.

On January 16, the Justice Department put into effect a $13.5 million three-month operation involving the Border Patrol, the INS and the FBI. Targeting the Arizona and Southern California "sectors" of the border, a big chunk of this new money is to pay local police to assist the Border Patrol. Two hundred Border Patrol officers, 100 FBI and INS investigators and inspectors are being added, along with 350 troops from the Marines, Army and National Guard. Since the military is legally prohibited from carrying out police actions inside the U.S., federal officials say that it is only engaged in "support" activities.

Roberto Martínez, director of the American Friends Service Committee's U.S.-Mexico Border Program, replied in an open letter to Reno: "If this is not militarization of the border, then the 16 mile long steel wall separating San Diego and Tijuana is not a steel wall, and the stadium lights are just a figment of our imagination." He writes, "I have personally taken photographs of National Guard personnel, not only driving Border Patrol vans and Broncos, but detaining and transporting suspected undocumented immigrants on the border." In an interview with *WV*, Martinez referred to the Clinton/Reno military buildup as "Operation Border Storm."

Following the passage of the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California in 1994, the Republicans have tried to whip up hysteria against "illegal aliens" as an electoral ploy. Competing in the Mexican-bashing frenzy, the Democrats responded by calling on the military to seal the border. The reactionary anti-immigrant furor is a major theme of the '96 presidential race. Clinton proclaimed in his State of the Union address, "This administration has taken a strong stand to stiffen protection on our borders," and announced plans to increase the Border Patrol (already doubled in size since he took office) by another 50 percent.

U.S. Attorney and longtime Clinton crony Alan Bersin, who was recently appointed "border czar" by Reno, plans to open special immigration courts in the Otay Mesa area near San Diego to "make deportations faster and more efficient." Nationally, Clinton's proposed "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act" would authorize the summary deportation of any immigrants who contributed to foreign groups deemed to be "terrorist" (as the Salvadoran FMLN and the South African ANC were until recently), including using "star chamber" trials in which the proceedings, evidence and even the charges are secret. Proposed "welfare reforms" would bar even legal immigrants from receiving food stamps or Medicaid.

A main purpose of this escalating anti-immigrant repression is to intimidate the millions of undocumented workers already in the U.S. This huge population without any legal rights is prey to abusive employers seeking to drive down wages and bust unions. The *New York Times* (31 January) reported on its front page two related events which give a measure of their desperate situation: one was the fact that 15,000 scabs had been hired to break the recent New York commercial building maintenance workers strike; second was a rush of almost 1,000 undocumented immigrants to the NYC federal building in the middle of the night in freezing temperatures, lured by rumors that the INS was handing out "green card" resident visas. Yet despite the massive barriers they face, low-paid immigrants have become one of the most combative sectors of the working class, leading a number of recent unionization battles.

As decaying American capitalism has produced more than two decades of falling living standards, reactionary forces in the U.S. seek to scapegoat immigrants as the cause of unemployment and low wages. At the same time, the Mexican economy has plunged into its deepest recession in 60 years, shrinking by more than 10 percent in the last quarter of 1995, as the peso dropped nearly 60 percent against the dollar. A couple of years ago, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was being touted as an economic panacea. But as we warned at the time, this neocolonial deal represented the "free-trade rape of Mexico." In the wake of the peso devaluation, a $50 billion imperialist bailout loan was used to get the Zedillo government to impose brutal austerity measures, while giving Washington and Wall Street direct control over Mexico's oil income. As a result of the severe economic measures, over one million jobs were lost, forcing starving families northward.

Fearing the possible effects of a social explosion in Latin America, U.S. rulers have responded to Mexico's growing impoverishment by rushing to barricade the border. U.S. and Latin American workers, in contrast, must reach across the border to wage united class struggle against their common class enemies.

"Low-Intensity Warfare" on the Mexican Border

The chilling commingling of police and military agencies involved in the Clinton administration's anti-immigrant operation signals a new level of police-state repression aimed at all labor and minorities. The government talks and acts like it's waging a full-scale war against immigrants. Referring to the steel border fence being built south of San Diego, White House immigration aide Rahm Emanuel declared, "We have a battle plan to secure Imperial Beach, move to Chula Vista, lock that down and shut the back door to California by securing Arizona" (*Washington Post*, 12 January). Timothy Dunn, author of a forthcoming book on *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border*, terms the border buildup in recent

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Graduates from Goddard College

Congratulations!

On January 21, Mumia Abu-Jamal received his college degree from Goddard College. There was a standing ovation, and cheers of "Free Mumia!" rang out as his son Jamal accepted the Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology on behalf of his father at the graduation ceremony. Mumia was a student at Goddard between 1978 and 1980. He reapplied from death row and was accepted into the college's off-campus program. The small liberal arts college is located about 15 miles outside of Montpelier, Vermont.

Mumia is on death row in Pennsylvania and presently incarcerated at the SCI Greene maximum security prison outside Pittsburgh. A powerful international campaign of protest won a stay of execution last August 7, ten days before he was to be executed. Jamal is a former Black Panther and award-winning black journalist; his book *Live from Death Row* (Addison-Wesley, 1995) has sold more than 50,000 copies. Mumia worked on his degree as the executioner's blade hung over his head, and while finishing his book and his extensive other writings.

Mumia's son Jamal told the local Vermont newspaper, the *Times Argus* (22 January), that it was often very difficult for his father to work in prison. "All his books were taken away from him when the death sentence was approaching and he was put in solitary confinement."

Margo MacLeod, a professor of sociology and psychology who was Jamal's adviser at Goddard, noted, "Amid everything that Mumia has endured over the years, the completion of this degree is nothing short of heroic." She said he wrote his final 75-page senior study, titled "The Emergence of a Black Psychology," in longhand because he is not permitted to use a typewriter in prison. MacLeod said the paper examines the racial bias inherent in traditional psychology and the damage this has done to Afro-Americans.

A group of university teachers working in his defense, Academics for Mumia Abu-Jamal, raised over $1,000 toward his tuition costs. College president Richard Greene said he believes Mumia is the only Goddard student to ever earn a diploma while in prison. Heartfelt congratulations to Mumia! ■

AP/Wide World Photos

Mumia's son Jamal accepts degree on his father's behalf at Goddard College graduation ceremony.

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

While black separatists like Louis Farrakhan and liberals like the NAACP seek an accommodation with the racist capitalist rulers, full social and economic equality for black people can only be achieved by eliminating the profit system which is at the core of racial oppression. Guided by the internationalist lessons of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, the early American Communist Party fought the "colorblind" socialism or outright racism which prevailed in the labor movement. The Communists championed the struggle against black oppression as key to the fight for socialist revolution. Though Stalinist degeneration had already begun to destroy the Communist International from within, a 1925 resolution of the Workers (Communist) Party of the U.S. outlined a revolutionary perspective for black emancipation.

The tremendous transformation among the Negro masses resulting from the world war and after war conditions, with the heavy migration of Negro agricultural laborers and tenant farmers into the cities and industrial districts, has placed the Negro definitely in a new position in relation to the American labor movement. From being a sectional question, the Negro problem became a national question. From being a secondary factor in industrial labor, the Negro moves into the position of a great mass, employed in basic industries, and already in notable strikes in the coal fields, etc., he has shown himself eminently fitted for the front ranks of militant organized labor. The question of the full and unstinting admission of the Negro to the trade unions is placed more sharply than ever before at the door of the trade unions....

The cause of the Negro in the labor movement is essentially a left wing fight, and one which must energetically be championed by the Workers (Communist) Party. Our party must make itself the foremost spokesman for the real abolition of all discriminations against Negroes in trade unions and for the organization of the as yet largely unorganized Negro workers in the same unions with the white workers on the basis of equality of membership, equality of right to employment in all branches of work and equality in pay....

All slogans of equality which are current among the Negro masses, or which can be awakened among them, which express the aspirations for equal rights and equal treatment of Negroes in political and economic life and in public customs, are placed among the demands of the Workers (Communist) Party. Such are the demands for political equality, the right to vote, social equality, abolition of jim-crow laws and also jim-crow customs not written into law, the right to serve on juries, the abolition of segregation in schools and the right of Negro teachers to teach in all schools; equal rights of soldiers and sailors in army and navy without segregation in colored regiments, the right to frequent all places of public resort without segregation (hotels, theatres, restaurants, etc.) and the abolition of all anti-intermarriage laws. In the course of the struggle with such demands we will demonstrate through experience that these aspirations can be realized only as a result of the successful class struggle against capitalism and with the establishment of the rule of the working class in the Soviet form.

—Resolution of Parity Commission (*Daily Worker*, 28 June 1925)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is February 13

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Black History Month Spartacist Forums

Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End

Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism!

PLUS: Update on the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

ATLANTA

Wed., February 21, 3:30 p.m.
University Center
Room 461
Georgia State University
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON

Saturday, February 24, 7 p.m.
College of Liberal Arts, Room 414
Boston University
725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information: (617) 666-9453

BERKELEY

Speaker: Diana Coleman
veteran of civil rights movement
Thursday, February 22, 7 p.m.
Barrows 110, U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK CITY

Friday, February 23, 7 p.m.
PS 234
292 Greenwich Street
(at Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Clinton, Gingrich Unite on "Family Values," Assault Welfare Rights

Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speaker: Amy Rath
Editor, *Women and Revolution*
PLUS: Update on the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal
Saturday, February 17, 2:30 p.m.
Hornbake Library, Non-Print Media,
Room R, University of Maryland
For more information: (202) 872-8240

ICL Statement of Solidarity with Luta Metalúrgica

Brazil: Witchhunt Against Trotskyist Union Militants

In response to a vicious anti-communist smear campaign in the bourgeois press in the Brazilian steel center of Volta Redonda, which aims at driving revolutionary militants out of the unions, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) issued the following declaration in Mexico City on February 4.

At a time when comrades and supporters of Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) are under many-sided organizational and personal attack from forces ranging from centrist opponents and popular-frontists through to direct public organs of the bourgeoisie, the International Communist League strongly affirms our solidarity with these comrades.

Our fraternal comrades of Luta Metalúrgica were the *only* tendency in Brazil to uphold working-class independence by refusing to vote on principle for any candidates of the class-collaborationist bloc of the Frente Brasil Popular, centered on Lula's Workers Party (PT), in the 1994 elections. That is why LM is hated and feared by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. That is also one of the principles which has drawn LM to the International Communist League, which continues Trotsky's struggle against popular-frontism, from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s, France in the 1970s and '80s and Brazil today.

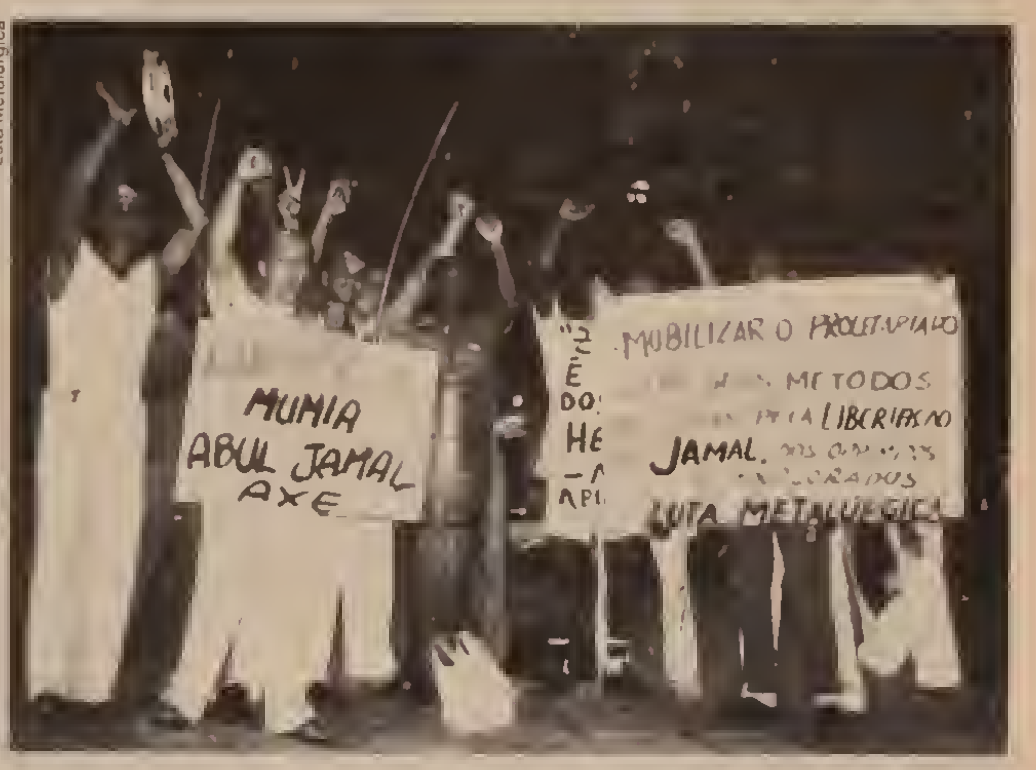
Likewise, the ICL and LM shared agreement with Trotsky's program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which paved the way for counterrevolution. In the face of the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive in the early 1980s, while most of the opportunist left howled with the imperialist wolves, the ICL proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution in Poland!"

The September 1994 Declaration of Fraternal Relations between the ICL and LM (see *Espartaco* No. 6, Winter 1994-95) expresses our commitment to building an authentic Trotskyist party in Brazil today as a *tribune of the people*, a champion of all the oppressed, of women, homosexuals, indigenous peoples. While the class-collaborationist left buys the lie of supposed "racial democracy" in Brazil, LM and the ICL hold that the fight against racial oppression—including in the unions—is strategic to proletarian revolution. When we call for a revolutionary workers and peasants government, this is not contradicted (as in the case of the opportunists) by support for the PT, which as part of the government of the state of Rondônia shares responsibility for the police/army massacre of scores of peasants last September.

The vicious campaign of provocation under way in the city of Volta Redonda is in direct response to the victory in union elections last November of the Municipários em Luta (Municipal Workers in Struggle) slate, which is allied with Luta Metalúrgica and ran on a program opposing the popular front of class collaboration. Faced with this show of the workers' determination to struggle, an unholy alliance stretching from the bosses' press and company-union officials to opportunist left parties is frantically seeking to drive revolutionaries out of the union.

Already last July, in the elections in the Metal Workers Union in Volta Redonda, a similar rotten coalition was drummed together. The PT-led popular front brought in top leaders, including PT senator Benedita da Silva and C.U.T. union federation leader Vicentinho, to campaign against LM. *Diário do Vale*, notorious as a mouthpiece for the privatized CSN steel company bosses, gave prominent coverage to attacks on LM spokesman Alexandre Honorato (Cerezo) both by the CSN-sponsored "union" Força Sindical and by the pseudo-Trotskyist group Causa Operária (CO).

Luta Metalúrgica



Luta Metalúrgica initiated united-front protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Volta Redonda, August 1995.

During the municipal workers campaign, this labor-hating press organ tried to whip up a ludicrous scandal over Cerezo painting slogans together with MEL activists. A last-minute candidacy by Força Sindical used *Diário do Vale* as a sounding board in its campaign against the "radicalism" of Luta Metalúrgica. Rejected by the union ranks, the defeated bosses' candidate sought—with the aid of Mayor Baltazar—to prevent the MEL from taking office. When that ploy failed as well, now this newspaper of the bosses is trumpeting vile accusations from a phantom "Servidores em Luta" outfit, evidently a creation of CO, appearing out of nowhere to demand that Cerezo be excluded from union meetings.

To portray this veteran class-struggle militant—fired by the steel bosses for defending the workers' interests, and slandered by Força Sindical and the class-collaborationist left alike—as an "outsider" in Steel City is an abomination propagated by those who are at home in the antechambers of Popular Front mayor Baltazar and Lula's Frente Brasil Popular, if not in the front offices of the CSN itself. Luta Metalúrgica was invited to advise Municipários em Luta precisely because LM was the only group which fought for the independence of the working class, refusing to vote for any candidates of a popular front tying the workers to sectors of the bourgeoisie. For municipal workers in Volta Redonda, the popular front is no abstraction but their immediate enemy, the city government, which is threatening to fire thousands.

Seeing this all-sided onslaught against Luta Metalúrgica, every thinking worker will ask: Who is behind this? Why is this happening? And why now? They will recall that 12,000 steel workers were fired at CSN with the cooperation of Força Sindical and acquiescence by the C.U.T., which did not want to hurt the electoral chances of the Lula popular front, not in 1989 nor in 1995. These mass firings were a continuation of the unrelenting repression by the bourgeoisie and its state against the combative Volta Redonda workers symbolized by the army's murder of three steel workers during the 1988 strike, William, Walmir and Barroso. In 1993, the Popular Front city administration tried to fire 2,800 workers but was defeated. If the bosses and their agents succeed in removing from the unions the most combative elements, it will be a first step to firings, pay cuts and a return to the *pelego* (state-controlled) "unions" of the past.

The history of the class struggle is replete with examples of such orchestrated attempts at defamation and repression of militant workers leaders, often with the connivance of the reformists, in order to destroy the capacity for resistance of the workers movement. In Mexico last year, the government launched its campaign to destroy the powerful and militant SUTAUR bus drivers union in the capital, firing all 13,000 workers, by jailing the union's legal adviser, naturally on trumped-up charges of corruption. In France after World War II, when Trotskyists played a leading role in the 1947 Renault auto workers strike, they were denounced as "provocateurs" by the Stalinist Communist Party, then in a popular-front coalition government which was determined to enforce a brutal wage freeze.

In the United States in the 1930s, the Trotskyists won the leadership of the Teamsters (truck drivers) of the city of Minneapolis, leading and winning a local general strike. Their revolutionary politics and class-struggle methods of organizing so frightened the

continued on page 10

Globo-ZNZ

no credit

Workers defy troops during militant 1988 Volta Redonda steel strike. Three strikers murdered by army were honored by a monument (above), later damaged in bomb attack.

Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call "Restore the Soviet Union"

Capitalist Counterrevolution and the Russian Stalinist "Patriots"

Part Two of Two

Biulleten Spartakovtsev Supplement No. 12, published in Moscow in November 1995 by the International Communist League.

We print below the second and concluding part of an article translated from the Russian-language Biulleten Spartakovtsev *(Supplement No. 12, November 1995), published by the International Communist League. Part One appeared in* WV *No. 638 (2 February).*

The Bolshevik Party was proletarian-internationalist to the core—a fact that was reflected in its leadership. Alongside the Russians Lenin and Bukharin there were the Pole Dzerzhinsky, the Bulgarian Rakovsky, the Georgian Stalin, the Armenian Shaumyan, the Jews Sverdlov and Trotsky, and others. The Bolsheviks steadfastly opposed any form of national inequality or privilege, and supported the right of all nations within the tsarist prison house of peoples to self-determination, that is, the right to set up independent states. Support for this democratic right in no way represented support to bourgeois nationalism, but was the means by which to "take the national question off the agenda." As Lenin emphasized, only by implacably opposing the chauvinism of its own bourgeoisie could the proletariat of the oppressor nation (i.e., the Great Russian proletariat) win the confidence of the oppressed nationalities, transcend national divisions and lay the basis for *class* unity.

P.A. Oisup

Planeta Publishers

Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party was internationalist to the core: 1920 "Red Banner of Labor" medal inscribed in Byelorussian, Yiddish, Polish. Above: Council of People's Commissars, 1918, with Lenin and Trotsky at rear, included Russians, Jews, Ukrainians and other nationalities.

Bolshevism and the National Question

Among the first acts of the revolutionary workers government that took power in October 1917 was a renunciation of the Great Russian annexationist policies of both tsarism and Kerensky's Provisional Government. This was a critical factor in achieving victory in the bitter Civil War and extending workers rule beyond the area where it initially held sway, which was mainly limited to the great cities of northern and central Russia. Let's look briefly, for example, at the case of the Ukraine, where successive tsarist governments had instituted forced Russification of the Ukrainian population, including banning Ukrainian literature and newspapers.

The new bourgeois-nationalist government of the Rada [council] sought to poison the Ukrainian masses against the Bolshevik government, which they portrayed as simply another version of Russian "imperialism." But while the bourgeois Kerensky government in Russia had forcibly maintained the subject peoples within the confines of the tsarist empire, the Bolshevik practice was completely different. Their assertion of the right to self-determination, contained in such proclamations as the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia," did much to neutralize the dirty work of the Ukrainian nationalists and enabled the Bolsheviks to pose more sharply the need for workers rule. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks did not bow down to the fiction of "self-determination" when it was bandied about by bourgeois nationalists as a cover for counterrevolutionary intrigues.

When Bolshevik forces fought to foster the growth of soviets on Ukrainian soil, the Rada—deeply hostile to the spectre of proletarian rule—made a military bloc with the counterrevolutionary White Guard generals Kornilov and Kaledin, and the French and British governments. A telegram to the Rada from the Bolshevik government sent in Decemher 1917: (1) recognized "without reservations everything that pertains to the Ukrainian people's national rights and national independence," while (2) simultaneously declaring war on the Rada "because of its attitude of unexampled betrayal of the revolution and support of the Cadets and the Kaledinites—the bitterest enemies of the national independence of the peoples of Russia, the enemies of Soviet power and of the working and exploited masses."

Over the next three years, as the Civil War raged, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie made a series of blocs with the White Guards and their imperialist allies. After a short interlude of a Ukrainian Soviet government, put in power with the assistance of the Red Army, German military forces swept across the Ukraine and installed a puppet government under the reactionary Cossack hetman [chief] Skoropadsky. With the collapse of German military power, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie turned to General Denikin, in alliance with French military detachments. In the final episode, the Ukrainian nationalist Petliura, notorious for carrying out massacres of the Jewish population, made a bloc with the reactionary Polish leader Pilsudski.

The intervention of the Red Army, as well as indigenous revolutionary proletarian insurgency, was a critical factor in the extension of proletarian rule to such areas as the Ukraine and Georgia. For the Bolsheviks, the right to self-determination was a democratic right, subordinated to *class* considerations. In reality, the question of self-determination was inextricable from the life and death issues posed in the Civil War, as was evident in the Ukraine. Independence was a bogus issue. As the British historian E.H. Carr noted, "The choice was not between dependence and independence, but between dependence on Moscow or dependence on the bourgeois governments of the capitalist world."

The Bolshevik leadership did *not* maintain that the various nations and peoples of the former tsarist empire had to be reorganized within the framework of a *single* federated Soviet (workers) state. Lenin was open to the prospect of an alliance of Soviet states in the region if the non-Russian workers and peasants so desired. Thus, he wrote in late 1919:

> "There are other questions—the fundamental interests of the proletarian dictatorship; the interests of the unity and discipline of the Red Army which is fighting Denikin; the leading role of the proletariat in relation to the peasantry—that are more important; the question whether the Ukraine will be a separate state is far less important. We must not be in the least surprised, or frightened, even by the prospect of the Ukrainian workers and peasants trying out different systems, and in the course of, say, several years, testing by practice union with the R.S.F.S.R., or seceding from the latter and forming an independent Ukrainian S.S.R. or various forms of their close alliance, and so on, and so forth."
>
> —"The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (Decemher 1919)

Later, Lenin insisted over Stalin's opposition on incorporating the right of national self-determination into the founding constitution of the USSR.

"Socialism in One Country" —A Nationalist Lie

Lenin intransigently opposed every manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. His last struggle, undertaken when he was already seriously ill, was over the national question in the Caucasus. In late 1922, Lenin broke with Stalin over Stalin's arrogant treatment of Georgian Communists and his attempt to impose a single Transcaucasian republic against the will of local Communists. As we noted above [in Part One], Trotsky wrongly compromised when Lenin urged that he lead an open and uncompromising political fight against Stalin and in defense of the Georgian Communists—accepting Stalin's confessions of good faith and self-criticism (see "Pierre Broué's Trotsky: Tailored for Perestroika," *Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91). But Christian Rakovsky, then head of the Ukrainian Soviet government and later to become Trotsky's closest co-thinker in the Left Opposition, spoke out sharply at the 12th Party Congress in 1923 against the emerging Russian-centered bureaucratic apparatus: "Our central authorities begin to view the administration of the whole country from the viewpoint of the comfort of their office armchairs. Naturally, it's tiresome to administer twenty republics; how convenient it would be if the whole lot were unified, and you had only to press one button to administer the entire country."

The ugly manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism over the "Georgian affair" foreshadowed the onset of Thermidor in 1923-24. This was a *political counterrevolution*: although the social gains of the October Revolution, embodied in the collectivized property relations, remained in place, the proletariat was politically expropriated. Party democracy was strangled. This was first and foremost aimed at those who continued to struggle for the goal of world revolution—Trotsky and the Left Opposition. As we noted in our article "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" (*Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989): "After January 1924, *the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled*, and *the purposes for which the USSR was ruled* had all changed."

Particularly given Stalin's embrace of the nationalist lie of "building socialism in one country," this was necessarily reflected in policy on the national question. Already in the late 1920s, the Stalin faction was dipping into the arsenal of tsarist reaction to use anti-Semitism as a weapon against the Left Opposition. During World War II, Stalin dissolved the Chechen and neighboring Ingush autonomous regions and deported their entire populations to Central Asia. This was also done to the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans and several other peoples. As part of his attempt to whip up Russian nationalism, Stalin revived the Russian Orthodox church and glorified tsarist generals, and then in the aftermath of the war sharply escalated anti-Semitism.

However, it would be a mistake to view national relations in the Soviet degenerated workers state as a simple continuation of what existed under the tsarist prison house of peoples. The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy had a *contradictory* impact. The existence of a socialized economy with centralized planning provided the material basis for developing the more backward areas of the Soviet Union. Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936):

> "It is true that in the sphere of national policy, as in the sphere of economy, the Soviet bureaucracy still continues to carry out a certain part of the progressive work, although with immoderate overhead expenses. This is especially true of the backward nationalities of the Union, which must of necessity pass through a more or less prolonged period of borrowing, imitation and assimilation of what exists."

One need only look at the high level of education and cultural development, and the advancement of women, that occurred in such areas as Soviet Central Asia, which at the time of the Russian Revolution was a feudal backwater. This is in marked distinction to the way in which imperialism works, where a handful of wealthy capitalist states ruthlessly exploit the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world, leading to the ever greater absolute and relative impoverishment of the "Third World."

The Khrushchev years marked the last period of official "socialist" idealism in the USSR. This was sparked by the victory of the Red Army over Hitler's Nazis—which brought in its wake the elimination of capitalism in what became the deformed workers states of East Europe—followed by the exceptional rate of Soviet economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Sputnik and the cosmonauts dramatically demonstrated that Soviet science and technology had attained world-class levels in key fields. Anti-western colonial revolutions—in particular the Cuban Revolution of 1959-60—vastly enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union in world politics to the detriment of U.S. imperialism.

Khrushchev's declaration in the UN in 1960 that "we will bury you" and his promise that the USSR would attain "full communism" in 20 years expressed the false consciousness of the Kremlin bureaucracy at that time. And such views had a resonance in Soviet society, where wide layers of the populace maintained socialist aspirations, while believing the bureaucracy's lie that a socialist society with full national equality could be constructed in the USSR without overthrowing capitalism in the advanced industrial countries. This "Soviet patriotism" was a *halfway house* between the proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky and traditional bourgeois nationalism. The fact that the Soviet proletariat remained subjectively pro-socialist for many years is a telling indictment of those who prematurely wrote off the Soviet Union as "state capitalist."

But as Trotsky had reasserted in *The Revolution Betrayed*, the creation of a socialist society entails a level of economic productivity higher than that of even the most advanced capitalist economies. That requires an internationally planned economy, since the seizure of power by the proletariat in one country could not eliminate the pressure of the world capitalist market. Stalin and his heirs, seeking to justify their treacherous dealings with the imperialist bourgeoisies, claimed that if only foreign military intervention could be averted there was nothing to block the USSR's road to socialism. But as Trotsky bluntly noted in his 1928 work, *The Third International After Lenin*, "It is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy."

As economic growth slumped, the Soviet bureaucrats in the early 1970s pronounced their intent to switch to intensive economic growth through retooling the existing economic plant. The USSR was given a breathing spell from imperialist pressure as a result of U.S. imperialism's protracted, humiliating defeat in Indochina—achieved at the cost of millions of lives of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants—and of the economic boost derived from the world oil price hike. But such conjunctural factors were not to last indefinitely. As Trotsky had warned, intensive economic development could not be effected under central planning in the absence of soviet democracy. As it became obvious that the USSR was not going to overtake the level of economic productivity of Western/Japanese capitalism, the Brezhnev regime tacitly abandoned even "socialism in one country." While continuing to pay lip service to "Marxism-Leninism," the Brezhnev generation had as its real, functional ideology "superpowerism."

But once the Soviet Union is simply viewed as a contending world power, and not in class terms as a workers state, "Soviet patriotism" ultimately reduces itself to the nationalism of the predominant Great Russian nation. Trotsky fought against such a disastrous outcome in the '20s, including in *The Third International After Lenin*, when he underlined the social-patriotic thrust implicit in "socialism in one country," which necessarily led to the abandonment of the international proletariat. In 1935 Trotsky wrote, "Stalin Has Signed the Death Certificate of the Third International," calling the Seventh Congress later that year the "Liquidation Congress" because of its codification of all-embracing class collaboration through the "people's front against fascism." In 1943, in order to appease his wartime imperialist allies, Stalin formally liquidated the Third International with the stroke of a pen. At the same time, he cast the heroic war of the Soviet peoples against the Nazi invaders in nationalist colors, as a "Great Patriotic War," replete with appeals to the Russian Orthodox church and the military traditions of the tsarist autocracy.

AP

Lenin denounced Stalin (third from left) and his lieutenant Ordzhonikidze (at right), shown here in 1925, for trampling on the Soviet principle of national equality in 1922 Georgian affair.

Spartacist

Great Russian chauvinist "red-brown" coalition: portraits of Stalin mingle with Orthodox icons.

Nationalism as a Motor Force for Counterrevolution

This Stalinist nationalism flourished in the years that followed. Specifically and significantly, the Brezhnev regime tolerated and to a degree promoted reactionary Russian nationalist groups and currents (e.g., around the journal *Nash Sovremennik*). At the same time, this regime certainly would have suppressed any claiming to be Trotskyists or other independent leftists. The "democrat" Yeltsin paid homage to Pamyat, whom he legitimized in one of his first acts as Moscow CPSU chief in the mid-1980s. The official sponsorship of such scum further corroded the consciousness of workers and military cadre. In "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (Part Two, *WV* No. 521, 1 March 1991), we quoted a Soviet officer: "The Communist Party made our country a great state—a superpower." We noted that this vision was alien to that of Lenin and Trotsky, who "saw the Russian October as the first act of an international proletarian revolution which would lead to a global communist society through the withering away of the nation-state."

As the Stalinist bureaucracy disintegrated, it tended to split along national lines and make common cause with traditional anti-Communists. In the Russian federation, much of the Gorbachevite intelligentsia became the pro-Western imperialist "democrats." Arrayed against them was a "patriot" wing whose nationalist agitation in the guise of "anti-imperialism" revealed a no less visceral hostility to the interests of the international working class and world communism. Hence, the "red-brown bloc." Among the non-Russian peoples, in the Baltics, the Caucasus and the Ukraine, former CP apparatchiks embraced anti-Soviet—and, at times, anti-Russian—nationalism, fawning over Western imperialism. Gorbachev's perestroika policies greatly intensified national antagonisms, fueling the aspirations of the more advanced republics like the Baltics and Armenia for an even greater slice of the pie. Meanwhile, Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism by withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan and selling out the DDR [East Germany] only further whetted the appetites of bourgeois nationalists here and imperialists abroad. As the floodgates were opened to capitalist counterrevolution, bitter communalism erupted in Nagorno-Karahakh [in the Caucasus] and elsewhere.

In that context, we called "for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit" ("Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" Part Three, *WV* No. 522, 15 March 1991). We noted that Great Russian chauvinism undermined the defense of the Soviet Union, and we called on the working masses to mobilize to drive the fascists, particularly nativist Russian fascists like Pamyat, off the streets. We did not consider the borders or the boundaries of the various entities within the USSR as sacrosanct. We noted that the right of constituent *workers* republics to withdraw from the USSR had been written into the Soviet constitution at Lenin's insistence. But we vigorously combatted capitalist restoration even when it sought to cover itself with the fig leaf of "national independence." In contrast, Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat saluted the fascist Estonian "Forest Brothers," who allied with the Nazis against the Red Army in WW II, while the U.S. Workers League of David North championed the cause of the counterrevolutionary Lithuanian Sajudis, going so far as to denounce U.S. imperialist chief George Bush for not imposing sanctions against the USSR on behalf of Lithuanian independence!

As Trotskyists, we stood for unconditional defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to sweep out the Kremlin gang that was undermining the very existence of the workers state. We fought for a world party that could lead the revolution internationally, before it was too late to save the Soviet Union. In August 1991, we

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Reuters

Ukrainian miners demonstrate for back pay during recent strike, which included miners throughout Russia and the Ukraine. Trotskyists fight for socialist revolution against new capitalist rulers in Kiev and Moscow.

Ten Immigrants Killed in Lübeck Arson Attack

Germany: Racist Murder and State Cover-Up

HAMBURG—The inferno which consumed a refugee hostel in the Baltic port city of Lübeck in the early hours of January 18 was the latest—and deadliest—in a wave of racist terror attacks against immigrants in Germany over the last five years. Ten people died and some 50 were injured as flames and smoke spread through the crowded hostel, located in a desolate commercial area on the edge of town, trapping many people on the upper floors. The building housed refugees from Africa and the Near East, as well as some Poles. Many of the dead were black Africans, like 25-year-old Zairean Monique Bunga and her three-year-old daughter, who were killed in a desperate attempt to flee the fire by jumping from the building. Now, in an obscene Catch-22 many of the survivors face deportation because they no longer have a place to live.

UPA

Lübeck refugee hostel engulfed in flames after arson attack, January 18. Now German cops and media seek to whitewash racist terror, blame immigrant resident for setting blaze.

Immediately after the Lübeck fire, cops picked up three young men, including a skinhead decked out in bomber jacket and Doc Marten boots, who were seen by witnesses getting into a car parked near the hostel just as flames overwhelmed the building. The prospect that this was another Nazi atrocity caused an uproar throughout the country, as people recalled the murderous fascist arson attacks at Rostock, Mölln and Solingen in 1992-93. The Lübeck fire occurred as Israeli president Weizman was on a first-ever visit to Germany, and the day before a commemoration to honor victims of fascism in the Bundestag (parliament). The media worried openly about Germany's image abroad. German president Roman Herzog spoke of the need for greater police powers if the fire was arson, but also questioned whether it might be an "accident."

The three rightists were released within hours, with the alibi that a police patrol car had seen them at a gas station some distance from the hostel just before the fire started. The government and media soon began pushing the line that the fire might indeed have been an accident. But because the fire started at three distinct places on the ground floor of the hostel, they were forced to drop this line after 24 hours. Then, two days after the fire, the cops hauled in a 21-year-old Lebanese survivor of the hostel, Safwan Eid, claiming he had confessed to setting the blaze after an argument with an African man who also lived there.

Despite weeks of imprisonment and interrogation, Safwan Eid continues to proclaim his innocence, as do his neighbors. The man he supposedly argued with denies there was any altercation. An Angolan survivor declared, "No African thinks Safwan is guilty." Eid's distraught father said bitterly, "First our house was burned down, now our son has been arrested." Yet the bourgeois media is churning out the line that the immigrants were killed by one of their own.

Was this a fascist attack? We have no way of knowing who set the Lübeck fire, but it certainly had the earmarks of recent, documented Nazi firebombings. In any case, the government/media story reeks with the stench of cover-up for racist murder. The London *Independent* (19 January) noted that, "Reports of fires at immigrant homes appear in the German press almost daily." But these fires are routinely dismissed as accidents or blamed on the residents.

Lübeck, like Mölln, is in the state of Schleswig-Holstein. Although Lübeck has a militant working-class tradition, the rural areas are Nazi-infested, with many "displaced Germans" who yearn to reclaim "their" towns in East Europe for the reunited German Reich. Lübeck was the scene of the first synagogue firebombings in Germany since the Hitler era, first in 1994, and again in May 1995 on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Third Reich's downfall.

Yet barely two weeks after the Lübeck fire, the police announced they were no longer investigating the possibility of a racist arson attack. Meanwhile, Safwan Eid remains in jail, denied visits even by his family on the grounds that they may lead to "suppression of evidence." And what is the "evidence"? According to the cops, Eid confessed to a first-aid worker at the scene. Yet this "confession" was not revealed until *two days* after the fire. In fact, when the fire erupted, Eid was asleep. Awakened by neighbors, he joined in the rescue effort, saving the lives of several occupants by leading them onto the roof, from which he himself was rescued by firemen! Eid's own family was injured in the fire—his father's feet were burned and his sister has been forced to undergo two operations.

The police claim that the fire could not have been set by outsiders because the house door had been locked. But there was a second door, as well as broken and open windows on the ground floor. Moreover, "surviving inhabitants reported that at night masked figures had been fiddling with molotov cocktails in front of the house" (*Tageszeitung*, 19 January). Residents also described evidence of repeated earlier attempts to firebomb the hostel, most recently last December, including containers of gasoline which had been thrown into the building but did not ignite. Only a week before the fire, one family had requested another place to stay because they were worried about their security.

Clearly with their grotesque version of the Lübeck hostel fire as an "inside job," the German Fourth Reich wants to defuse widespread outrage against racist terror while seeking to further segregate and isolate the immigrant population. Lübeck's Social Democratic (SPD) mayor, Michael Bouteiller, has been vilified by the state and the press for speaking out against the attacks on immigrants. After Bouteiller called for civil disobedience to prevent the surviving asylum seekers from being deported and demanded that they be given public housing apartments among the general population, he was threatened with disciplinary proceedings by the Interior Ministry.

Bouteiller has since received hundreds of death threats denouncing him as a "German-hater," "N----- lover" and "*Nestbeschmutzer*" (one who dirties his own nest). This racist theme is echoed by the "respectable" bourgeois press, like *Die Zeit* (9 February), which ran a scurrilous article about the Lübeck fire and "*Nestbeschmutzung*," railing against the "left's yearning" to embrace "the supposed universal guilt of the Germans and the illusion of good foreigners."

In fact, the fascist attacks were *instigated* and *exploited* by a racist consensus in Bonn which runs from Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) to the SPD "opposition" and the reformist East German Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). On the eve of the August 1992 Rostock pogrom, an SPD national conference voted to join with the CDU in gutting the constitutional right to asylum. The May 1993 Solingen firebombing came just three days after that measure was passed in the Bundestag. While claiming to oppose the constitutional change, the eco-nationalist Greens instead demand "quotas" for refugees, while the PDS—which pushes ersatz East German patriotism—expressed "understanding" for the pogromists in Rostock.

The bulk of the German left looks to the bourgeois state to "ban the fascists." This is not only stupid but dangerous. Between 1992 and 1994 the chief federal prosecutor instituted 13 legal actions against fascists "for building and supporting a criminal or terrorist organization," and *389 against leftists*—not to mention the banning of the PKK and mass arrests of Kurdish demonstrators.

The capitalist state claims to "oppose" Nazi terror by...adopting major aspects of the fascists' program of "foreigners out." Immediately after the last mourning ceremony in the Lübeck Cathedral on February 7, the government introduced a new draconian asylum law into parliament, under which asylum seekers are not only forced to live in segregated hostels, but will henceforth receive coupons instead of money and be denied treatment for all but "acute" medical problems.

In contrast to the United States, where citizenship is based on birthplace, Germany—like Israel—determines citizenship on the basis of parentage. This racist *Blutrecht* (blood law) is the logical implication of the nation-state in extreme form. Thus a Russian citizen of distant German ethnic origin (*Volksdeutsch*) living beyond the Urals has an automatic right to German citizenship, as long as they're not Jewish, whereas the child of a Turkish steel worker in the Ruhr, born in Germany and having lived his or her entire life there, will find it next to impossible to become a German citizen.

The Trotskyists of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) fight for united-front worker/immigrant mobilizations to fight racist terror and sweep the fascists away. In fact, Turks and Kurds form a substantial and strategic sector of the industrial working class in West Germany. In the aftermath of the Mölln and Solingen firebombings, there were brief work stoppages and significant sentiment in the plants for workers action. In Lübeck on January 18, some 60 ÖTV public workers union delegates went to the site of the fire as a sign of solidarity with the victims (*ÖTV Magazine*, February 1996). But the social-democratic union misleaders are loyal defenders of the Fourth Reich and an obstacle to any independent working-class mobilization.

Püschner/Laif

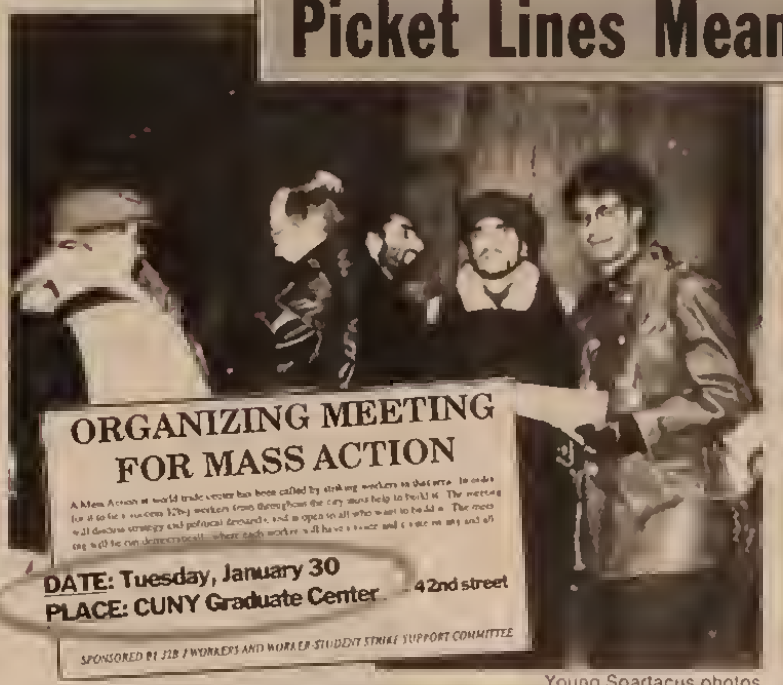
Asylum-seekers protest murderous Lübeck arson attack.

The question of leadership is key. The SpAD fights to build a Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat which acts as a tribune of all the oppressed. To stop the Nazis and put an end to racist terror once and for all requires a socialist revolution to sweep away the entire capitalist system which repeatedly gives rise to the fascist menace. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash fascist attacks! ■

Young Spartacus

Scab "Socialists" Caught Out at CUNY

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!



Young Spartacus photos

Supporters of CWOC, LRP and RSG (above) perplexed over picket line they'd planned to cross, along with BT, for "strike support" meeting. SYC member (right) on the lines with 32B-32J strikers.

A team of Spartacist supporters went to the picket lines at the City University of New York on January 30 to talk to striking building maintenance workers in Local 32B-32J and to join the lines. That night, a "Student-Worker Strike Support Committee" meeting was planned for the CUNY Graduate Center—a struck facility. We pointed out to strikers on the line that any strike supporters who felt the need to cross picket lines to "talk" weren't friends of the strike. We discussed the necessity of shutting down facilities by drawing in key unions, like the Teamsters who deliver fuel and packages. A number of strikers stressed that they wanted to fight for picket lines that kept buildings from operating instead of standing out in the cold for days in a symbolic appeal to the real estate barons.

An SYC member who is a student at the Graduate Center carried a sign that went to the point: "Spartacus Youth Club Says: Build Picket Lines, Don't Cross Them." Members of the Revolutionary Socialist Group (RSG)—a tiny study circle based at the College of Staten Island—were the main builders of this "strike support" meeting, along with the Bolshevik Tendency (BT). When a BTer who'd been crossing the pickets at his workplace showed up, some older strikers from East Europe began chanting, "Scab out! Scab, scab!" The BTer scurried away. Several other left groups then arrived, including Labor Militant and the League for a Revolutionary Party. One member of the coalition loudly protested holding the meeting: "I disagree with the Spartacists on many things, but they're right about this one: Picket lines mean don't cross." He began shouting this and some strikers chanted, "Strike! Strike!"

The so-called "strike support committee" began to discuss their dilemma on the sidewalk. Members of the RSG were in a tizzy, screaming that our presence on the picket lines was meant to "sabotage" their meeting. After trying (in vain) to convince picketers to allow them to cross the picket lines, one RSGer said, "We don't want to cross a picket line today" (another day, another tactic?). Meanwhile, two members of the International Socialist Organization ignored the whole question and crossed the lines to enter their office.

One RSGer insisted the idea that "picket lines mean don't cross" is "just a Spart rule." Although not its intent, the idea that fighting to defend picket lines—a tradition upon which the unions were built—is today only upheld by the SL is quite a testament to our organization. As for the rest of the left, they tail the labor bureaucracy, which these days has made a mockery of strikes by setting up picket lines that aren't meant to stop anything or anybody, abjectly capitulating to the bosses' anti-strike laws. But even the labor tops, in a last-minute face-saving gesture to their membership, urged people to honor the basic principle in any strike: "Please don't cross our picket lines," a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (4 February) proclaimed. "If you cross a picket line, you hurt the members of Local 32B-32J and you hurt the members of your union. You hurt yourself too."

At the Grad Center, the difference in political programs wasn't lost on the strikers. When the "committee" announced grandly that "We've decided to hold our meeting out here, with you," strikers, to a man, moved to the other side of the plaza. Meanwhile, a few other Midtown strikers had arrived. An older black woman immediately said, "I don't cross picket lines." She turned to a group of black women approaching, saying that "this isn't our meeting, they're talking like scabs over here," and turned them away. The strikers gave the "leftists" a textbook lesson in struggle.

But some people have trouble learning anything. One night at the Grad Center has led to an outpouring of defensive vitriol on the Internet, home of the pseudo-Trotskyist virtual sandbox. One posting from Tom Smith, a CUNY Grad student, whines that the meeting was "held outside, in the cold" because of the Spartacists' "petty moralism" and insists that the fake leftists weren't scabbing simply because "nobody intended upon going into the building to clean it up." While we're sure these grouplets wouldn't think of lifting a mop, any self-proclaimed socialist should have a gut impulse to honor a picket line: it's a battle line of working-class struggle. Dismissing labor solidarity on the lines as "petty moralism" misses a strategic question even the *New York Times* got. In a February 9 editorial, this bourgeois mouthpiece pointed to what pushed the bosses to negotiate: "The owners faced the prospect of marches in the streets and a rally in Madison Square Garden. Other unions were beginning to honor the picket lines." That's the "strike support" the ruling class fears. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* ■

Harvard Student Jailed for Photographs of Her Son

Hands Off Toni Marie Angeli!

BOSTON—In a wanton display of anti-sex hysteria, a Massachusetts jury in January convicted Harvard photography student Toni Marie Angeli of disorderly conduct and malicious destruction of property after she took nude photos of her four-year-old son. Angeli refused to bow to her tormentors, rejecting attempts to make her sign a statement acknowledging wrongdoing. The statement would have brought her a sentence of 18 months' probation, community service and a $229 fine. She said she preferred to set a positive example for her son. "I can't take part in this punishment or perform acts saying I committed crimes I did not commit. I cannot in good conscience sign it" (*Cambridge Chronicle*, 1 February). Judge Roanne Sragow then vindictively gave Angeli 30 days in jail at the women's state prison in Framingham.

Angeli's photos of her son were taken for a Harvard class. When she went to a local photography lab last November to pick them up, she was snared in a rabid puritanical panic, cruelly persecuted by the state as a "child pornographer." Dirty-minded snoops at Zona Photographic Labs in Cambridge worked themselves into a frenzy over several nude and semi-nude photos of Angeli's son. After contacting the police, a trap was laid and sprung, resulting in a vicious cop assault on the 31-year-old mother.

Cambridge police seized Angeli, told her she was being investigated on child abuse charges, and threatened to take her son away, who was with her at the time. When Angeli erupted in rage at the threatened kidnapping of her child, she was choked in full view of her son, had her face rammed into a door frame, and was then arrested on assault and battery charges! Although the District Attorney and the Department of Social Services couldn't concoct enough "evidence" from the photos to charge Angeli with a "sex crime," she has since been slandered in local newspapers as a "child abuser." The Partisan Defense Committee issued a protest letter February 5 demanding that all the charges against Angeli be

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Boston Phoenix

Toni Marie Angeli and her son.

Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

years a variant of "low-intensity warfare," noting that the Pentagon is training immigration cops with many of the same "counterinsurgency" techniques used in the U.S.' interventions in Central America.

In 1989 under President George Bush, the Pentagon set up a "Joint Task Force 6," headquartered at Fort Bliss outside El Paso, as part of the so-called "war on drugs." The secretive JTF-6 coordinates a panoply of military "support" activities for the INS, from training Border Patrol agents in tracking techniques to building roads and helipads, providing reconnaissance and air support and supplying equipment. Dunn reports that during 1990-93, JTF-6 carried out 1,260 missions. Currently it is engaged in a major "anti-drug" operation in California's Imperial Valley. Not coincidentally, this is the same area where undocumented immigrants are being forced to cross as the San Diego fence pushes them inland. So the stage is being set for a bloody massacre, in which "illegal" immigrants will be portrayed as "drug traffickers" and mowed down.

The government's racist crackdown has also emboldened fascistic vigilantes. Over the past two decades, open fascists have staged a string of anti-immigrant provocations: from David Duke's Klan Border Watch in the 1970s to Tom Metzger's California-based White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) in the '80s to the "American Spring" mobilizations in San Diego in 1992-93 bringing together "white nationalists" like Richard Barrett and Orange County Nazi führer Joe Fields. But mobilizations by fascistic would-be auxiliaries are simply running point for the Democratic Clinton administration, which is itself implementing their program.

Meanwhile, right-wingers in the San Diego area have organized xenophobic actions such as the 1990 "Light Up the Border" campaign. Recently, with the steel border fence extending inland from Imperial Beach, border crossers have been forced into the rugged area around Dulzura in east San Diego County, where there were several vigilante attacks last fall. The AFSC's Martínez reports that farmers and ranchers "were pistol-whipping and kidnapping and beating migrants, and then turning them over to the sheriffs and Border Patrol." And along the Texas-Mexico border, more than 100 bodies were pulled out of the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo in 1995, with 37 of them showing signs of violence, including gunshot and knife wounds.

But while fascists and other right-wing fanatics are getting in on the act, the overwhelming source of the violence against immigrants is the capitalist state itself. A Human Rights Watch report last April documented numerous beatings, shootings, rapes and deaths at the hands of the notoriously racist Border Patrol. Last December, a Salvadoran woman was attacked and raped by a Border Patrol agent in the San Diego foothills; the same agent shot and killed a 17-year-old immigrant in 1990. And increasingly Hispanic American citizens and permanent residents are being hit by the anti-immigrant repression. In the Barrio Logan district in southeast San Diego, police have been seizing Latino residents and turning them over to the Border Patrol.

WV Photo

SEIU "Justice for Janitors" demonstrates in downtown Los Angeles in union organizing drive, March 1995. Militant immigrant workers can play leading role in class struggle.

The federal government is increasingly moving toward policies promoted by fascist-connected racist outfits like the "Federation for American Immigration Reform" (FAIR), which last year called for using former military bases as detention centers. Now the Justice Department and Pentagon are updating contingency plans to do just that. In December, a three-day INS field exercise—one of three in recent months—was held near Nogales, Arizona as practice for stopping a "vast flood of illegal immigrants" resulting from a "catastrophe" in Mexico (*New York Times*, 8 December 1995). Border Patrol agents herded "illegals" into cyclone-fence corrals for "emergency processing" and dragged them off to "mass detention centers" where they might be held for 30 days or more or forced to live "semi-permanently" in "tent villages like those established last year in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba." These aren't just "scenarios"—plans are already underway to transfer INS detainees to the brig of the Miramar Naval Air Station in San Diego.

Such paramilitary operations will not be restricted to isolated border areas, but could easily be extended to "anti-drug" operations in the inner cities. Meanwhile, both Republican Gingrich and Democrat Clinton have suggested a national ID card, including Social Security number and immigration status, which would be a major step toward police-state controls. And right-wingers are floating plans to deny the right to citizenship to children born in this country to undocumented immigrants. This would undo the 14th Amendment, which was passed as a result of the Civil War, granting citizenship to former slaves. Thus the immigrant-bashing hysteria is part of a general racist climate threatening all oppressed minorities.

Bourgeois Immigrant-Bashing

It's no coincidence the Republican National Convention is being held in San Diego this year. California, with 54 electoral votes, is the epicenter of the bipartisan xenophobic plague. Republican governor Pete Wilson was the chief advocate of Prop. 187, while Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer are both fervent supporters of border militarization. "English only" has become the battle cry of a racist onslaught which would not only deprive school children of bilingual education but would also victimize non-English-speaking residents in everything from driver's license tests and hospital admissions forms to election ballots. The poisonous content of this was clearly shown when a Texas judge last year forhade a Hispanic mother to speak Spanish to her daughter, calling it "child abuse"! Republican front-runner Bob Dole is calling for English to be the required "official language" of the U.S. Yet already in 1987, Bill Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, signed a bill making the state officially "English only."

During the last years of Cold War II, there was a tremendous surge of immigration, both legal and illegal, to the U.S. Anti-Communist refugees from Southeast Asia and impoverished workers fleeing death squad regimes in Central America came in the hundreds of thousands. Now, following the counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, capitalist economic crisis and rivalries between competing trade blocs have led imperialist rulers in West Europe and North America to crack down on immigration at the same time as they slash social services. They want to drive up profits while securing their borders and economic hinterland in preparation for coming trade wars.

The issue of "immigration" (read: poor, nonwhite immigration) has lately become the obsession of a substantial section of the U.S. bourgeoisie, reflected in a spate of recent books. Particularly since the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, immigrants have been portrayed as "terrorists" in the media. Blatantly racist tracts have become topics of polite debate, such as *Forbes Magazine* editor Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation* (1995), which blames the U.S. "political elite" for letting in too many "unassimilable" immigrants and producing a "demographic mutation." Brimelow raves: "Just as when you leave Park Avenue and descend into the subway, when you enter the INS waiting rooms you find yourself in an underworld that is not just teeming but is also almost entirely colored." *Alien Nation* is calling for a new nativist movement, such as the xenophobic "Know Nothings" of the mid-19th century, whom Brimelow praises as "solid middle- and upper-middle-class citizens."

It's an ominous sign of the times that the "opposing" pole in this ruling-class debate is represented by *New Republic* editor Michael Lind, whose *The Next American Nation* (1995) calls for zero net immigration in order to reduce competition for jobs and thus raise wages of U.S. workers. Advocating "American nationalism" against "left-wing" "multiculturalism," Lind asserts that "the national language is American English," and this common language and culture are the basis for "Americanism." This Cold War liberal imperialist yearns for the days when the U.S. could dictate terms to its imperialist allies/rivals. Lind's lament against "globalization" and for "civilized social market capitalism"—a favorite theme of social democrats—is a poisonous protectionist recipe for escalating trade war, such as the tariff battles leading up to WW II.

New York Times map

Clinton government has erected 10-foot-high steel wall along Mexican border, bristling with Border Patrol, cops, troops and high-tech surveillance gear.

Defense of Immigrants Key to Labor's Cause

The ruling-class anti-immigrant offensive is a direct threat to the labor movement. After years of union-bashing, the bourgeoisie wants to finish the job on the labor movement, pitting worker against worker, internationally and at home, diverting their anger and frustration away from the real enemy, the capitalist class. The only defense against the all-sided capitalist attack is international class struggle.

Yet, AFL-CIO officials have collaborated with the INS in setting up immigrant workers for deportation, just as they pushed for the racist Reagan-era 1986 immigration "reform" act. The INS' Operation SouthPAW (for Protecting American Workers) was set up in response to complaints by Atlanta union tops about undocumented workers working on construction for the 1996 Olympics. More than 4,000 workers were detained in six Southern states and 3,400 deported.

In California, the *migra* raids have reached an intensity not seen since the 1970s. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the INS has been waging a months-long crackdown against Latino day laborers gathered on street corners in hope of getting work. And in L.A., after a raid exposed slave labor forced on Thai workers at an El Monte sweatshop, state and federal agencies have been competing in factory raids, detaining hundreds of workers under the guise of cracking down on the hellish sweatshops.

In Chicago, over 500 workers were seized during the INS' "Operation Johs"

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Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

the PCRA hearings Sabo showed "a bias so open and notorious that it became a matter of public scandal":

> "Judge Sabo rushed the proceedings in order to debilitate Jamal's efforts to present all of the evidence supporting his constitutional claims. The judge repeatedly and without warrant castigated Jamal's attorneys, routinely issuing threats of contempt, and ultimately incarcerating one and fining another. He quashed defense subpoenas at the behest of the Commonwealth.... Virtually every single defense objection was overruled and every single Commonwealth objection sustained—logic, consistency, and the rules of evidence mattered not at all."

Noting "the court's allegiance to the Fraternal Order of Police," of which Sabo, an undersheriff for 16 years, is a retired member, the brief states: "The court not only permitted but encouraged off-duty FOP members to carry loaded firearms in court, stating the FOP 'are in here for my protection'." As Weinglass told the press, "If the system were just and fair, Judge Sabo would not be a sitting judge."

The brief lashes into the "confession" supposedly made by Jamal which was a central prop in the state's frame-up. The PCRA testimony of Officer Gary Wakshul exposes this fabrication. Assigned to guard Jamal from the time of his arrest until his hospital treatment for the critical injury inflicted from a gunshot fired by Faulkner, Wakshul reported to homicide detectives shortly afterward that Jamal "made no comments." The story of Jamal's "confession" was not recorded until *64 days* later, after a "round table" prep meeting conducted by prosecutor Joseph McGill with the police officers involved in the case. Wakshul testified that police officers were asked "to raise their hands if they had heard" Jamal confess "and Wakshul responded"—a clear contradiction to his earlier written report.

During the 1982 "trial," Wakshul was said by the prosecution to be on vacation and unavailable for questioning. But in the PCRA hearing, Wakshul testified that in fact he had remained in Philadelphia and "did not go away." He said this was "in compliance to a request to stay while cases were going on." The brief explains that Wakshul's testimony showed "how law enforcement wilfully fabricated testimony about a confession to secure a conviction," and supported defense assertions "that law enforcement coaxed and coerced eyewitnesses and corrupted the physical evidence tests."

The appeal also underscored the important PCRA testimony of William Singletary, who saw a man other than Mumia shoot Faulkner and flee from the scene. The cops who questioned him immediately after the shooting repeatedly tore up his statements that the fleeing man, not Jamal, was the shooter. Hours later, under threats of physical violence, Singletary signed a false statement dictated by one Officer Green which claimed that he had not seen the shooting. Faced with relentless police harassment and suspicious vandalism to the gas station he owned, Singletary fled Philadelphia. His testimony demonstrated how the prosecution had suppressed evidence of Jamal's innocence, which in and of itself should be grounds for voiding a guilty verdict—but not in Sabo's kangaroo court.

The brief also notes that if Jamal had been able to present experts at trial, they would have established that there was simply no ballistics link between Jamal or his licensed .38 calibre gun and the shooting. Another key component of the appeal is the evidence of extreme incompetence on the part of Jamal's court-appointed attorney in 1982, which infringes on Jamal's Sixth Amendment right to legal representation. The brief also includes testimony of numerous other witnesses who could have demonstrated Jamal's innocence but were hidden from his court-appointed lawyer or intimidated into silence or given prosecutorial favors to change their eyewitness accounts.

As Rachel Wolkenstein said at the press conference, "We are representing an innocent man, someone who has maintained his innocence from the very beginning and has been subjected to a politically motivated and racially biased set of proceedings, both the original trial and the hearing that we had this summer." "Mumia," she continued, "is entitled to his freedom." Backing up evidence that Jamal was politically railroaded to death row was a "friend of the court" brief submitted on February 9 by the Philadelphia chapters of the ACLU, National Conference of Black Lawyers and the NAACP. Describing the basis of the brief, Karl Baker assailed the D.A.'s use during the 1982 sentencing hearing of a statement, written by Jamal 12 years before as a Black Panther spokesman, that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Baker noted the context of that statement: "In the past two years, 28 members of the Black Panther Party had been killed, and, just one month before, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the leaders of a chapter in Chicago, had been murdered...when the police broke in at 4:30 in the morning, firing over 90 shots, and killed them in their sleep." This is what Mumia meant, Baker added, "when he said, 'We know very well from the deaths of numerous of our members that in America political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' To turn that around and use it against him and say that this is a reason that we should put him to death is the most cynical and manipulative effort on the part of the prosecution. This alone should be grounds to vacate the sentence of death."

Jamal continues to win support in his fight against the racist death penalty. His book, *Live from Death Row*, has been translated into at least five languages and is being published as a paperback. Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the PDC, said: "From the 800 pages of FBI files on Jamal dating from his Black Panther activities, to the 1982 frame-up conviction and sentencing, to the antics in Saho's courtroom 13 years later, there is no room for illusions in the 'fairness' or 'impartiality' of the racist capitalist 'justice' system. The battle for Mumia's freedom—and to abolish the death penalty—must continue outside as well as inside the courtroom. Above all, this means looking to mobilize the integrated labor movement in defense of Mumia, as part of the struggle against the whole system of racist, anti-labor repression."

* * *

For more information on the campaign to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. Make a contribution today to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

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last spring. In November, 89 workers were arrested in raids in New York City's garment district, while 100 more were arrested January 29. And on February 1, *migra* agents raided 37 restaurants in Montgomery County, Maryland just outside Washington, D.C. The INS dubbed the operation "the Big Chill," and one of the raids' purposes was certainly to have a chilling effect on union organizing among immigrant workers.

Last month, the Teamsters union staged reactionary mobilizations against a NAFTA provision allowing Mexican truckers to haul goods throughout the U.S. There is a vast difference between our opposition to NAFTA's goal of nailing down Mexico and all of Latin America as a captive market and private preserve for superexploitation by U.S. capitalists, and the AFL-CIO officialdom's protectionist opposition to it.

In California, where almost a quarter of the population grows up speaking a language other than English, the anti-immigrant campaign came to a head in 1994 with the passage of Prop. 187, whose immediate aim was to deny health care and public education to undocumented immigrants and their children. Criminally, a number of black misleaders bought into the divide-and-rule propaganda about immigrants taking "our" jobs which tried to line up black people behind this racist measure. In the upshot, this helped drive a wedge between the two major oppressed minorities in this country, as an estimated half of California's black voters supported the anti-immigrant ballot proposition.

As we wrote at the time, "While the anti-Latino nature of Prop. 187 is perfectly obvious, it is less clear to many that this measure is part of a broader racist offensive whose *main and central target is the black ghetto poor*" (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994). Immediately after its passage, Governor Wilson and other backers of Prop. 187 launched a drive for a new ballot referendum to eliminate affirmative action programs.

Today, with the percentage of foreign-born workers in the U.S. population the highest it has been since the 1920s, the integrated labor movement has an enormous stake in combatting anti-immigrant racism. Many immigrant workers, often with experience in sharp class struggle in countries like El Salvador, have taken the lead in strikes, particularly in the Los Angeles area.

In 1990, Service Employees Local 399's heavily Latino "Justice for Janitors" campaign resisted a brutal LAPD onslaught in organizing the glitzy Century City complex. In 1992, "drywalero" construction workers waged a five-month strike, achieving union recognition. Local rulers, frightened by the multiracial character of the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, have sought to foment tensions between blacks, Latinos and Asians. But Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 11 won a victory at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Beverly Hills when Korean restaurant workers stood with the largely Latino hotel workers against management.

Immigrant workers can play a key role in resuscitating a greatly weakened labor movement. To mobilize this potential will require a fight on an internationalist program to drive out the pro-capitalist union misleaders and to forge a class-struggle leadership. We seek to build a workers party that acts as a tribune of the people, linking the factories to the ghettos and barrios, in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The labor movement in the U.S. must be mobilized in action against the assault on immigrants and to fight for *full citizenship rights* for everyone who has made it to this country. Otherwise, immigrants are vulnerable to constant victimization and deportation. We call as well for a fight by the unions against unemployment through a *shorter workweek with no loss in pay* and a campaign to *organize the unorganized*.

In Mexico's *maquiladora* ("free trade") zone stretching from Tijuana near San Diego to Matamoros near Brownsville, Texas, superexploited Mexican workers, largely young women, have been integrated into the U.S. capitalist economy and have engaged in bitter strikes against the profit-gouging American bosses in the last few years. Solidarity strike action by U.S. workers would spell the difference between victory and defeat in these battles, as well as having an electrifying effect on the unions on both sides of the border.

Joint action by workers associations in different countries was one of the original purposes of the First International. Among the resolutions of its first congress in 1866, authored by Karl Marx, was a call to "counteract the intrigues of capitalists always ready, in cases of strikes and lockouts, to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman." At first glance, internationally coordinated union struggle might seem to be something that even any rational social democrat could embrace. But in fact, the social-democratic reformist misleaders of the workers movement are beholden to patriotism, loyal to their respective capitalist fatherlands.

That is why an *internationalist* workers party must be built, on the model of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, who won the most class-conscious elements of the workers of all the nationalities and peoples of the Russian empire to the cause of proletarian revolution. There have in the past been efforts to organize workers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, spearheaded by forces that broke with the pro-capitalist business unionism of the AFL. The revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW—Wobblies) organized immigrant workers from Lawrence, Massachusetts to Ludlow, Colorado, where largely Mexican workers were cut down in a 1917 massacre as they courageously fought exploitation by John D. Rockefeller.

Today the need for organizing workers across national borders is more urgent than ever, and this is more than ever bound up with the fight to build revolutionary-internationalist workers parties in the U.S. and Mexico, as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. Among immigrant workers are to be found many potential vanguard fighters against racist capitalism in the U.S., who can be a living link to social revolution throughout the Americas. Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants! ■

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Brazil Witchhunt...

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capitalists and their agents in the workers movement that a years-long vendetta of repression was launched against the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters. Police assaulted their picket lines. Agents of a company union were infiltrated to raise charges of theft and "intimidation." Union leaders were accused of embezzlement and larceny for using union funds to aid other groups of workers to organize. Ultimately, 29 Minneapolis Teamster and Trotskyist leaders were indicted (and 18 were imprisoned) on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government and to foment insubordination in the armed forces because of their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist Second World War. This frame-up was egged on by the reformist Stalinists and the national Teamster union leaders.

So the kind of smear charges being used today against Luta Metalúrgica are nothing new. The bourgeoisie and the opportunist left are worried, even if they are unaware of the history, that Volta Redonda could become a new Minneapolis. Some of the accusers, like CO and its "Servidores em Luta" front, try to pass themselves off as defenders of union democracy. What hypocrisy! There will be no workers democracy if revolutionaries are excluded and the agents of the CSN and the Popular Front government hold sway. More than half a century ago, the internationalist revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote that "*trade union democracy*...presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." Trotsky continued:

> "In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940)

The class independence of the trade unions from the bourgeois state, Trotsky emphasized, can "be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is the leadership of the Fourth International."

These prophetic words vividly describe the situation in Brazil today. In September 1995, the C.U.T. sabotaged the metal workers strike in the ABC (São Paulo area) industrial zone in order to boost the electoral chances of Lula's Frente Brasil Popular. Having lost again at the polls, Lula has been seeking a corridor coalition with Fernando Henrique Cardoso. And so the PT and C.U.T. stabbed the petroleum workers in the back during their strike last May-June, refusing to mobilize workers action when FHC called in the army to occupy the refineries. Reformist and centrist pseudo-Trotskyists either were submerged in the PT (Democracia Socialista, O Trabalho) or participated directly in the popular front (PSTU), or like Causa Operária tried to disguise their capitulation by calling to vote for Lula and the "worker-peasant candidates" of this class-collaborationist coalition. Still others (LBI) argued that for conjunctural reasons *this* time it was wrong to vote Lula, while upholding a vote to this candidate of the Frente Brasil Popular in 1989. Their fancy footwork cannot hide the fact that they all line up with the bosses politically. The opportunists' newfound (and very temporary) professions of "union democracy" ring hollow when they are in bed with the front men for the CSN and the Popular Front.

The opportunists traffic in accusations of corruption and scandalmongering in imitation of the social mores of their bourgeois masters, from FHC to Collor. When their popular-front politics are unpopular, they resort to smears to divert attention from the fundamental questions at issue and to discredit those who do defend the workers' interests. In contrast to their unscrupulous maneuvering, for revolutionaries, deeds must match words. When we say that workers democracy is inseparable from complete independence from the capitalist state, this means: cops and courts out of the unions. When we say, with Trotsky, that today "unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution," this means: a fight to the finish against reformism and centrism, obstacles to reforging the Fourth International as world party of socialist revolution.

In the face of the unceasing provocations and attacks by the bourgeoisie, the rules of the Fourth International are: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives." ■

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 5)

pointed to the need for proletarian mobilizations to sweep away Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades. Behind the seeming incompetence of the GKChP ("gang of eight") plotters lay the fact that these bureaucrats *accepted* capitalist restoration, albeit at a slower pace and under the thumb of the Moscow bureaucracy—what we dubbed "perestroika without glasnost." Had the workers mobilized to sweep away Yeltsin & Co., this would have posed a civil war between the proletariat and the active forces of counterrevolution and would have marked the beginning of a proletarian political revolution. Fearing proletarian mobilizations far more than capitalist restoration, not one of the so-called hardline Stalinist "patriot" groups tried to organize resistance to Yeltsin, instead hiding behind the impotent coup plotters.

Even after the defeat in August 1991, we did not write off the Soviet workers state. Our position was determined by the understanding that a new bourgeois state apparatus had not yet been consolidated, and that the working class had not yet been defeated and dispersed. The Soviet proletariat still had the possibility to stop capitalist restoration by means of political revolution. When, in December 1991, Yeltsin & Co. pronounced the Soviet Union "juridically" dead, we countered with the slogan "Reforge the Soviet Union on Leninist principles," underscoring our call for a return to the revolutionary-internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky. However, the proletariat remained politically atomized, reflecting the erosion over many years of the socialist consciousness of the Soviet working class, fundamentally as a result of Stalinist betrayals.

"Soviet Patriotism" and Proletarian Internationalism

Political slogans are appropriate only when they correspond to the concrete circumstances for which they were fashioned. As Trotskyists, our "Soviet patriotism" was based on one fundamental premise: that the Soviet Union was a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated since 1924. As Trotsky himself wrote in *The Third International After Lenin*: "Whenever the power is in the hands of the workers, patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But this patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism." Trotsky sought to use "Soviet patriotism" as a bridge back to the proletarian internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks. Today, after capitalist counterrevolution, we are dealing with bourgeois states. Necessarily this imposes different tasks on the working class.

To take but one example: in 1979 we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" pointing out that on the Soviet side this was a war for defense of a degenerated workers state against imperialism. Moreover, Soviet troops were fighting on the side of social progress against the reactionary *mujahedin*. We called for extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples, while warning that the Stalinist bureaucracy was perfectly capable of treacherously making a deal with the imperialists. (In the upshot, Gorbachev pulled the troops out even without a quid pro quo from the Western powers.) In contrast, Russia's war in Chechnya is completely reactionary: we call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces, and we point out that the military defense of Chechnya is in the interests of the multinational working class of Russia.

With the consolidation of capitalist counterrevolution and bourgeois Russia's emergence as a regional overlord, to call for "restoring the Soviet Union" simply becomes a fig leaf for support to a Great Russian "strong state." In the context that all of the states in the area are capitalist, this call would appear to many people in the non-Russian republics as a barely camouflaged version of the open demands for their national oppression and domination that regularly emanate today from the Kremlin. And if national inequalities were in the past somewhat muted by virtue of the existence of a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, that is no longer the case. As we have noted, "Without the social base of a genuine bourgeoisie, such as existed in West Germany for the takeover of the DDR (East Germany), aggressive nationalism has been both the driving force for capitalist restoration in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and the product of the counterrevolutionary drive" ("East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution," *WV* Nos. 547 and 548, 20 March and 3 April 1992).

The eruption of national chauvinism is a necessary by-product of capitalist restoration because, as Marx noted, the bourgeois *nation*-state is based on the dominant position of one nation and the subjugation and oppression of all other nationalities within its borders. The system of capitalist imperialism is based on economic and military rivalry of the large powers, competing with each other to dominate various markets and steal from and eventually exploit colonial and semicolonial peoples. Today bourgeois Russia aspires to the role of a regional imperialist power. Its bloody handiwork is evident enough in the brutal colonial-style war being waged by the Russian bourgeoisie against the Chechen people. Meanwhile, in the Balkans, Russia is seeking to become a "player" in the region like in the days of the tsars, when it acted as the great-power protector of the Serbs, while serving as the soft cops for particularly German imperialism, as it seeks to impose a carve-up of the former Yugoslavia that suits its interests. This goes hand in hand with increased attacks against Caucasians, Jews and other minorities in Russia.

The Old Boundaries Are Not Sacrosanct

Another problem with the slogan of "restoring the Soviet Union" is that it presumes that a future proletarian revolutionary upsurge will duplicate the political and geographical contours of the 1917 October Revolution. But the Soviet Union developed through a series of contingent historic circumstances. There was a certain Russian centrality to the 1917 Revolution, in the sense that decisive insurrectionary battles were fought and won early in such cities as Petrograd and Moscow, and then extended to the periphery over the next three years in the course of the Civil War. While this may recur, to assume that it must necessarily do so implies a misguided and implicitly chauvinist Russian bias.

Where a new revolutionary upsurge will originate and along what paths it will spread simply cannot be predicted. Revolution is a convulsive process, and to attempt to preordain its length and breadth in what is a new period would be foolish. We certainly are not fixated on the old geographical borders, as we seek to make evident in our call for plebiscites that will enable the people of Crimea and Chechnya to determine their own fates. Nor is it possible to foresee the outlines of future federations of workers states, particularly given the fact, as we noted, that the "break-up of the Soviet Union has revealed a situation of considerable interpenetration of peoples and of economic production units which were inherited from and geared to a (bureaucratically) centralized planned economy." What will the interpenetrated and heavily assimilated Eastern Ukraine population want to do in the aftermath of proletarian revolution—go with Russia, the Western Ukraine, a socialist federation linking them, or some other variant? It's possible that there will be federations with countries that didn't earlier participate in the USSR, for example, a victorious social revolution could embrace both Iran and Azerbaijan. And what sort of federation might be envisaged should the combative Polish proletariat come to power before its eastern neighbors, with a revolutionary wave emanating outward from Warsaw?

The outcome of such questions depends heavily on the course of the class struggle. The central thrust of a new surge of revolutionary proletarian ferment in the area between the Oder and the Urals is not now known to us. To talk of "restoring the USSR" is a nationalist trap. What is necessary is to sweep away the new bourgeois states and replace them with the rule of workers soviets. We know of no other road to this goal but the one pursued by Lenin and the Bolsheviks—a thoroughgoing struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism as part of patient but persistent propaganda aimed at winning the proletariat to the program of international socialist revolution. In short, as we wrote in the June 1993 introduction to the first Russian-language edition of Trotsky's 1928 book, *The Communist International After Lenin*: "It is imperative that the political heirs of the proletariat which made the October Revolution reclaim their true revolutionary birthright." ■

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NYC Strike...

(continued from page 12)

buildings since 1948, were more than willing to make concessions. But the bosses smelled blood and went for the union's jugular. The union tops were forced into calling this strike because the strength and survival of Local 32B-32J, and therefore the bureaucracy's opulent salaries, were at stake. But all along Bevona & Co. were preparing to cave in on the fundamental issue of two-tier wages.

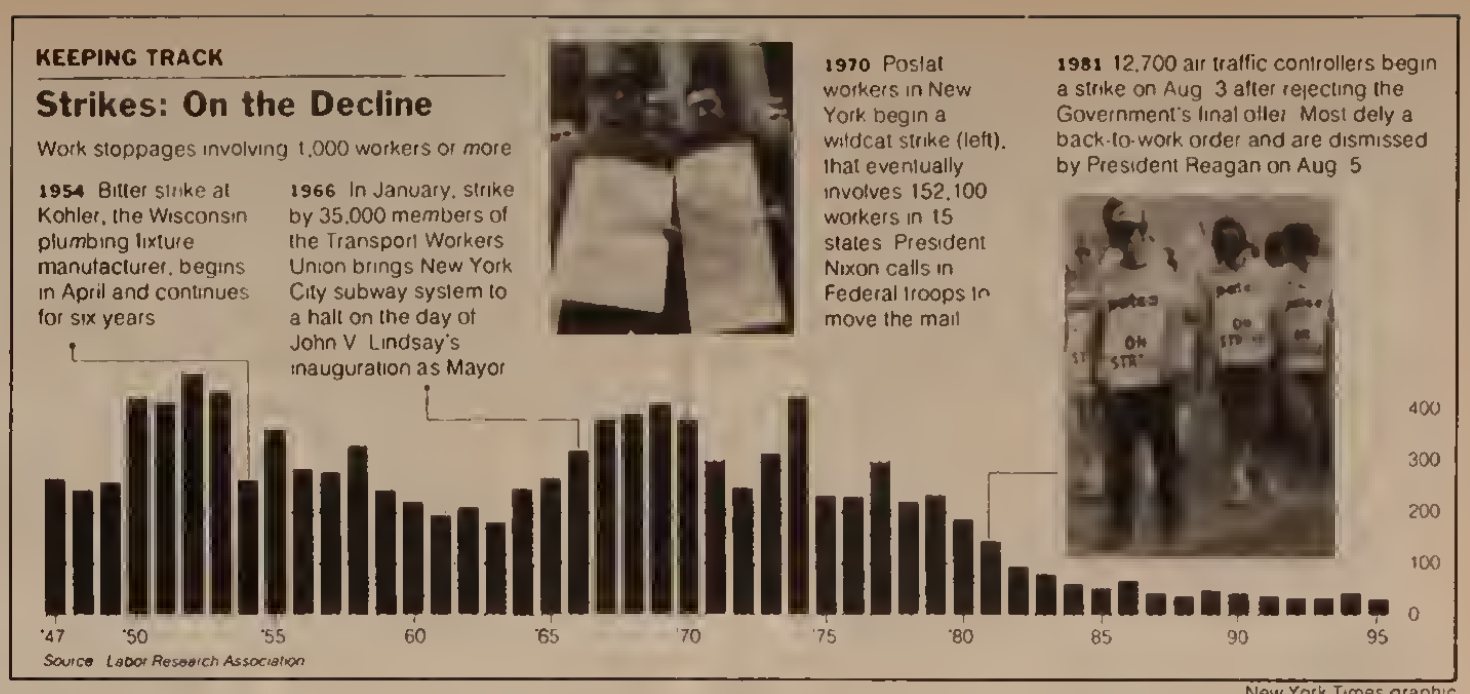
The new three-year contract establishes a second tier of newly hired workers who will earn $118 a week less than the current workforce, and even a *third* tier of "vacation replacement workers," who will be paid only 60 percent of the going rate! Only after two and a half years—if they don't get fired or laid off—will new hires get the higher pay rate. And during their first 24 months on the job, they won't get a dime paid into their pension or annuity funds. The grand total of the givebacks is *$9,500 a year per new employee*, only 500 bucks short of the landlords' original target!

And this is only the foot in the door. Every striker knew from the beginning that a two-tier wage system means the bosses have a tremendous financial incentive to lay off or fire existing workers on whatever pretext. Even at the present rate of employee turnover, within 30 months, *one-fifth* of the 32B-32J workforce will be earning cut-rate wages. This threatens the livelihoods and solidarity of this diverse workforce, composed of women and men, blacks, Hispanics and whites, native-born and recent immigrants from Latin America, East Europe and the Caribbean.

Sugar-coating the betrayal are annual wage increases of roughly 2.6 percent over the three years of the contract. Yet last year's inflation rate in NYC was 3 percent. Retirees' monthly pension checks will be boosted by $150, and the union claims improvements in medical coverage and vacations. Management said they are taking back all strikers, around 100 of whom suffered arrest during the strike, but returning workers have been met with management harassment, speedups and layoffs.

Building maintenance workers are still on strike at 475 Park Avenue South. They are also picketing the Port Authority Bus Terminal, which has hired Laro Maintenance Corp., the same outfit Mayor Giuliani brought in to break the unions at the Fulton Fish Market. Bevona's settlement has left them hanging in the wind.

At a February 4 press conference attended by Mayor Giuliani, AFL-CIO chief Sweeney, NYC Central Labor Council (CLC) president John McLaughlin, and landlord reps from the Realty Advisory Board, the stuffed shirts all got up and congratulated each other.



New York Times graphic

Bevona effusively thanked Giuliani for "the push from the mayor," and exuded sympathy for the "problems" of the cutthroat real estate and management companies. But while the top echelon of union officialdom were putting on their "labor statesmen" act, the fact is that *this strike could have been won* if every union in town had honored the elementary labor principle that *picket lines mean don't cross!*

In our last issue, we reported on how the CLC and a slew of self-described "strike supporters" regularly crossed picket lines. Hiding behind the bosses' laws, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's first loyalty is to the capitalist profit system—to the point of presiding over the gutting of the unions. The last-minute tactic of honoring picket lines for one day at a handful of buildings was just grandstanding, along with the full-page ad Local 32B-32J took out in the Sunday *Times* calling on "Members of All Unions" to "Please Don't Cross Our Picket Lines." The ad stated some home truths:

> "The old truism 'an injury to one is an injury to all' was born in times of turmoil and every union is facing times of turmoil again.... *It didn't matter what union was involved, when a picket line went up, no union member crossed.*"

Like a man who discovers religion on his deathbed, Bevona finally called on the labor movement to respect picket lines, in an ad that appeared *the same day the lines were being taken down!*

The bureaucrats know that unleashing the pent-up anger and militancy of the workers would spell doom for their own role as cops of the labor movement. Instead, they run to the bosses' politicians, courts and labor boards to intervene. Bevona brought in Secretary of Labor Robert Reich—notorious for his remark that "the jury is still out" on whether there is any place for unions in the modern capitalist economy—to reopen negotiations with the realtors on January 31. With Reich playing the "honest broker," Bevona called on Giuliani to have his former labor commish, Randy Levine, ram through the two-tier settlement.

Bevona claims there's no "permanent two-tier wage system," just a "wage progression system." Whatever he wants to call it, it's on this basis that management will start firing and laying off veteran building workers, pitting workers against each other and demanding sweat and blood from every new hire. Every difference in wage breeds divisions in the workforce, weakens the unions and undermines workers' solidarity. In demanding *equal pay for equal work*, class-conscious unionists advance the entire workers movement by defending the most vulnerable—recent immigrants, women, oppressed minorities, youth—who have historically been the staunchest defenders and builders of the unions.

The commercial building workers strike occurred in a period of widespread labor unrest in New York City. While the social-democratic union brass who run the city unions make sweetheart deals with Giuliani at the expense of the poor, the close to 300,000 city workers and teachers are seething over two years of wage freezes (in exchange for bogus job security "guarantees") while the City Hall crowd gives themselves whopping raises larger than the annual salaries of most city workers. After the UFT voted down the Feldman-Giuliani deal, AFSCME Local 420 hospital workers (who are facing mass layoffs) overwhelmingly rejected the contract negotiated by District Council 37 leader Stanley Hill. Other DC37 and CWA (Communications Workers) city worker locals voted heavily against this sellout. Only by gerrymandering a couple of large locals (amid charges of fraud) was Hill able to declare the contract approved.

With rampaging racist cop terror, the knifing of welfare and every conceivable social service, mass layoffs, subway fare increases, and city workers massively opposed to Giuliani's cutbacks, the building workers strike was an opportunity for labor to use its power to shut the city down and throw back the anti-labor offensive! But the union leaders are so locked into the capitalist parties (CLC chief McLaughlin is a Democratic state assemblyman, for instance) that their "action" consisted of lobbying their Democratic Party cronies on the City Council. The unions need a leadership that is prepared to defy the bosses and their government, to organize the independent power of labor, building a workers party on a revolutionary program to sweep away the entire capitalist system.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for union-run hiring halls and aggressive recruitment—at company expense—of minorities and youth! Organize the unorganized! Jobs for all—spread out the available work by demanding 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! And as for the realtors' laments about low occupancy rates, the homeless should seize Trump Tower and all those empty Midtown offices—with full union support! ■

Hands Off Angeli...

(continued from page 7)

dropped and urging her immediate release from prison.

Playing on the anger evoked by the truly horrible crime of violence against children, "child abuse" has over the past two decades become the rallying cry of the reactionary "family values" crusaders. Along with organized religion, the ruling class looks to the family as a key enforcer of social conservatism and bourgeois "morality," which chains the population to the oppressive capitalist system. From California's infamous McMartin Preschool case in 1983 to the recent and vicious hysteria in Wenatchee, Washington, scores of innocent people have been victimized in the bourgeoisie's attempts at social control through a "family values" witchhunt in the name of "saving the children." Lurid tales of satanic ritual abuse have been used to whip up an anti-sex frenzy.

Through intimidation, censorship and outright terror, the aim of this kind of witchhunting is to mold a compliant population that will blindly submit to the imperialists' domestic repression and foreign wars. While the bourgeois press retails monstrous lies, describing "predators" in the schools and day-care facilities, we see the real child abusers in the halls of Congress and in the White House. In Massachusetts, the day before state authorities attacked Angeli, capitalist politicians enacted a new draconian welfare law that threatens hundreds of teenage mothers on welfare (and, obviously, their kids) with homelessness. Ruling-class hypocrisy about "protecting children" knows no bounds. We will not forget: it was purportedly to "save children from abuse" that under Bill Clinton and Janet Reno the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms incinerated more than two dozen children, along with more than 60 men and women near Waco, Texas a few years ago.

Violence against children and the oppression of women are part of the fabric of this society. It is the capitalist rulers who constitute a "clear and present danger" to children. Toni Marie Angeli and all the victims of these anti-sex witchhunts are meant to be examples to the working class that the racist, sexist rulers of America will stop at nothing in their quest for social conformity—exploitation comes easier if the exploited march in step. As revolutionary communists, we in the Spartacus Youth Club oppose all attempts by the capitalist state to victimize the innocent in order to sink their claws deeper into the population. We have our own message: Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! ■

Spartacus Youth Clubs Class Series

EUGENE
Alternate Saturdays, 4 p.m. Next classes, February 17: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*; March 2: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; University of Oregon, Chapman Hall, Room 203.
For more information: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, February 17: *Principles of Communism*; March 2: *The State and Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, February 24: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question*; March 9: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Women Question*; Spartacist League Public Office, 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th St.)
For more information: (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, February 20: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question*; UC Santa Cruz, Student Center, M.C. Williams Lounge
For more information: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next classes, February 26: *U.S./Canada/NATO Out of the Balkans!*; March 11: *The Family and Women's Oppression*; International Student Centre, University of Toronto, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, February 29: *The Revolution Betrayed—The Syphilis of Stalinism*; March 14: *Forge an Internationalist, Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

Appeal Filed in State Supreme Court

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

On February 9, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal filed an appeal on his behalf in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in Philadelphia. The 119-page legal brief documents 26 constitutional and procedural errors in challenging Judge Sabo's 15 September 1995 ruling against Jamal's petition for a new trial under the state's Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA).

A former Black Panther Party leader, MOVE supporter, award-winning journalist and outspoken advocate for the oppressed, Jamal was wrongly convicted and sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in a frame-up trial presided over by Judge Albert Sabo, a notorious "hanging judge" who has sentenced more people to death—32, all but two of whom were racial minorities—than any other sitting judge in the U.S.

The PCRA hearings began in Sabo's court on July 26, only three weeks before Jamal's scheduled execution date of August 17. On August 7, Sabo granted a stay of execution, the result of mounting publicity and an international outcry of protest. For millions of minorities, youth and working people around the world, Mumia's case has come to symbolize the barbaric death penalty. The fight to save Jamal and to abolish legal lynching is part of the struggle for black equality in America. In fighting for Jamal's freedom, the Partisan Defense Committee has stressed the need for mass mobilizations of blacks, Hispanics and all the intended victims of capitalist repression, centrally seeking to unlock the social power of the integrated labor movement.

In a news conference following the filing of the appeal, Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, stated that "these papers indicate Mumia never had a trial in any real sense of the word.... The conclusion is irresistible: that Mumia Abu-Jamal needs a new trial." Also speaking at the press conference were Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Mumia's co-counsel as well as counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, Karl Baker of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Pam Africa of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Mumia's son Jamal.

As the appeal brief states, throughout

continued on page 9

WV Photo

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at Greene maximum security state prison in western Pennsylvania.

"Two Tier" Sellout of NYC Building Workers Strike

After four weeks of enduring frigid cold, cops and scabs on picket lines, over 30,000 building maintenance workers were sent back to work on Monday, February 4 by officials of Service Employees (SEIU) Local 32B-32J. Union bureaucrats, from local president Gus Bevona to AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, proclaimed victory for "both" sides of the strike: the janitors, porters, elevator operators and repairmen who the union claims to represent *and* New York City's wealthy real estate barons. This strike by Sweeney's home local was seen as a test of the new union federation chief's vow to invigorate the labor movement. But as picket lines went down, the details emerged of the contract sellout which slashed wages for new hires by 20 percent. Any way you cut it, this is a two-tier system—management's main goal from the start.

And the membership isn't even allowed to vote on it. "The settlement we got was what was on the table at the beginning," said an angry janitor at a Midtown building, one of over 1,000 skyscrapers and office buildings affected by the walkout. "They sold the strike out just when the technicians and engineers were coming out and the strike could have some effect." For an entire month, the union tops kept the picket lines as leaky as a sieve: despite the efforts of some unionists, particularly UPS, and even non-union FedEx drivers, deliveries of packages, fuel and supplies continued, as did trash pickups. Meanwhile, union tradesmen worked behind strike lines and an estimated *15,000* scabs replaced the striking building workers.

"Even management officials have wondered aloud about Mr. Bevona's strategy, saying it appears to maximize pain not for management, but for the strikers, perhaps in the hope that their pain will embarrass the building owners into a settlement," wrote the *New York Times* (3 February). On February 2, electricians, plumbers, operating engineers and painters finally honored picket lines for one day at six Manhattan buildings, pointing to how a real victory could have been won. Instead, the strike was called off a day and a half later.

What ignited the strike was the push by some of the wealthiest NYC real estate corporations, including Olympia & York, Helmsley-Spear, Tishman-Speyer and others, to slash starting wages of building maintenance workers nearly in half. The union brass at Local 32B-32J, who hadn't called a strike of commercial

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WV Photos

Local 32B-32J president Gus Bevona (near right) cuts deal with union-hating mayor Giuliani and real estate barons after refusing to mobilize labor power to win bitter four-week strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 640

1 March 1996

Capitalist Decay and Anti-Labor Offensive

Death on the Tracks

Howard Simmons/NY Daily News

New Jersey commuter train crash, February 9, killed three and injured dozens. Recent rash of train accidents is the result of capitalist profit-gouging.

For close to 45 minutes, the people trapped inside the burning first car of the Maryland commuter train scraped and banged against the windows, shouting "Get me out!" From the outside, people who had poured out of a nearby apartment building in a desperate attempt to rescue survivors tried to smash the shatter-resistant windows, to no avail. One recalled with anguish, "The agony stopped at some point, and then I heard them die." The train car became a steel coffin. Among the eleven killed in the February 16 crash were eight passengers, all young Job Corps trainees, two conductors and an engineer.

As with every transportation accident, the rail bosses immediately blamed the train crew. Headlines screamed about the train speeding past signals, and even while the dead engineer's body was warm they were obscenely testing his blood for drugs and alcohol. But it was capitalist criminality that led to the deaths of these eleven people. The CSX corporation which controls the track removed a signal—to cut costs—that would have warned the Maryland commuter train (MARC) engineer of the Amtrak train speeding his way. Seven of the youths and a conductor perished from burns and smoke inhalation, because there were no functional emergency exits in the first car. A friend of one of the conductors who died called it a "senseless, stupid accident that never should have happened."

The Maryland collision was far from the only senseless, stupid rail accident last month. On February 1, two crew members died when the brakes on their Burlington Northern-Santa Fe freight train failed and it careened into a railyard at Cajon Pass in Southern California. On February 9, two crew members and a passenger were killed as two New Jersey Transit commuter trains collided near Jersey City. On February 15, nine railway workers were injured when another Burlington Northern freight train lost its brakes and barreled into a railroad yard in St. Paul, Minnesota. Less than a week later, another brake failure near Leadville, Colorado led to the deaths of two workers and the spillage of 27,000 gallons of sulfuric acid onto a nearby highway.

On top of that, there has been a spate of deadly subway accidents, most recently a January 6 collision in Washington, D.C. Engineer Darel Callands was killed when his Metro train, speeding through ice and snow, slammed into a spare train parked on the tracks. Callands could have lived if he had been allowed to override the failure-ridden computerized system and taken manual control. Seconds before the crash, the helpless engineer radioed that his train was running at 75 mph. But management refused his repeated requests to take control, on the grounds that manual braking increased wear and tear on the wheels! Moreover, the spare train Callands hit was sitting there because it was cheaper than moving it into the yard.

The latest rash of derailments and collisions has thrown a spotlight on the abysmally unsafe conditions on this country's

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Imperialist Hue and Cry After Gusano Provocation

U.S. Hands Off Cuba!

On February 24, two small planes operated by the Miami-based Cuban *gusano* (counterrevolutionary) group "Brothers to the Rescue" were shot down by Cuban Air Force fighters just off the coast of Havana. This was a legitimate defensive measure against a brazen provocation. In a retaliatory move, the Clinton administration is cutting off air travel and financial transfers to Cuba. The Republican right and Cuban exiles, meanwhile, are predictably screaming for intensifying the economic embargo, cutting off all diplomatic ties and even a naval blockade, an act of war. We denounce the hypocritical outcry from the sinister forces who for the last three and a half decades have sought by invasion, assassination and every imaginable "dirty trick" to undo the Cuban Revolution.

The U.S. claim that the planes were over international waters is nothing but "cynical lying," as Ricardo Alarcón, head of Cuba's National People's Assembly, responded. The pilot of the lead plane admitted they were in Cuban air space, as do U.S. intelligence officials; and debris from the two downed Cessna 337s fell well within the 12-mile limit. For that matter, Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli, a prime mover of the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba, says he has personally flown inside Cuban air space with the "Brothers." In mid-January, after an earlier incursion by the same group, Cuba declared the area below the 24th parallel a defense area; the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration warned all aircraft to stay out of the zone. A few weeks later, Cuban chief of staff General Ulisses Rosales del Toro let

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Hands Off Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

visiting U.S. military experts know such planes were at risk of being shot down. On February 24, Havana air control warned the planes of their danger, ordering them to turn back, and a Cuban MIG gave a warning pass before bringing down the intruders.

Equally phony is the pretense that these were "defenseless civilians." These counterrevolutionaries don't go to the corner bodega unarmed, much less on one of the 1,800 Cuba "missions" they brag of having flown. "Brothers to the Rescue" was formed by veterans of the 1961 U.S./*gusano* Bay of Pigs invasion which shattered against the determined resistance of the Cuban working masses. "Brothers" leader José Basulto who led the doomed flight but returned unharmed, is a former CIA agent. The outfit was set up in 1991 supposedly to rescue "rafters" at sea—actually, to foment a mass exodus from the economically besieged island. But particularly since Washington stopped automatically admitting Cuban refugees last year, "Brothers" has turned increasingly to inciting internal subversion, dropping anti-Communist leaflets over Havana in January. The clear intent was to provoke an incident between Cuba and Washington, as they have now succeeded in doing.

As revolutionary internationalists, we Trotskyists defend the Cuban Revolution against all imperialist military attacks and provocations. We oppose the U.S. economic embargo. The *gusano* flights are clear counterrevolutionary acts, whose ultimate purpose is to bring back a neocolonial banana republic to exploit the Cuban working people. The Cuban government took appropriate measures against these reactionary brigands and (sometimes rogue) agents of Yankee imperialism. However, the bureaucratic Stalinist regime of Fidel Castro, which promoted the illusion of "socialism in one island," is today pushing through the piecemeal introduction of capitalist "reforms," dangerously undermining the collectivized economy.

Defense of the Cuban Revolution requires mobilizing the working people, under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy in a proletarian political revolution on an internationalist program. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban deformed workers state cannot long survive in its Caribbean isolation. As we wrote last fall (*WV* No. 630, 6 October 1995): "The future of the Cuban Revolution stands in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere." ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Free Abortion on Demand!

This year as we commemorate International Women's Day, March 8, the fight for women's most basic rights, including safe, legal and free abortion on demand, remains a key task. Since the 1980s, the assault on abortion rights has been an ideological cutting edge of anti-communist reaction in Europe and North America. It was the young Soviet workers state which first granted the right of abortion to women. However, in the 1930s, the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy overturned this and other fundamental gains for working people, as Leon Trotsky pointed out. With the "liberalization" of the Stalinist regimes in the 1950s and later, abortion was once again legalized. Today, the destruction of the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the USSR and East Europe through counterrevolution has led to a wholesale attack on women's rights.

Even the optimistic *Pravda* is sometimes compelled to make a bitter confession: "The birth of a child is for many women a serious menace to their position." It is just for this reason that the revolutionary power gave women the right to abortion, which in conditions of want and family distress, whatever may be said upon this subject by the eunuchs and old maids of both sexes, is one of her most important civil, political and cultural rights. However, this right of women too, gloomy enough in itself, is under the existing social inequality being converted into a privilege....

Having revealed its inability to serve women who are compelled to resort to abortion with the necessary medical aid and sanitation, the state makes a sharp change of course, and takes the road of prohibition. And just as in other situations, the bureaucracy makes a virtue of necessity. One of the members of the highest Soviet court, Soltz, a specialist on matrimonial questions, bases the forthcoming prohibition of abortion on the fact that in a socialist society where there are no unemployed, etc., etc., a woman has no right to decline "the joys of motherhood." The philosophy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme.... But here the highest Soviet judge informs us that in a country where "life is happy" abortion should be punished with imprisonment—just exactly as in capitalist countries where life is grievous. It is clear in advance that in the Soviet Union as in the West those who will fall into the claws of the jailer will be chiefly working women, servants, peasant wives, who find it hard to conceal their troubles. As far as concerns "our women," who furnish the demand for fine perfumes and other pleasant things, they will, as formerly, do what they find necessary under the very nose of an indulgent judiciary.... These gentlemen have, it seems, completely forgotten that socialism was to remove the cause which impels woman to abortion, and not force her into the "joys of motherhood" with the help of a foul police interference in what is to every woman the most intimate sphere of life.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 640 **1 March 1996**

Letter

On Guerrilla Struggle

24 January 1996

To the editor:

Workers Vanguard's reply to a letter on Che Guevara's attitude toward workers democracy (*WV* No. 635, 15 December 1995) includes powerful examples demonstrating that the Cuban workers state was bureaucratically deformed from its inception. However, the statement that "the program of seeking to overthrow the capitalist state through peasant guerrilla warfare, if successful, necessarily leads to a state apparatus based on the petty-bourgeois cadres of the guerrilla army, not democratically elected organs of proletarian power" actually gives too much credit to the Cuban guerrillas. They, like the Stalinist-led guerrilla forces in China, Vietnam, etc., never had *any* program to overthrow capitalism.

Castro's July 26 Movement called for a liberal *bourgeois* government to replace the vicious U.S. puppet Batista. Once in power, the nationalist Castro/Che regime faced unremitting hostility from U.S. imperialism, compelling it to expropriate capitalist property in 1960-61. Similarly, while Mao's forces in China were engaged in guerrilla war against Chiang Kai-shek throughout most of the 1930s and '40s, Mao called on Chiang's Guomindang party to join in a popular-front coalition, *i.e.*, a capitalist government. Likewise, the North Vietnamese Army/NLF called for a coalition with the remnants of the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie right up to the day they marched into Saigon in 1975 and sent them packing, sealing their tremendous victory over bloody U.S. imperialism.

A necessary condition for smashing capitalist rule in these countries was that the local bourgeoisie was too weakened by corruption and civil war to accept the Stalinists' proposals. However, in Algeria, black Africa and other areas, nationalist struggles have resulted in the maintenance of capitalism in a neocolonial framework. In all cases, the guerrilla movements brought to power anti-working-class regimes. This underlines the importance of the point made in the reply that defense of the Cuban Revolution against capitalist counterrevolution is linked to the struggle for "proletarian political revolution to sweep out the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and establish the rule of workers councils as part of a fight for international socialist revolution."

Comradely,
R.B.

WV responds: Comrade R.B.'s point was elaborated in the 1963 document, "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," of the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League, in its fight inside the Socialist Workers Party against the SWP's tailing of Fidel Castro and other petty-bourgeois forces. The RT document emphasized: "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime."

The RT statement was counterposed to the SWP majority's 1963 document, "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," which was the tool for the reunification of the SWP and its international followers with the International Secretariat of Michel Pablo and Ernest Germain (Mandel) to form the United Secretariat. We deliberately paralleled the language of Joseph Hansen, the author of the SWP document, with opposite conclusions. And 33 years later, who was right? ■

JUST OUT!

Contents include:

- What We Stand For
  Labor Black League for Social Defense
- Attack on Blacks, Immigrants, Women
  Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!
- International Outcry Wins Stay of Execution
  Battle for Mumia's Freedom
- **Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal**
- Farrakhan's Reactionary Dead End
  Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters
- A Tribute
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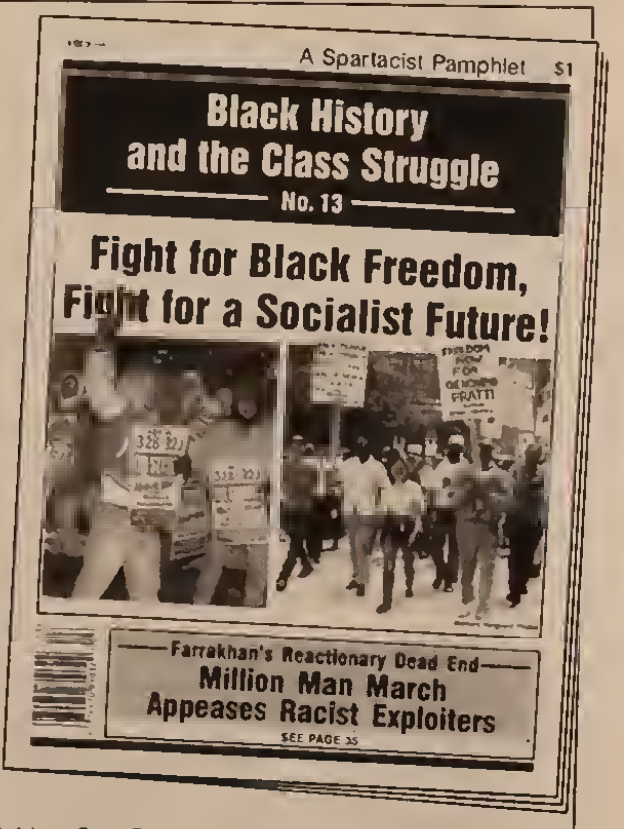

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Bloody Army/Cop Assault on Student Protesters in Argentina

Página/12

Scores were wounded and nearly 250 arrested in vicious police repression against February 20 student demonstration in La Plata.

A brutal, premeditated army and police assault on student demonstrators in Argentina left scores wounded and almost 250 arrested in La Plata, capital of the province of Buenos Aires. On the morning of February 20, the government surrounded the site of a protest demonstration with infantry and gendarmerie troops, armored vehicles and water cannons, arresting students as young as 13 years old. Later in the day, as supporters gathered outside the place where the students were being held, the uniformed thugs let loose with tear gas and rubber bullets, assaulting demonstrators with clubs and rifle butts. In an outrageous provocation against opponents of rightist terror worldwide, police heat Hebe de Bonafini, leader of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, an organization famed worldwide for its courageous search for the "disappeared" victims of the military's "dirty war" against leftists in the 1970s. Bonafini required hospital attention for head injuries.

In a statement issued the next day, the Partisan Defense Committee called on labor and student organizations, and all opponents of rightist repression, to mobilize in the U.S. and internationally to protest the bloody attack on the La Plata students and demand immediate freedom for *all* the victims of rightist government repression in Argentina. On February 22, an emergency demonstration called by the PDC and supported by the Spartacist League was held in front of the Argentine consulate in New York City. Demonstrators chanted, "Stop police terror against Argentine students!" and "For mass workers action to defend La Plata students!" The next day in Mexico City, supporters of the Grupo Espartaquista de México soapboxed and leafletted at three schools of the National University (UNAM), agitating for support to the Argentine students. The PDC statement was printed in the Mexico City daily *El Día*.

The police violence on February 20 shocked even the purveyors of official public opinion. Journalists lying wounded after the military/police assault were beaten by troops, and television cameraman Hernán Ramos received emergency surgery after seven rubber bullets hit him in the legs. Leaders of the La Plata students compared the attack with the dark years of the military dictatorship. Indeed, the military assault on young protesters—for the "crime" of demonstrating against school fees—was a sinister echo of one of the most infamous massacres carried out under the dictator Onganía: the "Night of the Pencils," when high-school students in La Plata were "disappeared" by the dictatorship after a student demonstration. Once again in evidence on February 20 were the plainclothes cops and unmarked Ford Falcons, the trademark of the death squads. The students were held in one of the military's former secret detention centers.

The February 20 demonstration in La Plata was called against "reforms" aimed at the "elitization" of the educational system, which student leaders denounced as obeying "the demands of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank," which have imposed starvation austerity programs throughout Latin America. The Argentine government of Carlos Menem has sought to distinguish itself as the most unconditional follower of Washington's dictates. At the PDC protest in New York, demonstrators chanted, "Menem is a U.S. tool! Down with bloody IMF rule!"

This latest assault is an escalation of the savage wave of repression by the Menem government against leftist and worker militants throughout Argentina. In April 1995, police killed the worker Víctor Choque while repressing a protest by unionists at a television factory in Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego. In October, government forces broke up a demonstration of unemployed workers in the city of Neuquén and arrested their leader, Horacio Panario, a member of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), who remains in jail on frame-up charges that could bring a ten-year sentence. Union activists and members of several other left groups have also been the targets of repression. And in late October, Argentine leftist leader Enrique Gorriarán was illegally deported from Mexico to Argentina where his life is at risk.

On February 21, several thousand workers and students demonstrated in La Plata protesting the government crackdown. As a result of protests there and in Buenos Aires, later that day most of the 237 officially detained were released. However, 12 students were still being held. The NYC protest the next day demanded: Free all the arrested La Plata students now! Drop the charges! Free Horacio Panario! Free Enrique Gorriarán! Stop the witchhunt against left and labor activists in Argentina! Spartacist demonstrators chanted, "No new 'dirty war'—Workers power is what we're for!" and "Defeat IMF austerity—Wall Street no, obreros sí!"

Mobilizing the powerful Argentine unions is key to fighting the vicious crackdown by Menem and his provincial satraps. As the Grupo Espartaquista de México noted in a 10 November 1995 statement, "Hands Off Argentine Leftists and Worker Militants!": "This crackdown comes in the context of escalating repression against unionists and leftists from Bolivia to Mexico. In addition to the state of siege decreed to crush the Bolivian general strike, in Brazil the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso called out the army to break the oil workers strike, while in Rondônia landless peasants were massacred. In Mexico the government dissolved the bus drivers union, which it saw as a nucleus of potential militant opposition, firing all 13,000 workers and jailing their leaders. The urgent need is for internationalist struggle, extending to the powerful North American proletariat, against the brutal austerity and repression dictated by Latin American capitalist regimes and their senior partners in Washington and Wall Street." ■

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee-initiated protest, February 22, outside Argentine consulate in NYC demanded freedom for victims of Menem government terror.

Vicious Skinhead Attack in Orange County

LOS ANGELES—Just after midnight on February 3, a 20-year-old Native American man sitting on Huntington Beach with two friends was brutally attacked by a gang of three racist skinheads. The victim, who understandably wishes to remain anonymous, was stabbed *27 times* with a large hunting knife in an attack so frenzied that one of the attackers was stabbed in the eye by his partner. The attack left the young victim in critical condition, fighting for his life after his heart had stopped and was restarted by paramedics on the way to the hospital.

In recent years, the "surfer paradise" of Huntington Beach has become notorious as a staging area for the fascist scum, who target minority residents and others who come to enjoy the beach. This latest attack, following the skinhead murder of a black Huntington Beach man a year ago, points to the urgent necessity for L.A.-area labor and minorities to mobilize to teach the Nazi skinheads a lesson in the power of the integrated working class that they won't soon forget.

Prior to the latest attack, the skinheads had spent the evening hunting for a victim, shouting racist obscenities and menacing a Latino couple, an Asian woman and a Jewish woman on the Huntington Beach Pier. Shortly after the attack, cops arrested the three thugs. But it is the racist cops who have set the tone for attacks on minorities in "HB" with routine sweeps and harassment of black and Latino youth to "stop gang infiltration" of the area, while Nazi scum are tolerated as "locals."

Across Los Angeles and Orange County, blacks, Latinos and immigrants are facing intensified racist cop terror. Early in January, a phalanx of 60 heavily armed LAPD cops in riot gear swept down on a poetry/hip-hop workshop at a music and arts center in L.A.'s Leimert Park which is popular among black youth, beating artists and participants and arresting two, on the pretext that the center was "overcrowded."

The chauvinist frenzy whipped up over California's anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in 1994 and the subsequent campaign to destroy affirmative action are fueling "White Power" fascist attacks and racist police repression. It is vital for the labor movement to organize in defense of immigrants and minorities, and to clear out the Nazi filth.

Britain: Scargill's SLP and the Labour-Loyal Left

Break with Labourism, "Old" and "New"! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

LONDON—The British Labour Party has long served as the vehicle for tying the working class of this country to their capitalist rulers, falsely promising "democratic socialism" to be achieved within the framework of "Her Majesty's Parliament." A massive system of public welfare was proffered by the post-World War II Labour government to console those at the bottom of this system of brutal exploitation, particularly to ward off the possibility of any serious social struggle.

Today, in the aftermath of the capitalist counterrevolutions that have destroyed the rotten bureaucratically deformed workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the ruling classes internationally feel they have free rein to grind the working class and the poor without much need for the mediating influence of the social-democratic and Stalinist-derived misleaders of the mass reformist parties. So Tony Blair's "New" Labour Party is seeking to recast itself in the mould of the openly capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S., pushing to rupture Labour's historic ties with the trade unions and dumping any pretence to socialism, like the famous Clause IV with its call for "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

In opposition to the Blairites, the gutsy Arthur Scargill, leader of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), announced the formation of his Socialist Labour Party (SLP). Although the programme of Scargill's SLP is simply that of the "old" Labour Party, this split represents a potential opening for breaking the stranglehold of Labour over the workers movement. While the Labour Party leaders sneered that Scargill's party would be no challenge to their authority, most recently more than half of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers Union leadership have joined the SLP.

On 1 February, in the Hemsworth by-election, the SLP ran its first candidate for Parliament, Brenda Nixon of the Women Against Pit Closures movement. She won 5.5 per cent of the vote, good enough to prevent losing her electoral deposit, the usual benchmark of success in a campaign of this kind. During the campaign, Nixon stated, "We are saying to voters that they don't have to vote for Labour because it's the lesser of two evils" (London *Times*, 22 January). This violation of the "eleventh commandment" of the British left—"Thou shalt vote Labour to keep the Tories out"—was met with howls all the way from the Labour shadow cabinet to the "far left."

The Spartacist League/Britain called for critical support to the SLP's candidate, stating in our leaflet, "Vote Brenda Nixon!": "The issues she is standing on—renationalisation of the main privatised industries, repeal of the anti-union laws and the rebuilding of the public services—speak to the felt needs of the working people of these islands" (see "Britain: Election Challenge to Tony Blair's Labour Party," *WV* No. 638, 2 February). Members and supporters of the SL/B actively campaigned for Nixon in Hemsworth, going door to door with her election material. At the same time, we sought out miners welfare clubs, as well as leafletting and selling on local street corners and at Leeds University with our own revolutionary propaganda.

We wanted Brenda Nixon to be elected to Parliament and held to the programme on which she ran. The issues Nixon campaigned for—which included a call for "an end to unemployment" through measures such as "the introduction of a four-day working week with no loss of pay"—cannot be addressed in the absence of hard-fought struggle, which pursued to the end must shatter the framework of capitalism. Taken together with her statement of being a party of opposition to the Labour Party, this provided an opening for communists to intervene to demonstrate to the working class the need for an authentic workers party—one imbued with the understanding that the only guarantee of labour's welfare lies through the destruction of a system based on the exploitation of labour.

Spartacist League/Britain gave critical support to Brenda Nixon (above), candidate for Parliament of the Socialist Labour Party headed by miners union leader Arthur Scargill (above, right).

The 1984-85 Miners Strike and the Hemsworth By-Election

Hemsworth, a former stronghold of the NUM, has been devastated by the pit closures which were the vindictive revenge of Margaret Thatcher and her successors against the heroic 1984-85 coal strike. The miners strike was defeated by the Tory government, its cops and courts, with the active connivance of Neil Kinnock's Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress bureaucrats. To prevail against the full force of the capitalist state meant spreading the strike to other key sections of the working class. But the trade-union misleaders, including the so-called "left," actively sabotaged the very real possibilities of strike action by other unions.

The unity of Tony Benn, Scargill and other "lefts" behind Kinnock's Labour Party facilitated the isolation and strangulation of this massive class battle, despite massive support in all sections of the oppressed, in Britain and internationally. Black and Asian communities were the best allies of the strikers. The Irish Republican population in Belfast welcomed British miners with a huge sign reading, "Victory to the Miners!" From the former Soviet Union to South Africa, labour solidarity was mobilised in financial support to the NUM. The strike also highlighted the key role of working-class women: with their militant marches and rallies and confrontations with scabs and cops on the picket lines, the miners' wives were the backbone of the strike.

Today, Scargill's SLP turns its back on these "constituencies." Not only does it have not a word to say in opposition to the escalating anti-immigrant racism codified in the Asylum Bill, but the SLP's constitution would prohibit membership to asylum-seekers and recent immigrants by confining membership to those who have "resided in Wales, Scotland, England or Ireland for more than one year." Not a word has yet been expressed against the British Army occupation of Northern Ireland. And international working-class solidarity is sacrificed on the altar of "little Englandism." Scargill's discussion paper, "Future Strategy for the Left," calls only for a *reduction* in the armaments budget of bloody British imperialism. We say: Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army! British troops out of Northern Ireland and out of the Balkans now! For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!

Workers Power: "New" Labour Socialists

The launch of the SLP and its decision to run Brenda Nixon as a candidate against the Labour Party in the Hemsworth by-election set the cat among the pigeons of the so-called "far left" in Britain. The idea of splitting with Labour is a violation of faith for the Labourite left. Even those groups like Militant Labour and Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party who called for a vote to Nixon were not breaking from loyalty to Labour. Thus, the SWP's *Socialist Worker* (20 January) argued that "it would be a mistake for the SLP to stand in every constituency especially in marginal areas where Labour is challenging the Tories."

The SLP and Nixon campaign caused especial pain for the ever more rightward-moving centrists of Workers Power (WP). In the end, they resolved their agony by shamelessly calling for a vote to Blair's Labour candidate in the Hemsworth by-election. Workers Power first dabbled with the idea of being a loyal opposition within Scargill's new party, claiming "Our aim is the construction of a revolutionary Socialist Labour Party" (*Workers Power*, December 1995). Hardly. In fact, WP couldn't even stomach the idea of a party in opposition to Labour. The same article argues that "a revolutionary SLP" would "call for a vote to Labour in any constituency where there was no revolutionary candidate and continue to demand that Labour acts in the interests of those workers"!

This was posed as the means to ensure that "revolutionaries in a new party are not cut off from workers who have yet to break from Labour"—i.e., by maintaining the allegiance of said workers to Labour by sowing illusions that the Labour Party can be pressured to act in the interests of the proletariat. By January, Workers Power could see the door into the SLP being closed in its face, when Scargill made clear that no other organisations, outside of "bona fide" trade unions, would be allowed into his party.

By February, *Workers Power* was accusing Scargill's SLP of the "worst practices of Stalinist bureaucratic centralism," pouting, "Workers Power members and supporters will not be voting for the SLP in Hemsworth. We will vote Labour." Trying to put some left gloss on supporting a candidate who even they noted was "a trusted right winger," "hand-picked by the Blair leadership,"

continued on page 12

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British Troops Out Now!

Northern Ireland: Imperialist "Peace" Fraud Breaks Down

IRA Renews Bombing Campaign

The following article is adapted from Workers Hammer *No. 149, February/March 1996, published by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

At 5:30 p.m. on Friday, 9 February, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) announced the end of their 17-month ceasefire. Ninety minutes later an IRA bomb packed into a flatbed lorry exploded in an underground car park in East London's Canary Wharf complex, killing two people and injuring over 30. Within hours the sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was demonstratively patrolling the streets of Belfast with rifles and body armour. Police dragnets were quickly mounted within Britain and 500 more troops were dispatched to Northern Ireland. Within ten days, another IRA bomb exploded in a London bus, killing one person (presumed to be the bomb carrier) and injuring several passengers. Throughout Northern Ireland, both Catholics and Protestants live in fear of renewed sectarian violence; Catholics particularly dread a resumption of murder by Loyalist death squads.

The capitalist media howled about IRA "terrorists" jeopardising the "peace process," but said not a word against the main terrorist force stalking these islands, the British Army, behind whom stand the RUC and Loyalist terror gangs. From the standpoint of proletarian revolutionaries, the Canary Wharf bombing was indefensible—in no way a blow against the forces of British imperialism. Instead, it indiscriminately targeted civilians who simply happen to live or work in London's Docklands.

Terrorism as a method of struggle reflects the aims of its petty-bourgeois practitioners to become a new ruling class of "their" people, by sowing nationalist hatred of another people that will last generations. It is antithetical to the task of mobilising the proletariat against its imperialist oppressors. Nonetheless, when the IRA strikes a blow against the forces of British imperialism or fascistic Loyalist killers, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against the capitalist state. But we take a fundamentally different attitude to indiscriminate terror. From a proletarian perspective, these are criminal acts which serve only to deepen hatred between Catholic and Protestant, English and Irish workers.

We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as a precondition to any resolution of the "troubles" in Northern Ireland. As we warned: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November/December 1993). From the start of the IRA ceasefire, the British imperialists have been provocative and arrogant. Having been forced, finally, by the Clinton White House, Prime Minister John Major has sought to exploit genuine war-weariness and hatred of murderous sectarianism to make the IRA give up its arms.

While the annual Loyalist marching season went ahead last summer under virtual martial law in Catholic neighbourhoods of Belfast and Portadown, the British government demanded that the IRA "decommission" its weapons as a precondition for negotiations with Sinn Féin. Major has been backed at every point by Tony Blair's Labour Party, and also finds allies among the venal ruling class of the Irish Republic who, along with the Irish Labour Party and Democratic Left, act as loyal servants of British imperialism in the North while brutally oppressing women and attacking the working class in the South.

Rejecting the U.S.-sponsored Mitchell Commission proposal that talks should proceed (and "decommissioning" would follow later), Major adopted the Unionists' demand for elections in Northern Ireland before any "talks." The vista of a return to Unionist-dominated provincial rule in the North sent shivers through the entire Catholic population.

The differences between U.S. and British imperialism are merely tactical. The U.S. considers that the best way to disarm the IRA is to exploit the divisions between the "ballot" wing of Gerry Adams and the more hardline Republicans. A week before the Canary Wharf bombing, former U.S. Senator George Mitchell publicly warned of the danger of a "fracture" in the nationalist camp. Minutes after the IRA declared an end to the ceasefire, Gerry Adams telephoned the Clinton White House to say he had heard "some very disturbing news."

Polak/Sygma

Aftermath of February 9 bombing by IRA of London's Canary Wharf complex, which signaled end of U.S.-brokered "cease-fire."

The "armalite" and the "ballot box" wings of the IRA/Sinn Féin are symbiotic, reflecting two sides of a desperate nationalist strategy which has no perspective outside the framework of capitalism and looks to imperialism for a "solution." Having built up illusions in an imperialist-brokered settlement, the IRA ended their ceasefire complaining that "instead of embracing the peace process, the British government acted in bad faith," while still calling for an "inclusive, negotiated settlement."

The destruction of the Soviet Union through counterrevolution and the breaking of imperialism's Cold War anti-Soviet consensus led to increasing inter-imperialist rivalries. The Sinn Féin leadership saw in this the possibility to enlist the "good graces" of U.S. imperialism to pressure the British to negotiate. Such illusions in U.S. imperialism are deadly dangerous, the fruits of which have been witnessed from killing fields in Iraq, to U.S. troops mowing down black women and children in Somalia, to the terror bombing of the Serbs.

From the beginning, we have warned against any illusions in imperialist-brokered deals from South Africa to the Middle East to the Balkans. In Northern Ireland, within the framework of imperialism, the door is open to a "Bosnian solution" predicated on undoubtedly bloody forced population transfers. Under such a scheme, given their proportional weight in the population of Northern Ireland, the Protestants would get the bulk of the land centred around Belfast and the Catholics would get the area around Derry. To realize such an "ethnic cleansing" move is quite expensive, at least if it is to look "humane" to the viewers of CNN. The British don't have the money to do it, and the Americans won't spend the money to do it. But such a move would fit with Germany's drive for mastery of Europe, except that the Fourth Reich is currently a little overextended after eating the former East German deformed workers state. In the absence of the shattering of the capitalist system, such is an idea of the options that are open.

The Catholics are an oppressed minority in Northern Ireland, but they live in the same territory as the Protestants who are a distinct community which very much fears becoming a minority that in turn would be oppressed and discriminated against in a capitalist united Ireland.

An old Irish saying recounted in a recent letter in the London *Guardian* says: "Anyone who has a solution to the Irish Question is not in possession of all the facts." That's because no just solution is obtainable within the status quo. In such situations of interpenetrated peoples, there can be no equitable resolution to national oppression outside of the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule.

We oppose both the forcible reunification of Ireland or the establishment of an "independent Ulster." We fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, forged through the revolutionary unity of the working class across national and religious boundaries, leaving open the question of the future development of the Protestant community. Integrated workers militias—incorporating both Catholics and Protestants, under a communist leadership—are vital in Northern Ireland to combat imperialist and Loyalist rampage as well as sectarian terror from any quarter—Orange or Green.

Genuine justice and equality will only come through working-class rule on both sides of the Irish Sea, through an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, and which will also bring down the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the clericalist capitalist state in the South. As we said when the ceasefire was first declared: "What is critically necessary is the forging of Leninist parties on both sides of the Irish Sea, rooted in the proletariat of all the peoples of these isles" (*Workers Hammer* No. 142, September/October 1994). ■

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"Greensboro: A Requiem"

McCarter Theater

A Review

A documentary play by Emily Mann

It was a bright Saturday morning, 3 November 1979, and the anti-Klan demonstrators were gathering outside a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina for the start of their march. The KKK/Nazi caravan of death drove slowly into the project, parked their cars and calmly proceeded to take weapons out of the trunk of a car. In the ensuing 88-second fusillade, they deliberately cut down five leftists, blacks and labor organizers, members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP). It was the bloodiest fascist attack in the U.S. in decades, conceived and carried out with the direct knowledge, complicity and active participation of numerous government agents, including the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), the FBI and the Greensboro police. In the aftermath, two trials by all-white juries acquitted the Nazi/KKK killers.

Carried out as the Democratic Carter administration whipped up its anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade abroad, the Greensboro massacre was the opening shot of the Reagan years. It marked a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, who saw an opening to crawl out of their holes and don their white sheets. That their murderous terror is carried out in concert with the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state was shown in the Greensboro conspiracy. Locally, the CWP civil rights workers and labor organizers were viewed as a threat in the racist, anti-union "open shop" atmosphere of the (not so) "new" South.

Emboldened by this bloody massacre, the Klan attempted to parade their fascist terror on the streets of America's big cities. When the KKK/Nazis announced plans to "celebrate" their blood-drenched "victory" in Greensboro by marching in Detroit the next week, the Spartacist League joined with workers at Ford's giant River Rouge plant to organize a labor/black rally to stop the fascists—which it did. The anti-Klan demonstrators carried signs calling "For the Right of Southern Black Armed Self-Defense!" Over the next several years, the SL and Partisan Defense Committee uniquely launched labor/black mobilizations around the country that thwarted the fascists' plans. From San Francisco (1980) to Chicago (1982), Washington, D.C. (1982) and Philadelphia (1988), such mobilizations—based on joining labor's power together with the masses of the oppressed—were key in keeping the fascist filth off the streets during this period.

Greensboro—the very name cries out for justice, for vengeance. From the first hours after news of the assassination reached us and in the decade and a half since then, the Spartacist League has attempted to sear this hideous massacre into the consciousness of the working class. As the enormous government role was exposed, we reported on this and on the whitewash "trials" that left the murderers unscathed. On anniversaries of the 3 November 1979 slaughter we have run commemorative notes in *WV*, as we do with the date of another heinous crime: 13 May 1985, the police bombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia, where eleven black people, including five children, were murdered and a black neighborhood turned to ash in a racist government vendetta.

Now a documentary play on the Greensboro massacre has been produced. *Greensboro: A Requiem*, by Obie-winning playwright Emily Mann, opened this month at the McCarter Theater in Princeton. Mann's earlier works include *Still Life*, in which characters give witness to the Holocaust, the Vietnam War and American racism, and *Execution of Justice*, about the murders of San Francisco gay city councilman Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone. The playwright's father was head of the American Jewish Committee's oral history project on the Holocaust.

Mann calls her approach "theater of testimony," and carried this method into *Greensboro: A Requiem*. The play centers on counterposing the "testimony" of Nelson Johnson, a black survivor of the massacre and a central organizer of the CWP, and Edward Dawson, the "former" FBI informant in the Klan. She notes that the entire play is crafted from verbatim interviews, newspaper accounts, court transcripts and personal testimony. Through this technique the vast government conspiracy and what has happened in the lives of the survivors in the intervening years are recounted. Mann originally began writing *Greensboro* as a movie-of-the-week courtroom drama commissioned by NBC. When the TV network backed out, she continued to pursue the project.

The play brings to light much important information about the government's deep involvement in the plot against Nelson Johnson and his comrades. But ultimately, the play's message is an affront to the memory of the Greensboro martyrs who fell in the cause of fighting fascism and for emancipation of the exploited and oppressed. The play ends in a final grotesque scene of "reconciliation" in which Johnson, now a Baptist minister, reports how he went to the home of the KKK "grand dragon" where they knelt down in common prayer.

Author Mann adds her own liberal pacifism to the demoralization of many of the survivors—fitting right in with the "death of communism" lie. Thus the *New York Times*' theater critic Vincent Canby could praise Mann's "postmodern" drama for transcending "agit-prop literature" and "isms" to present Greensboro as "more complex" than a simple "miscarriage of justice."

The author and the survivors, as they told their stories, have tried to combat the most crude anti-communist slanders about Greensboro. At the time, the bourgeois press obscenely labeled the Klan/Nazi attack a "shootout between extremist groups." The play deals scathingly with this theme. But the play's liberal message, "Words Have Meaning," comes down to a "politically correct" version of the same murderous equation. This slogan is the centerpiece of the playbill, which features a two-page spread of quotations ranging from fascistic L.A. detective Mark Fuhrman's talk of "beating up a n----r" to a CWP call for "armed self-defense." Ultimately the message is that both fascists and communists engage in "hate speech" that kills.

The message is spelled out in a preachy quotation in the playbill from the play's director, Mark Wing-Davey, again under the title "Words Have Meaning," that such "rhetorical" language to "express feelings of anger" is used to "dehumanize people." This same slogan is flashed on a screen on stage in a scene where Nelson Johnson is testifying in court. The fascists' lawyer quotes CWP slogans of "Smash the Klan" and "Death to the Klan," and then says to Johnson: "Words have meaning. You wanted violence." Despite the protestations of many of the characters who appear on stage, the play's pacifist theme in its own way condemns both fascist murderers and those who struggle to sweep away the lynchers and cross-burners for "violence."

This comes up in the treatment of the China Grove incident in July 1979, where the CWP broke up a Klan "recruitment" rally in a heavily black area near Greensboro, setting the stage for the KKK's deadly attack in November. Sally Bermanzohn, one of the survivors, criticizes the CWP's chanting of "Death to the Klan," saying: "The Klan used our words as an excuse to open fire and kill us. And clearly in retrospect, our slogan was a big mistake." She adds: "*We made mistakes. We did not commit crimes. The Klan and Nazis committed crimes. They murdered five people.*" We have noted that the CWP went in for impotent posturing. Certainly, it was foolhardy to taunt these vicious killers—especially where the fascists had all the guns. But the dangerous and false lesson the play infers from this is that the "mistake" was the sharp struggle to smash the Klan.

Greensboro Daily News

Nelson Johnson, wounded in 1979 Klan attack, kneels by his dying comrade Jim Waller.

Bloody November 3

Greensboro: A Requiem gives much new information about the government conspiracy to set up the CWP—before, during and after the shooting. It turns out that the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO) got information prior to the massacre that the Nazis were going to go to Greensboro with the Klan on November 3 to "kill some people." JDO leader Mordechai Levy called the FBI in North Carolina the day before; the agent he contacted later stated that the information was grudgingly passed on to the FBI in Greensboro. Of course, nothing was done, since the FBI was in on it from the beginning.

The play opens with gospel songs and chants followed by extended bursts of gunfire echoing through the theater. The actor who plays Nelson Johnson begins by explaining

the key role of Dawson in the events. Dawson had been a member of the Klan's "Inner Circle"—its murder squad—since 1969. Twice convicted for cross-burnings and nightriding, Dawson was an informer for the FBI for eight years while actively participating in the Klan. He was "officially" terminated by the FBI in the late '70s. But when the Workers Viewpoint Organization (precursor to the CWP) began organizing against the Klan in 1979, the Greensboro cops decided to monitor the Klan from the inside and went to Dawson. Johnson sums up, "So you have to understand, he recruited, organized, and *led* the Klan, fully armed, to Morningside Homes while he was working for the Greensboro police."

On that morning, 35 Klansmen and Nazis climbed into nine cars, in a motorcade of death. Dawson's supervisor in police intelligence was shadowing the Klan caravan all morning and transmitting his information back to police headquarters. He photographed the Klan's arrival at the house of one of the fascists, and he photographed the weapons car joining the caravan at a "Y" intersection a few miles from Morningside Homes. Dawson, who was pulled off the caravan at the last moment, was rushing around to the homes of the Klansmen trying to get them all to Morningside Homes by 11 a.m. The reason? "Because, at 10:57, 'someone' at police headquarters gave the police officers the order to *leave* the Morningside area," Johnson notes.

The Klan caravan entered the projects unimpeded by the authorities. As they drove slowly past, Paul Bermanzohn looked up and saw the guns. They hollered out the window, "You asked for the Klan, you communist sons of hitches, you got the Klan." As demonstrators began to block the KKK cars, Klansmen poured out of the vehicles, opening up with guns and knives. The anti-fascists tried to defend themselves with whatever they had at hand. Thirteen anti-Klan demonstrators were shot when the fusillade was over, five fatally. Paul Bermanzohn was shot in the head but survived. Nelson Johnson, who had been over on the side of the

AP

After fascists shot 13 people, killing five, Greensboro cops bust survivor Nelson Johnson on riot charges.

project, received knife wounds. Johnson held Jim Waller in his arms as he died. A survivor recounts how Sandi Smith had been bashed in the head, but ignoring her wounds was herding children back into the project and away from the line of fire. Then she was shot between the eyes.

We have earlier noted in *WV* the similarities between the government/KKK operation in Greensboro and FBI/Klan attacks on civil rights workers such as in Alabama in 1961, where local cops were also "out to lunch" as freedom riders stepped off the buses into an ambush by the Klan. The Greensboro police had it in for Nelson Johnson since the days when he was a student civil rights activist at North Carolina A&T, and when he became a radical, the cops really went wild. In one of the most chilling scenes of the play, the character who plays Johnson tells what happened the day he went to pick up the permit for the demonstration:

> "I'll never forget this one cop—Gibson—who gave me the permit for November 3rd. There I was at the Greensboro Police Station, he was handing me the permit—which was also a guarantee of police protection, by the way—he looked me in the eye—there was a lotta hate in those eyes—and he said: 'So you gonna be armed?' I said: 'Do you always ask people wanting a parade permit if they're gonna be armed?' 'Well are you?' he said. 'It's not illegal to carry unconcealed weapons,' I said. 'No, but the permit states for you to be unarmed.' 'Yeah,' I said, 'we'll be unarmed. Why? Are you expecting trouble?' 'Nope.'... When we were shot down on November 3rd, that scene flashed through my mind. I *knew* at that moment, I *knew* we were set up."

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Klan gunman unload weapons from car trunk moments before opening fire on anti-fascist demonstrators.

WVO/CWP: Substitutionism and Popular-Front Reformism

The Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) in North Carolina brought together local civil rights activists and a group of radical doctors at Duke University. In the late 1970s, they went into the textile plants and began to organize, particularly over the issue of brown lung disease, which was endemic in the textile mills. Among the victims, *Jim Waller*, a pediatrician from Duke, took a job at the Cone Mills Haw River plant where he led a wildcat strike in 1978. *Bill Sampson*, a former Harvard Divinity student, left medical school to work in the mills. *Mike Nathan* was chief of pediatrics at Lincoln Community Center in Durham, and had earlier been a member of Progressive Labor. *Sandi Smith*, Nelson Johnson's companion, had been a student leader at Greensboro's Bennett College and had also gone into the mills to organize. *Cesar Cauce* had been a Duke University history student and CWP local organizer.

The martyred activists had a long record of militancy that was somewhat incongruous with their allegiance to Jerry Tung's Maoist outfit based in New York's Chinatown. The WVO/CWP was one of the most hysterically disoriented of the Maoist/Stalinist groups, known for stupid substitutionism, verbal insurrectionism and vicious sectarianism. They simultaneously launched thug attacks on other left groups—particularly the Spartacist League—who were protesting the murder of their comrades, while engaging in Communist Party-style popular-front "unity" fests with the Democrats. As we wrote at the time: "If on Monday WVO is capable of holding a 'Death to the Klan' rally, they are on Tuesday capable of holding a 'Death to the Trots and Down with Russia' rally." "But," we added, "that is not the reason the Klan gunned them down in the streets. For the Greensboro Klan, Workers Viewpoint was the 'commie' organization in town.... Those who saw the WVO cadre shot down knew well it could have been any of us" ("For Labor/Black Mass Mobilizations—Smash KKK Killers!" *WV* No. 243, 9 November 1979).

Grotesquely, while the Klansmen rode off from the site of their massacre unscathed, the victims who survived this assault were arrested and charged with "felony riot" and conspiracy. In a state trial in 1980, the KKK/Nazis were acquitted of murder charges by an all-white jury. Four years later, in a federal trial on civil rights charges, also before an all-white jury, the killers were let off again. The civil suit launched by the survivors was finally settled in 1985 when the fascists were found "liable for the wrongful death" of Mike Nathan. However, conspiracy charges were dismissed against 45 people, including some 36 Greensboro cops, two FBI informers and the BATF agent.

The CWP did not long survive the massacre. With most of their leading Greensboro cadres dead (the KKK/Nazis deliberately targeted the leaders), their resources had to be poured into legal defense work and combatting the furious anti-communist campaign directed against them. During this period, the heyday of Reagan reaction, the CWP turned sharply to the right. The terminal crisis of American Maoism was a consequence of the deepening ties of the bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state to U.S. imperialism. Soon the CWP was deeply ensconced in straight Democratic Party politics, climbing aboard the Jesse Jackson bandwagon. In 1985, the CWP formally ended its existence and entered the NYC Village Independent Democrats with their local candidate Margaret Chin, who was heavily redbaited by the tabloids in 1987 and again in her 1991 bid for New York City Council.

Sweep Away the Klan/Nazis with Workers Power!

The play makes much of the surviving Greensboro CWPers' retreat from leftist politics. Sally Bermanzohn says, "I don't consider myself a Marxist anymore." Paul Bermanzohn states, "I no longer have any central political beliefs." Many were middle-class professionals who returned to a more private life. But playwright Mann perceptively contrasts their options with a soliloquy by another survivor, a poor black woman from Greensboro, Doris Gordon, who says:

> "I'm a child of the movement.... I remember 6-7 years old, me and my sisters looking in at those A&T students—standing outside Woolworth's, looking through the windows. The first sit-ins. We were scared to go in but we knew something exciting was going on....
> "What my friends died for, should be going on full force today. They really believed in what they were doing, and they put all they heart and soul in it.... Why did everybody drop everything?"

The answer to Doris Gordon's question lies in an understanding of the failure of the liberal-led civil rights movement, and of the bankruptcy of the Stalinists, the fake-communists who were in fact bound hand and foot to the Democratic Party, which from Franklin D. Roosevelt with his "Dixiecrat" allies to "New South" Democrats like Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton is a bulwark of racist American capitalism.

Greensboro: A Requiem opens on a critical question: "How do we fight these dogs?" "Do we stay home behind closed doors and tremble" in the face of the hooded cross-burners? What about the need for armed self-defense against the racist killers? To the degree these vital questions are answered in this play, the answers are wrong. The answer is not adventurist actions like China Grove, where isolated groups manage to burn a couple of Confederate flags and broadcast their presence (and weakness) to the KKK/Nazis and the cops; the Greensboro massacre showed what that can lead to. It certainly is not to be found in "dialogue" with the fascists; racist terror will not be ended by praying with the KKK "grand dragons." It is the strategy of labor/black defense, the mass mobilization of the oppressed based on the power of labor, that is key to stopping the fascists.

This is the program of the Spartacist League, which fights for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky. Black oppression won't be "overcome" by simply legislating equal rights, as was demonstrated by the failure of the civil rights movement when it went North: racism is rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism. Likewise, the government's role in aiding and protecting the fascists in Greensboro is no aberration: to root out the KKK and Nazis you have to sweep away their capitalist masters, from the county courthouses and state houses to the White House. The fundamental fact is that black liberation can only come through socialist revolution, overthrowing the existing social order. And this poses above all the need for the key element, the

Continued on page 12

Detroit, 10 November 1979: 500 blacks, auto workers and leftists stopped Klan from marching to "celebrate" Greensboro massacre.

WV Photo

Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

by Joseph Seymour

Youth today are being told from all points on the political compass that the failure of communism is an incontrovertible historical fact. It is not only right-wing ideologues and social democrats who denounce Marxism and Leninism as at best utopian and at worst deeply evil, but also erstwhile leading figures of the Stalinized "Communist" movement.

The Stalinist bureaucracy—which arose in the Soviet workers state under conditions of economic backwardness and isolation when the post-World War I revolutionary wave failed to bring the workers to power in any of the advanced capitalist countries—traded on the misidentification of its repressive rule with the authority of the Bolshevik Revolution and Lenin's Communist International. The Stalinist usurpers, gravediggers of revolutionary opportunities throughout the world, claimed they were going to build "socialism in one country"—an impossibility, as Leon Trotsky explained, since socialism is necessarily international in scope. When the Soviet bureaucracy finally collapsed under the pressure of imperialist militarism and of the world capitalist market on the mismanaged collectivized economy, the Stalinists blithely proclaimed—eagerly echoing the ideologues of the triumphalist bourgeoisie—that "communism is dead."

It is understandable that many leftist youth coming to political consciousness in the post-Soviet period express sympathy for anarchism as they understand it. Here is a doctrine and set of beliefs which appears uncompromisingly hostile to the capitalist system, which poses as an alternative to the Stalinist "Communism" that has so recently and dramatically collapsed, and whose own decisive testing by history—in key events such as the 1917 Russian Revolution and the revolution and Civil War in Spain in the 1930s—lies buried in what for today's youth is the remote past. And since there has never been a successful revolution led by anarchists, they can claim that their system, unlike Marxist communism, has never really been tried.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, anarchism meant a definite program based on the doctrines of Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and others whose theories were widely discussed and debated on the left. But today, many participants in the broad milieus which express sympathy for anarchism—for instance the German and Italian "autonome" activists—are not really partisans of the doctrines of Proudhon, Bakunin or Kropotkin.

Many if not most of those calling themselves anarchists are rather expressing a characteristic set of mainly negative attitudes: hostility to existing governments and in general the present-day bourgeois order; militant opposition to the right, especially the fascists and other violent racists; contempt for parliamentary politics, which they identify with every kind of reformist sellout; rejection of the Marxist program of proletarian dictatorship and centralized economic planning which they identify with Stalinist tyranny; and mistrust of all parties, including a Leninist revolutionary vanguard party.

Given the decline among the masses of identification of proletarian socialism with the possibility for human liberation, there has been an upsurge of sympathy for anarchism, which is at bottom a version of radical-democratic ideology. Anarchism originated in the mid-19th century as a form of resistance to the shift from petty commodity producers—artisans and peasants—to wage laborers. The movement was strongest in Latin Europe, especially Spain—a late-developing capitalist country where, moreover, a series of brutal dictatorships foreclosed much possibility of parliamentary reformism. With the industrialization of Latin Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, anarchism gave rise to syndicalism, a movement which advocated management of a collectivized economy by the trade unions.

While the anarchistic youth of today are certainly not the continuators of classic anarchism, they do share certain attitudes and values with the followers of Proudhon and Bakunin. Among these are indifference or hostility to technological progress and to the needs of a complex industrial economy. In his autobiography, *My Life*, Leon Trotsky recounts his first meeting with an anarchist militant while in a Moscow prison around the turn of the century: "He avoided discussions of theory. But once when I pressed him to tell how railways would be managed by autonomous communities, he answered: 'Why the hell should I want to travel on railways under anarchism?'" Similar discussions can be had with today's anarchist-minded youth, for example, the transport of oil by sea.

In the era of Proudhon and Bakunin, the difference in the economic conditions of workers and peasants in Europe and those in the colonial world was far narrower than today. So it was understandable that anarchists and early socialists conceived of establishing an egalitarian society within a national or, at most, Europe-wide context. Pro-anarchist youth today have to be acutely aware of the hideous poverty in Third World countries compared to the relative wealth of West Europe and North America. Indeed, many are in the forefront of defending immigrant workers and asylum-seekers from these countries against fascist and government attacks.

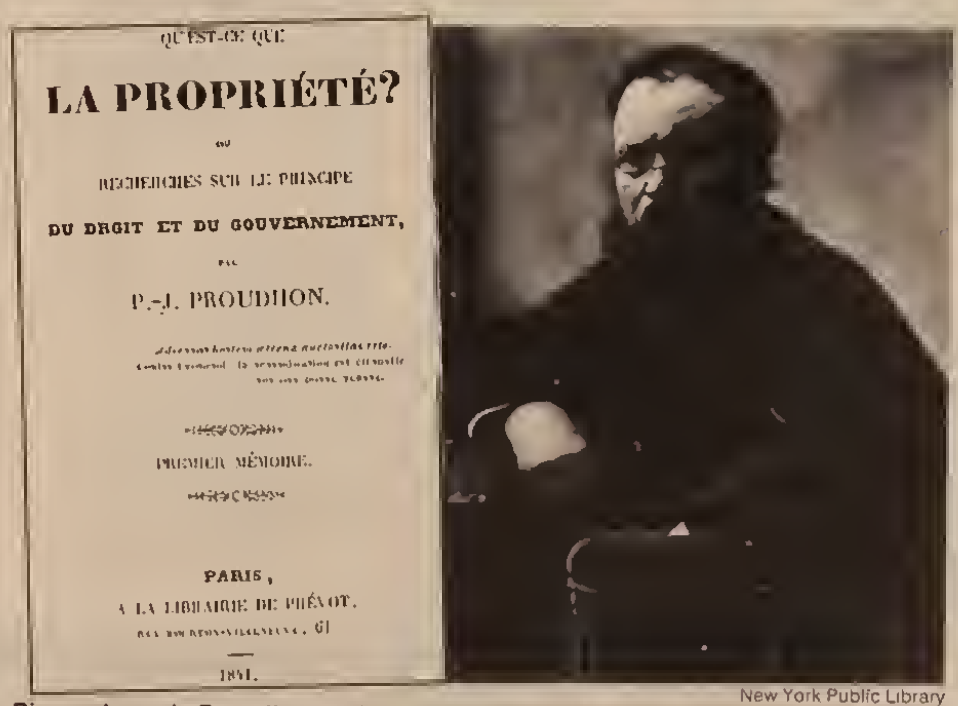
Yet key elements of anarchism as an economic program—extreme decentralization and technological standstill—could only perpetuate the division between the imperialist countries and the neocolonial Third World. How could a world system based on autonomous communes ever bridge the gap between rural Mexico and India on the one hand and the German Ruhr or California's Silicon Valley on the other? Only global exchange on terms favorable to the "underdeveloped" nations and centralized economic planning on an international scale can narrow and eventually overcome the gulf separating the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the U.S., West Europe and Japan.

The classic anarchists and pre-Marxian socialist tendencies (except for Saint-Simon) envisioned an egalitarian society on the basis of the then-prevailing standards of living. Proudhon, in particular, preached that the workers should not aspire to live like the wealthy classes but should rather cultivate the Spartan virtues of self-restraint and self-reliance. "The essence of our dignity," he proclaimed, "is to do without the aid of others" (*Justice in the Revolution and the Church* [1858]). Such a message, shared on today's political spectrum with the "Green" petty-bourgeois and bourgeois movements, will obviously find little resonance among the oppressed neocolonial masses for whom a world socialist revolution leading to a vast *increase* in energy and technology is required even to secure the things that working people in the advanced countries usually take for granted: electricity, decent housing, literacy, clean water. Indeed, "self-restraint" is the program cynically preached by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to the masses of Bangladesh and South Africa.

With the history of the anarchist movement and the views of its leading figures so little known even on the left, today's radicalized youth can invest the anarchist tradition with all manner of revolutionary virtues and high-minded idealism which it did not in reality possess. The original theorist of anarchism, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, was an anti-Semite, a racist who supported the slaveholding South in the American Civil War and a gross male chauvinist. These repugnant views were not just a personal peculiarity but reflected the characteristic prejudices of petty proprietors and smallholding peasants in the France of his day. Mikhail Bakunin, the founder of the anarchist movement, at one point appealed to Tsar Nicholas I to bring about the "final liberation of all the Slav tribes from the foreign yoke." Here again this was not just a personal idiosyncrasy but coincided with widespread illusions among Russian peasants at the time in the good will of "their" Tsar.

Peter Kropotkin, the late 19th century's foremost anarchist spokesman, became an ardent supporter of British and French imperialism against Germany in the First World War. The Ukrainian anarchist Nestor Makhno, who led a peasant-based military force during the Russian Civil War of 1918-21, carried out pogroms against Jewish communities and blocked with White counterrevolutionary armies against the Bolsheviks. During the Spanish revolution of the mid-1930s, the anarcho-syndicalist leaders became ministers in the popular-front (i.e., capitalist) government which provoked and then suppressed a workers' uprising in Barcelona.

Part 1
The Origins of Anarchism


QU'EST-CE QUE

LA PROPRIÉTÉ?

OU

RECHERCHES SUR LE PRINCIPE

DU DROIT ET DU GOUVERNEMENT,

PAR

P.-J. PROUDHON.

PREMIER MÉMOIRE.

PARIS,

A LA LIBRAIRIE DE PRÉVOT.

1841.

New York Public Library

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who first coined the term "anarchy" in his 1840 *What Is Property?*, was later described by Marx as purveyor of petty-bourgeois fantasies.

Even those who explicitly solidarize with well-known historical stands of the anarchist movement often have little familiarity with the real history. For instance, a sine qua non for hard-core anarchist spokesmen is to denounce Trotsky for suppressing the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny. But at the time, many former anarchist and syndicalist militants who came over to Bolshevism, such as Victor Serge and Alfred Rosmer, recognized that a victory for the "anarchist" mutineers could only have led to a bloody capitalist counterrevolution against the besieged Soviet Russian workers state.

Der Spiegel

German *Autonome* battling cops. With the collapse of Stalinism, anarchism has become attractive among radicalized youth.

Anarchism and Marxism: The Fundamental Difference

While it is necessary to debunk the idealization of the anarchist tradition among radicalized youth, it is also important not to equate the classic anarchists' espousal of individual freedom with the present-day "free market" right wing, especially its "libertarian" component. Proudhon and Bakunin were not precursors of Milton Friedman and Margaret Thatcher! A central theme of classic anarchism was the denunciation of possessive individualism glorified by bourgeois ideologues then and now. Proudhon attacked "egoism, disguised under the false name of liberty." "Bourgeois individualism," declared Kropotkin, "cannot exist unless the masses are oppressed." The anarchists believed in a just, harmonious and *egalitarian* society. Anarchism and its offshoot syndicalism were thus tendencies within the left and workers movement.

How could an egalitarian society be maintained if independent producers were free to act as they chose without any coordination or control by a central political authority? Would not such a system reproduce the conditions of "free market" capitalism? No late 19th century syndicalist imagined a collective of railway workers acting like a capitalist monopoly to charge all that the traffic would bear. But what would prevent them from doing so?

The anarchists answered in a word: morality. Harking back to Rousseau, the classic anarchists believed there existed a natural moral order which had been corrupted and debased by class divisions maintained by a repressive state. Bakunin spoke of "the idea of justice inherent in man." Kropotkin's journal *Freedom* stated: "We dream of the positive freedom which is essentially one with social feeling: of free scope for the social impulses, now distorted and compressed by Property, and its guardian the Law" (quoted in George Crowder, *Classical Anarchism* [1991]).

The fundamental differences between anarchism and Marxism go beyond the basic question of the state to encompass a different conception of the relationship between nature and society. Proudhon asserted that "man has a constant, unchangeable nature." Bakunin similarly maintained that "human society is, after all, nothing but the last great manifestation or creation of Nature on earth" and that "social solidarity is the first human law" (*The Knouto-Germanic Empire and the Social Revolution* [1871]). Likewise, Kropotkin asserted that "nature is the ethical teacher of man."

For Marx, society was not determined by the innate psychological properties of Homo sapiens but by *mankind's self-development through labor*, leading to progressively higher levels of productive forces. As he wrote in his early polemic against Proudhon, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847): "M. Proudhon does not know that all history is nothing but a continuous transformation of human nature." A socialist transformation—in both its objective and subjective aspects—becomes possible only with the emergence of an industrial economy, originally a product of capitalist development.

For Marxists, human history is the story of the desperate struggle not to be slaves to the "natural order" but to master through labor the harsh world of nature. The early human societies lived constantly on the brink of extinction: you were old at age 20 and typically dead by 30. The first advances in production—the development of agriculture and the domestication of animals—opened the road to conquering the tyranny of nature, also ushering in the development of inequality and class divisions in the fight for control of the newly created surplus. Only with the overcoming of scarcity through the further development of the productive forces can the antagonism between individual self-interest and collective well-being be transcended. And only then will the state wither away: in Engels' words, the government of people will be replaced by the administration of things.

Although anarchists think of themselves as polar opposites of Stalinism, in its theoretical premises Stalinism is actually closer to anarchism than to Marxism. Both anarchism and Stalinism attribute to the state a nearly omnipotent capacity to shape social, economic and cultural life. Both Bakunin and Stalin asserted that collectivist consciousness could be established under even the most miserably impoverished economic conditions once the bourgeois state and capitalist property had been done away with.

Anarchism and Stalinism converge in another important respect, literally so in the Spanish Popular Front government of the mid-1930s. Despite its hostility to authority and the bourgeois order, anarchism is at its theoretical core a doctrine of *class collaboration*, not class struggle. The wealthy and powerful can participate in "the ethical progress of man"—to use Kropotkin's phrase—no less than the downtrodden and exploited workers and peasants. As a Trotskyist historian of the Spanish revolution, Felix Morrow, wrote at the time:

> "Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by the anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to 'all dictatorships,' including the dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers."
>
> —*Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain* (1938)

Marx and Engels maintained that after the social revolution a workers state (proletarian dictatorship) was necessary in order to suppress the dispossessed bourgeoisie, who would strive to restore their property, privileges and power. The anarchists projected that the former propertied class would undergo a moral regeneration and become productive members of the new, egalitarian social system. Hence they envisioned a social revolution that after some short-lived initial violence would be essentially harmonious. These differences between Marxists and anarchists could not be resolved simply through debate and polemical exchange. They could not be tested so long as the European bourgeois order remained stable. Moreover, in the era before World War I, the social-democratic "mainstream" of supposedly "orthodox" Marxists, typified by Karl Kautsky, obfuscated Marx/Engels' position that a proletarian revolution would have to *smash* the existing bourgeois state apparatus. Instead, they projected that the working class could attain political power within the framework of parliamentary democracy.

It was the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution which convinced many anarchist and syndicalist militants that proletarian dictatorship was indeed necessary and not a product of Marx's supposedly "authoritarian" prejudices. It was not so much the workers' insurrection in October 1917 that exploded the anarchist notion of a harmonious social transformation but rather the subsequent Civil War and the military interventions/economic blockades against Soviet Russia by the Central (German-led), Western (Allied) and Japanese imperialist powers. Alfred Rosmer, a leading French syndicalist who become a founder of the Communist International, explained:

History Today

Mikhail Bakunin, once a pan-Slav nationalist, founded the anarchist movement in the 1860s.

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat, hitherto a theoretical question, was now posed as a concrete problem—in fact, as the most urgent problem. Yet this transitional period, this passage from capitalism to socialism, had never been studied in depth.... The transition had been seen as a leap from capitalist society into a ideal society to be constructed at leisure. Even syndicalist militants such as Pataud and Pouget, in a book called *How We Shall Bring About the Revolution*, had not made any precise contribution to the problem of the transitional period, though they were committed to doing so by the very title of their book. A short general strike, and the régime would collapse...after a few days of agitation, and with minimal violence, the syndicalists would peacefully proceed to the building of the new society. But this was the realm of fairy-tales. In Moscow, in 1920, we were facing reality."
>
> —*Lenin's Moscow* (1971)

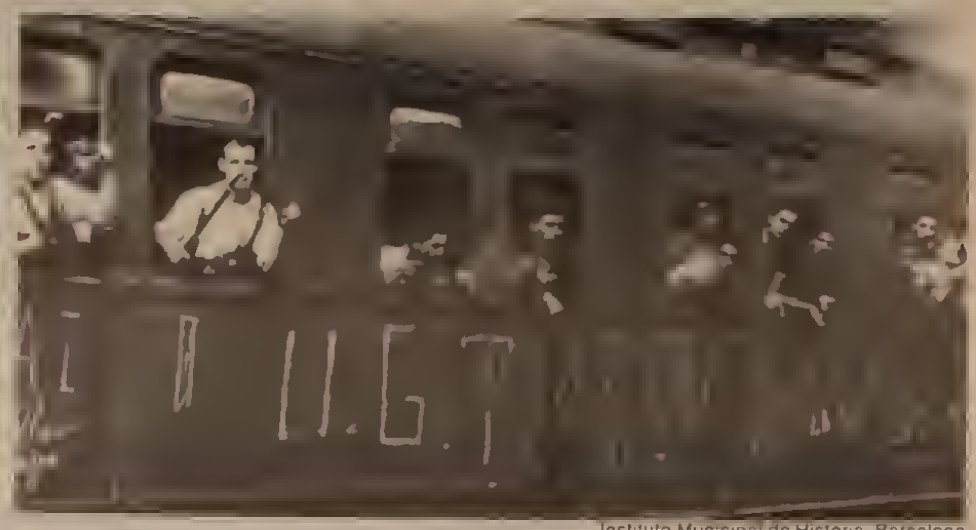
Rosmer's political evolution was in no way exceptional. The Bolshevik Revolution brought about a fundamental realignment and regrouping of the international left, which had already begun with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The war produced a deep and irrevocable *split* in the anarchist and syndicalist movements, as it did in the socialist movement, with the right wing of both currents becoming social-chauvinists supporting their "own" imperialist states. Kropotkin, who became a champion of "democratic" Britain and France, was now denounced by his longtime colleague Errico Malatesta as a "government anarchist." Léon Jouhaux, head of the French syndicalist trade-union movement, joined the "*union sacrée*" (sacred union) in defense of the French bourgeois

continued on page 10

Spartaco

In Italy, neo-syndicalist COBAS (workers rank-and-file committees) have been in the forefront of militant class struggle in post-Soviet period.

Historia 16



Instituto Municipal de Historia, Barcelona

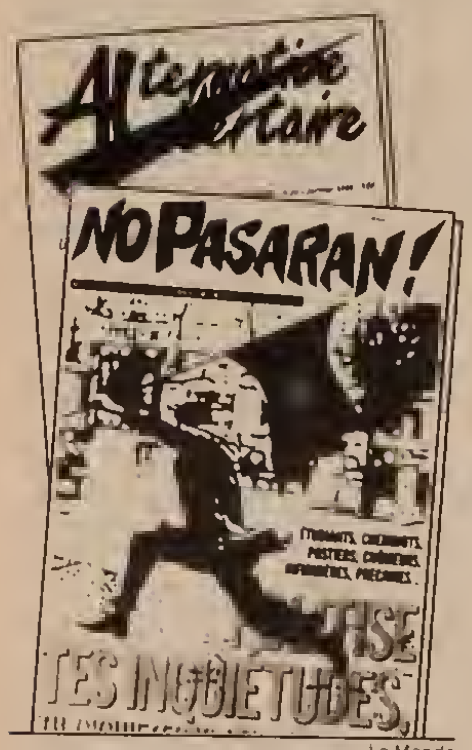
During Spanish Civil War, anarchist leaders Juan Garcia Oliver (far left) and Federica Montseny joined Stalinists and social democrats as ministers in Popular Front government, which sabotaged and suppressed armed workers struggle against the capitalist order. Right: Madrid workers detachment leaving for the front.

Marxism vs. Anarchism...

(continued from page 9)

state as did the "orthodox" Marxist leader Jules Guesde.

At the same time, the revolutionary syndicalists Rosmer and Pierre Monatte collaborated closely with the Russian revolutionary Marxist Trotsky, then in exile in France, in building the antiwar Zimmerwald movement, whose left wing prefigured the Communist International (Comintern). Lenin, by restoring and modernizing the genuinely revolutionary and liberating content of Marxism, was able to win the best anarchist and syndicalist militants to the banner of communism. Hence, with some important exceptions such as Spain, the anarchist movement tended to disappear—the right wing exposed as chauvinist, the left wing deserted by its most vital elements who broke in the direction of the Comintern. But after decades of betrayal by Stalinists and social-democratic reformists, anarchism regained a certain following among anti-capitalist youth. With this revival of anarchist sympathies, it becomes useful again to review the history of the anarchist movement from its origins in the mid-19th century through its demise in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution.



Le Monde

Proliferation of anarchist journals in Europe includes *Alternative Libertaire* and *No Pasarán!* in France.

Proudhonism: A Petty-Bourgeois Utopia

More so than in the case of most social theorists, the doctrines of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon—who first coined the term "anarchy" in 1840—were directly and obviously shaped by his personal experience. Proudhon was born in the rural Jura region of eastern France. His father was a brewer of beer and a cooper (barrel maker) of an unusually honest and upright nature. When this region was besieged at the end of the Napoleonic wars, most brewers took advantage of the situation to raise their prices. Not so Claude-François Proudhon, who declared: "So much for my raw materials plus so much for my work, that's my price" (Edwards Hyams, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: His Revolutionary Life, Mind and Works* [1979]). This formula would become a key element in Proudhon's economic program, which he termed mutualism.

Because young Pierre-Joseph was highly intelligent as well as devoutly religious, a local clergyman secured for him a place in the best school in the district. His classmates were the sons of the bourgeoisie and landed nobility. However, upon graduation Proudhon was again plunged into the working class. He became a printer and as such suffered the insecurity and periods of abject poverty typical of European artisans in that era. At one point, the young Proudhon scraped together enough money to go into partnership in a small print shop. But his partner was irresponsible and ruined the business before committing suicide. Left with debts he couldn't pay, Proudhon was forced to sell his shop and once again work for wealthier, more successful publishers.

These experiences underlay Proudhon's worldview, as was noted in an introduction to his *Selected Writings* (1969) by the British scholar Stewart Edwards:

> "At the heart of all of Proudhon's writings on social questions there is this concern for the small-property holder. His proposals for monetary reform, his idea of a land bank, his mutual-insurance schemes, all reflected the ideals of the *petite-bourgeoisie*, their constant preoccupation with obtaining credit and their envy of the large-scale capitalist."

Proudhon himself summed up his program thus: "It is when all people are owners of property that fortunes are most equal and there is work for everyone." This vision was attractive to many workers, for France was still basically a *pre*industrial society. The overwhelming majority of wage laborers were the children of peasants, shopkeepers or artisan proprietors. Many, like Proudhon, had once owned small businesses which were driven into bankruptcy by increasing debt.

Proudhon invested human nature with the psychology of a peasant smallholder or artisan proprietor. Man, he proclaimed, "wishes to labor when he pleases, where he pleases and as much as he pleases" (*What Is Property?* [1840]). But how can workers in a steel mill, electric power plant or railroad labor when, where and as much as they please? Industrial technology requires the strict coordination of many different types of labor. As Engels explained in his classic anti-anarchist polemic "On Authority" (1873):

> "Let us take by way of example a cotton spinning mill. The cotton must pass through at least six successive operations before it is reduced to the state of thread, and these operations take place for the most part in different rooms. Furthermore, keeping the machines going requires an engineer to look after the steam engine, mechanics to make the current repairs, and many other labourers whose business it is to transfer the products from one room to another, and so forth. All these workers, men, and women and children, are obliged to begin and finish their work at the hours fixed by the authority of the steam, which cares nothing for individual autonomy.... Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."

This, in substance, was the program of Proudhon's mutualism: "Where there is perfect Mutualism, each producer must, in accepting a certain obligation toward others, who for their part obligate themselves in the same way to him, retain his full and complete independence of action" (*The Political Capacity of the Working Class* [1865]). A basic economic principle of mutualism is that goods will be exchanged on the basis of equal labor input: "All products will be paid for by products that have cost the same in effort and expense."

Such a system presumes a *static technology* available to all producers. Let us say that a small number of shoemakers introduce new machinery which cuts the time needed to produce shoes by a third. If they correspondingly reduce the exchange value of their shoes by a third, all other shoemakers will have to sell below their own labor costs or no one will buy their shoes. But if the more efficient producers maintain the old exchange value of shoes, they will be selling above their labor cost, thereby making a profit. Either way, the principles of Proudhon's mutualism stand in flat contradiction to technological progress. But what will really happen? Will producers embrace "mutualism" and renounce technological progress? Hardly: the more efficient will simply drive the less efficient out of business.

Beald

In his 1847 polemic, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Karl Marx denounced Proudhon's opposition to working-class struggle. Marx argued that only proletarian revolution can open the road to a just and egalitarian society, in which all can freely develop their potential.

Proudhon Against Class Struggle

Proudhon's first work, *What Is Property?*, written in 1840, was a powerful, if somewhat abstract, denunciation of

Musée Social photos

Under the impact of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution, French left-wing syndicalists Pierre Monatte (left) and Alfred Rosmer were won to Marxism and became founders of the Communist International.

capitalist exploitation. There was not much explication of his own positive program, doubtless because it was not yet fully developed. Consequently, *What Is Property?* was appreciated by almost all socialists of the day, including the young Karl Marx. When Marx was in Paris in

Julien Boilly

Prominent French woman socialist and writer George Sand denounced Proudhon's gross male chauvinism and anti-communism.

1844-45, he established friendly relations with Proudhon and later claimed he had introduced the French radical to Hegelian philosophy. However, Proudhon's views were already too well developed and too divergent to be influenced by the future founder of scientific socialism.

In 1846, Marx, then in Brussels after having been expelled from France, invited Proudhon to become part of an international socialist committee of correspondence. In response, Proudhon effectively broke off relations with Marx primarily because he opposed the revolutionary overthrow of the French, Prussian and other European monarchical governments, which Marx considered a necessary precondition for the socialist reconstruction of society. Proudhon wrote:

> "Perhaps you still hold the opinion that no reform is possible without a helping *coup de main*, without what used to be called a revolution but which is quite simply a jolt. I confess that my most recent studies have led me to abandon this view.... I put the problem this way: *How can we put back into society, through some system of economics, the wealth which has been taken out of society by another system of economics?* In other words, through Political Economy we must turn the theory of Property against Property in such a way as to create what you German socialists call *community*." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Letter to Marx" (17 May 1846), in *Selected Writings*

What concretely did Proudhon mean by using property against property? He advocated a "people's bank" which would provide "gratuitous" (interest-free) credit to any worker who wanted to buy his own business. The initial capital of the bank would come from taxes on the wealthier classes. At one point he even appealed to Louis Napoleon—then president and soon-to-be emperor of France—to found a "people's bank." As Marx wrote concerning Proudhon: "to regard *interest-bearing capital* as the *main form of capital* and to try to make a particular form of the credit system, comprising the alleged abolition of interest, the basis for a transformation of society is an out-and-out *petty-bourgeois* fantasy" ("On Proudhon," January 1865 [emphasis in original]). Yet as long as large-scale industry was not yet predominant in France, this fantasy was attractive to many workers, since only a relatively modest amount of capital was required to buy and operate a small farm or workshop.

Wide World

Leading anarchist spokesman Peter Kropotkin (inset) supported British and French "democratic" imperialism in World War I.

The real beginning of the industrial revolution in France dates from the Second Empire of Louis Napoleon in the 1850s and '60s. The partial liberalization of the Bonapartist regime in the early 1860s also allowed the development in France of trade unions of a more or less modern type. Proudhon was hostile to the emergence of a real workers movement. His last work, *The Political Capacity of the Working Class*, published posthumously, is in large measure an attack on the new trade-union movement: "We will soon have heard the last of association, mutualism and progress if the workers, following the example of the great monopolists, succeed in substituting extortion for free competition."

Like many early socialists, Proudhon believed in the so-called "iron law of wages": that any increase in money wages would always be quickly followed by a proportional increase in prices. Hence he denounced strikes—all strikes—as futile if not harmful to the working people's interests:

> "While threatening to strike, some of them [unionists], indeed the majority, have demanded an increase in wages, others have demanded a reduction in working hours, and still others both at the same time. Surely they have always known that increased wages and reduced working hours can only lead to a general price increase."

Almost 20 years earlier, Marx had debunked and refuted "the iron law of wages" in *The Poverty of Philosophy*. His most developed, scientific explanation of how trade-union activity can under certain circumstances reduce the rate of exploitation and increase real wages is to be found in *Value, Price and Profit* (1867).

Houghton Mifflin Company

Proudhon's belief that trade unions and strikes could not benefit and might well be harmful to the working class was commonplace among the socialists of his day. But his position on the woman question was singularly reactionary and was criticized as such by friends and colleagues on the left, not to speak of opponents like the prominent woman socialist and novelist George Sand. The theoretical founder of anarchism was an unashamed male chauvinist: "I do not know which woman it was who was shocked to discover that we men think a woman knows enough if she knows enough to mend our shirts and cook us a steak. I am one of those men" (quoted in Edward Hyams, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*). Even Hyams, a sympathetic modern biographer, acknowledges: "Every illiberal, every cruelly reactionary notion ever used against female emancipation by the most extreme anti-feminist, is to be found in Proudhon's *Pornocratie*."

Of extremely puritanical temperament, Proudhon was horrified by the idea of women achieving sexual freedom and fulfillment:

> "As for equality in the matter of the senses, its inevitable consequences are free love, condemnation of marriage, condemnation of womanhood, jealousy and secret hatred of men, and, to crown the system, inextinguishable lechery; such, invariably, is the philosophy of the emancipated woman."

Such were the views of a man who is often held up, in contrast to Marx, as an apostle of "anti-authoritarian" socialism based on individual freedom.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Drop Charges Against Jacksonville Three!

In Jacksonville, Florida a group of young activists against racist cop terror are themselves facing vicious repression at the hands of the police. On January 12, two dozen jackbooted SWAT cops in black fatigues stormed the home of four members of the Youth Action Movement and the Anarchist Black Cross Support Group, using as a pretext a traffic violation by member Roh Cluesman. Cluesman was hauled off for interrogation by the Police Intelligence unit, then jailed for three days. Youth Action Movement members were held at gunpoint in their home as the cops conducted a warrantless three-hour search, photographed group members, and confiscated political pamphlets as well as two legally owned shotguns. Cops questioned members about their political activities, demanding to know the sources of money used to distribute free food to the homeless and to publish literature.

This cop provocation was retribution for the Youth Action Movement's courageous defense of Winston Dixon, a 21-year-old black man whose home was invaded by the cops. On 12 December 1995, cops kicked down Dixon's door while he slept. As Dixon explained later, he thought that he could not surrender because he feared that, as a black man, he would have been harmed. Dixon tried to defend himself. He has been charged with first-degree murder in the killing of one of the cops. Youth Action Movement members had defended Dixon by distributing literature calling for his freedom, stating "Self Defense Is Not a Crime."

The January 12 SWAT team which raided the Youth Action Movement home included a cop who was the best friend of the officer Dixon is accused of slaying. The raid was followed up on January 24, when Youth Action Movement members Chris Harden and Justin Tichy were ostentatiously arrested at work, costing them their jobs. They and Rob Cluesman were jailed for three days and face *five years* in prison on trumped-up charges of "felony criminal mischief" based on false allegations of spray-painting political slogans! The court has offered a plea bargain deal, provided that the group does community service. But a spokesman told *YSp* that the group has rejected this deal: "We're supposed to apologize for being raided!" Their next court date is March 7.

Racist cop terror is the order of the day in America. The cops are the armed fist of the capitalist state. Their war on "crime," "drugs," and "terrorism" is used to jack up the repressive apparatus of the state as it targets blacks, leftists and labor. The Youth Action Movement distributes leftist and anarchist literature and has rallied support for political prisoners, such as Mumia Abu-Jamal. Members identify with the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, which stood for the right to armed self-defense and organized free breakfast programs for poor youth. The Panthers were destroyed by police terror and murderous internal factionalism inflamed by the FBI's dirty tricks. For opposing racist cop terror, the Youth Action Movement is in turn now in the cross hairs of the state.

The cop attack on the Youth Action Movement bears certain similarities to the fascistic cop assault on the Leoncavallo youth center in Milano, Italy in December 1995. There, an army of cops laid waste to the center for anarchist activists in an ominous message to the entire left and the workers movement (see *WV* No. 636, 5 January). The police assault on Leoncavallo reminded many people of the late 1960s and '70s, when fascists and various secret police forces worked hand in glove terrorizing Italy. Here at home, the police and fascist Ku Klux Klan are often interpenetrated, especially in the American South. If the cops succeed in victimizing these leftist youths today, they will be emboldened. It is in the interest of all working people, particularly the longshoremen's union of Jacksonville, with its strategic concentration of black labor, to defend these activists against the trumped-up charges. An injury to one is an injury to all! Hands off Winston Dixon and the Jacksonville Three!

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter of support and a contribution toward legal costs. Send donations toward legal defense and letters of support to: Youth Action Movement, Suite 20, 3628 Park Street, Jacksonville, FL 32205.

Defend Affirmative Action—Fight for Open Admissions!

UCLA Students Sit In

LOS ANGELES—A militant, integrated crowd of 800 students demonstrated at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) on February 21 in defense of affirmative action and in opposition to the racist, misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), which qualified for the November ballot on that day. The demonstration was organized by the Affirmative Action Coalition, which includes the leaders of the Chicano student group, MEChA, the African Student Union, Asian Pacific Coalition and the teaching assistants union, SAGE.

After a brief rally, the protesters marched across campus to Bunche Hall. Amid chants of "Student Power!" and "Hey hey, Ho ho! UC Regents gotta go!" the SYC offered a revolutionary perspective with a few chants: "1,2,3,4, Time to finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8, Forward to a workers state!" and "Break with the elephant, break with the ass! Build a party of the working class!" The protest charged into the building and promptly occupied several floors. In response to a call by the coalition leadership to clear the building of faculty and staff, a supporter of the Spartacus Youth Club proposed that staff and faculty be asked to *join* the sit-in and that a delegation be sent to the several unions representing campus workers. We stressed that any victory against the assault on the right to a decent education requires students linking up with L.A.'s multiracial working class, whose children are the principal target of the racist rollback of affirmative action in education. Thus we called for a fight for open admissions with no tuition to open up higher education for all who want to attend.

A member of Teamsters Local 63 who had been active in the campaign to free class-war prisoner Teamster Jesse Acuna joined the protest, and during the march a nurse from the UC hospital carried one of our signs reading: "Abolish U.C. Administration/Regents: Agents of Racist Capitalism! For Labor/Student Mobilizations to Defend Affirmative Action!" While protesters applauded the SYC's call for allying with campus workers, the student bureaucrats quashed any talk of spreading the protest, claiming to already have a plan—as it turned out, a plan to derail the protest!

When cops entered the building, the coalition leaders ordered a full-scale evacuation, without any explanation and without any order from the cops, surprising even some of their own marshals. Protesters then occupied the first floor of Murphy Hall, the main administration building, while a delegation went to the office of Chancellor Chuck Young. The chancellor replied that he couldn't legally go against implementing the Regents' decision or spend university money opposing CCRI, but that he would fund remedial and retention programs, and speak out against CCRI.

Young has presided over fee increases of 300 percent in the past decade, which have already resulted in a sharp decline in minority enrollment. It was Chuck Young who called out the campus cops and Los Angeles police in 1993 against students who were demanding a Chicano Studies department. It was Chuck Young who also used the cops to repress widespread student protests against anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in the fall of 1994. Coalition leaders claim Young's worthless promises represented a total victory. But there can be no illusions in the university administration and Regents—they are on the other side. Those Regents who say they want to maintain affirmative action simultaneously push fee hikes which ultimately have the same effect—*a racist purge of the UC system.*

With the tremendous decline in the manufacturing base in America, the Regents—and the capitalist class they serve—have little need for educated black and Latino youth for whom there are fewer jobs. But the capitalists still look to groom a tiny layer of the so-called "talented tenth" to administer the ghettos and barrios. Even a modicum of wealth and education, however, does not allow relatively privileged black and Latino youth a chance for full integration into American society, much less a chance to "make it big" as CEOs in the echelons of the ruling class. The permanent precarious status of black youth in particular highlights that black people in the U.S. are *a race-color caste*, integrated into the economy at its bottom layers but socially segregated. We defend affirmative action in education precisely because it's a small opening to oppressed minorities to have some shot at survival. But only a socialist revolution, sweeping out the system of racist capitalist inequality, can lay the basis for black equality and the actual liberation of all the oppressed. For minority youth under attack at UCLA and in the ghettos, the way to fight racist oppression lies in siding with the multiracial working class, which alone has the power to get rid of capitalism. It will take a revolutionary workers party that serves as a tribune of the oppressed to lead this fight.

One bizarre left group at the UCLA sit-in, the Maoist International Movement (MIM), misses this reality entirely. While they defend affirmative action as "progressive, but severely limited," they raise no demands to open up the universities to the majority of blacks and minorities. Echoing odd pseudo-nationalist dogma, MIM says that blacks are a "colonial nation" and writes off the working class, dismissing the U.S. proletariat as a reactionary part of an "oppressor nation." But black people constitute an oppressed minority whose main impetus for struggle since the time of slavery has been to fight toward full integration—not some "colonial liberation." Black people helped build the wealth of American society first as slaves and today as a strategic layer of the working class.

In fact, the multiracial proletariat in L.A. has played a major role in recent struggles. Many of the university students who today are protesting CCRI were protesting Prop. 187 with L.A. labor when they were in high school. Thousands of high school and junior high students were walking out of classes every day in opposition to anti-immigrant racism. The anti-Prop. 187 struggle contains important lessons. On 16 October 1994, 80,000 students and workers, including contingents from key L.A. unions, demonstrated against the measure in downtown L.A. The mobilization of workers and youth was diverted into bourgeois electoralism, particularly voting for the Democratic gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown, who pushed for the murderous militarization of the U.S. border (as Clinton's White House is now doing). Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein opposed 187 because it "makes no provision whatsoever to deport illegal aliens and reduce their number"(!).

The Democrats cannot fight racism because they are a bourgeois party committed to maintaining capitalism, a system whose bedrock is racial inequality. The SYCs oppose the racist rollback of affirmative action in college admissions, but these measures inherently pose no challenge to the racist status quo and were never more than a paltry concession offered by the bourgeoisie in response to the mass civil rights struggles and Northern ghetto explosions of the 1960s. The civil rights movement stalled because its liberal leadership sought to use the frustration and rage of the masses to pressure the Democrats. The fight for black liberation, including defense of reforms like affirmative action, is key to revolution in the U.S., and can only be won outside the framework of the Democratic Party.

Against the race and class bias of higher education, the SYCs raise a program for open admissions, no tuition and a living stipend for all students. Such demands expose the limits of what is possible within the bounds of capitalist society and become a part of the struggle to eradicate racism and all forms of oppression. Activists who want to win the fight for free, quality education for all should check out the Marxist program of the Spartacus Youth Club. As the youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League, we seek to win students and young workers to a lifetime of struggle on the side of the working class in the fight for socialist revolution. Students must be drawn into an alliance with the working class, which has the strategic weight and interest needed to break up this rotten capitalist society. The youth club is the training ground for the revolutionary communist leadership necessary to direct and win this fight. Join us! ■

Scargill...

(continued from page 4)

Workers Power argued: "Arthur Scargill is a reformist.... He does not believe the working class needs a revolution." True enough. But one can only marvel at the hypocrisy of these snivelling Labour loyalists.

Not Labourism but Communism

As communists, we seek to politically resolve the contradiction that is the British Labour Party and win its working-class base to a revolutionary programme. Brenda Nixon's campaign in opposition to the Labour Party offered an opening to advance such a perspective. That does not translate into any kind of promise of critical support in the future to the SLP, which could equally well seek to advance its electoral opportunities through some kind of popular-front alliance like that of the SLP's equivalent in Scotland, the Scottish Socialist Alliance. This is an alliance of Labourites, ex-Stalinists, Militant Labour and elements of the bourgeois Scottish National Party.

More fundamentally, the SLP tacitly accepts the framework of capitalist exploitation, national oppression, racism and war, looking not towards a revolutionary future but to a social-democratic past. At a "Defend Clause IV" rally in London last year, Scargill pointed to the post-war Labour Party as having the most radical programme ever seen. A spokesman for the Spartacist League responded:

> "If you look at 1945 or any of the Labour governments—the Labour Party has never touched a hair on the head of capitalism...if you leave power in the hands of the capitalists, if you don't actually destroy their state—if you want to talk about Marxism, that is the conclusion Marx drew from the Paris Commune of 1871, that we have to destroy their state machine... We have to destroy it and construct our own workers state."

We seek to build a revolutionary workers party, one that understands that "Her Majesty's Parliament" is no road to socialism but rather an instrument for the suppression of the working class and oppressed national and ethnic minorities. We call for the abolition of the monarchy, the established church and the House of Lords, leading—as the relationship of forces permits—to confrontations over the institution of the House of Commons and the City of London financiers and capitalists it represents. What is needed is a sweeping social revolution culminating in the workers in power, opening a new line of historical development. ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 7)

Leninist/Trotskyist party, to act as champion of all the oppressed, as the memory of the working class, drawing the lessons of past struggles, and as its organizer in the revolutionary class battles to come.

At the time of the explosive struggles against Jim Crow segregation in the early 1960s, our predecessor, the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), noted that the "new level of militancy reached by the Negro people in their struggle for equality" presented "the first significant breakthrough for participation of revolutionary socialists, especially youth, in struggle since the post-war reaction" (see "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," August 1963, in our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5). The RT fought to create "a Trotskyist tendency in the broad left wing of the movement," calling for "*organized* self-defense movements in southern cities," and to send party members to the South to work with the new militant organizations which grew out of the sit-ins and freedom rides. But the SWP refused to intervene, instead tailing after the liberal preachers like Martin Luther King while glorifying Malcolm X, who however was far more militant than they were.

The SWP's failure to build a revolutionary pole in the Southern black struggle helps explain how a strange Maoist outfit like the WVO/CWP could come to be seen as the communists in Greensboro. The CWP's adventurist posturing, attempting to take on the fascist murderers with its own limited forces, was doomed to failure. But the Spartacist program of *revolutionary integrationism*, of mobilizing working-class power in the fight for black freedom, shows the road to really smashing the Klan and Nazis. In November 1982, our call to "Stop the KKK" in its tracks struck a chord in black Washington. With the backing of key area unions, over 5,000 turned out for a labor/black mobilization in the shadow of the Capitol. They carried signs proclaiming, "No More Greenshoros! Fascists Off the Streets!" The triumphant demonstrators took the route the Klan had threatened to march. It was black and red, and in their action there was a taste of workers power.

We honor the memory of the Greensboro martyrs as we build an authentically communist party to lead the struggle to sweep away the fascist terrorists and their masters in the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, through workers revolution. ■

Israel: Ethiopian Jews Protest Racist Blood Scandal

When the nearly 60,000 black Jews who had emigrated from Ethiopia to Israel learned that their blood donations were systematically thrown away by the Zionist authorities, it was the last straw. On January 28, some 10,000 Ethiopian immigrants converged on "Labor" prime minister Shimon Peres' office in Jerusalem to voice their outrage over years of unrelenting racist discrimination and ghettoization. Israeli cops responded with the treatment regularly meted out to the subjugated Arab population of the Occupied Territories. Women, children and elderly demonstrators were beaten over the head with clubs and blasted with water cannon, rubber bullets, tear gas and percussion grenades. Dozens were injured as protesters fought back with rocks in a battle lasting several hours.

The government simultaneously tried to deny any knowledge of the racist blood ban while justifying it with the argument that Ethiopians were more likely to carry the HIV virus than the general population. But health authorities test all donated blood for HIV, and the decision to dump Ethiopian blood goes back at least nine years, well before AIDS was deemed to be a major health concern in Israel. As one black protester said, "This isn't about AIDS, it's racism." Even a former head of the Ministry of Health, Knesset (parliament) member Yoram Lass, denounced the policy as "racist and unfounded scientifically." He caustically noted that despite the higher incidence of AIDS in the U.S., the authorities would not dream of banning blood donations by American Jews.

The ferocity of the Ethiopian immigrants' protest shook Israel's rulers. "It was like the *intifada* all over again," said Jerusalem's chief of police, referring to the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories which began in the late 1980s (*Jerusalem Post*, 10 February). In response to the *Intifada*, Israel increasingly sealed off the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. Today the Palestinians are confined to impoverished ghettos under the nominal control of Yasir Arafat's puppet Palestinian Authority. At the same time, the Israeli bourgeoisie has moved to displace Palestinian labor, concentrated in construction and agriculture, by importing thousands of foreign workers from as far away as Romania and Thailand.

Coincidentally, the Ethiopians' protest occurred 20 years after a March 1976 Israeli Arab demonstration in which six were killed by a brutal police assault. The hundreds of thousands of Arabs who are resident in Israel are at best second-class citizens. The Ethiopians, although a small and somewhat marginal sector, are part of Israeli Jewish society itself. The recent anti-racist protest represents a crack within the Israeli garrison state and a potential fracturing of the chauvinist Zionist consensus.

The "ingathering" of the Ethiopian Jews in melodramatic airlifts like "Operation Moses" in 1984 and "Operation Solomon" seven years later was held up by the Zionist rulers as ultimate proof that Israel was the homeland for all Jews everywhere. But from the day they arrived, these black Jews have been demeaned, humiliated and insulted by their self-styled saviors. Families were broken up and shipped off to desolate "development towns" on the edge of the desert, where many continue to live in trailer parks, subsisting on miserly government welfare payments. To satisfy the dictates of the Orthodox rabbinical hierarchy, Ethiopian men who were already circumcised were forced to undergo humiliating symbolic "conversions" and young children were separated from their parents and carted off to religious boarding schools. Many Ethiopians have not even been able to marry, as the semi-theocratic Zionist state does not recognize secular ceremonies and rabbis refuse to ordain weddings involving Ethiopians.

Kern/L.A. Times

AP

"This isn't about AIDS. It's racism," said Ethiopian immigrant at 10,000-strong protest against Zionist authorities' dumping of blood donations. Below: Police charge Ethiopian demonstrators in Jerusalem.

A banner at the January 28 demonstration denounced "Apartheid in Israel." A black army reservist, Benny Mikonen, explained bitterly: "We live in separate neighborhoods, we go to separate schools." In many cases, they have been banned even from public swimming pools, and Ethiopian families moving into white neighborhoods have been confronted by racist mobs. Not surprisingly, among the most conspicuous in their bigotry are the racist American Jews who moved to Israel in order to live in a "white Jewish only" society.

The plight of the Ethiopian Jews is a reflection of the deeply and historically racist character of Israeli society, premised on the conquest and subjugation of one people by another. Zionism's founding fathers, like Theodore Herzl, were West European petty-bourgeois intellectuals who shared the racist, colonialist outlook of the imperialist rulers. Their cynical appeal for colonizing Palestine—"a land without people for a people without land"—was suffused with the view that the Arab inhabitants of the region were not people at all.

At the same time, Herzl & Co. viewed with contempt the impoverished *"Ostjuden"* of Russia and East Europe, whom they sought to use as human fodder for their scheme to create a "normal" (capitalist) "Jewish state." Indeed, but for relative handfuls of ideological Zionists, Jewish migration to Palestine/Israel has always been propelled by a combination of manipulation and coercion, from the post-World War II influx of Holocaust survivors to the latest wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

A 1945 survey of Dachau concentration camp survivors showed that only *10 percent* wanted to emigrate to Palestine. But Zionist leaders like David Ben-Gurion colluded with anti-Semitic imperialist immigration authorities to cut off other options for the Jewish refugees (*Jerusalem Post*, 15 April 1995). And the post-1948 *aliya* ("ascent") of Near Eastern "Oriental" Jews, the *Mizrachi*, was largely fueled by a deliberate campaign of provocation and terror—including synagogue bombings!—orchestrated by the Israeli Mossad secret police.

This fact, much denied by the Zionists as an anti-Semitic calumny, is confirmed even by an ideological adviser to former right-wing *Mizrachi* Likud politician David Levy. In a recent article in *Ha'aretz* (20 October 1995), Sami Sheetrit wrote that "the *Mossad*, in its early days, established a 'Moslem' underground in Arab countries to threaten and harass Jews. In a number of cases these same Zionists even used live ammunition in order to prod and hasten Jews to immigrate to Israel" (translated in *News From Within*, January 1996).

While the Israeli rulers treat the Arab population as "subhuman," the Hebrew-speaking oppressor nation is itself divided not only by class but by caste, with the European-derived Ashkenazi elite at the top and the Oriental Jews—who, to this day, continue to be described as "human dust"—at the bottom. Far from being welcomed to the "promised land" as the fulfillment of a mythical "messianic legacy," the Oriental Jews were forced to Israel to provide a pool of cheap labor to compete with and replace Arab workers.

In many cases, their hostility to the Ashkenazi establishment and their social position just a notch above the Palestinians has led Oriental Jews to embrace the ultrachauvinist Likud. The fascist who assassinated former "Labor" prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, for example, is a *Mizrachi*. So, however, is Mordechai Vanunu, the courageous nuclear technician who revealed the massive scale of Israel's nuclear arsenal and has languished in solitary confinement for his humanitarian act. In the early 1970s, disaffection with Ashkenazi racism led to the formation of radical *Mizrachi* groups like the Israeli Black Panthers.

Against various New Left and pseudo-Trotskyist currents who in order to tail Palestinian nationalism wrote off the entire Hebrew-speaking proletariat as a "colonial-settler" population, the Spartacist tendency has insisted on the need for workers revolution to destroy the Zionist state from within. We insist that the national rights of *both* the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian peoples can only be equitably achieved in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East.

The bankruptcy of Palestinian nationalism is symbolized by PLO chief Yasir Arafat's accommodation with the Zionist rulers in enforcing the phony "peace accords." The PLO's capitulation to the Zionist rulers has provided an opening for reactionary Islamic fundamentalist outfits like Hamas, which has responded to unremitting Zionist oppression with a campaign of indiscriminate terror against Jews. Criminal acts such as the February 25 "suicide bomb" detonated on a bus in Jerusalem, killing 23 people—in response to the Israeli secret police murder of Palestinian nationalist Yahya Ayyash—only serve to harden Israeli Jews' support for the racist rulers.

The key lies in breaking Israeli workers from the stranglehold of Zionist chauvinism, as well as breaking Palestinian Arabs from petty-bourgeois nationalism, and winning them to the banner of a multinational Trotskyist vanguard party which champions national justice for the Palestinian Arab people as part of the struggle against the many-sided oppression and exploitation that defines Israeli capitalism. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

Tracks...

(continued from page 1)

railroads and mass transit systems. As railroad magnates scramble for ever greater profits—and the government at all levels slashes away at everything from welfare to health care to public transportation in order to boost corporate America's bottom line—the lives of workers and passengers have increasingly become an expendable commodity. "New Jersey Transit placed dollars ahead of lives," charged a lawyer representing victims and survivors of the Jersey City crash. It's the same everywhere, from municipal bus and subway systems to giant freight carriers like CSX to the dangerously decrepit, undermanned and outmoded air traffic control system.

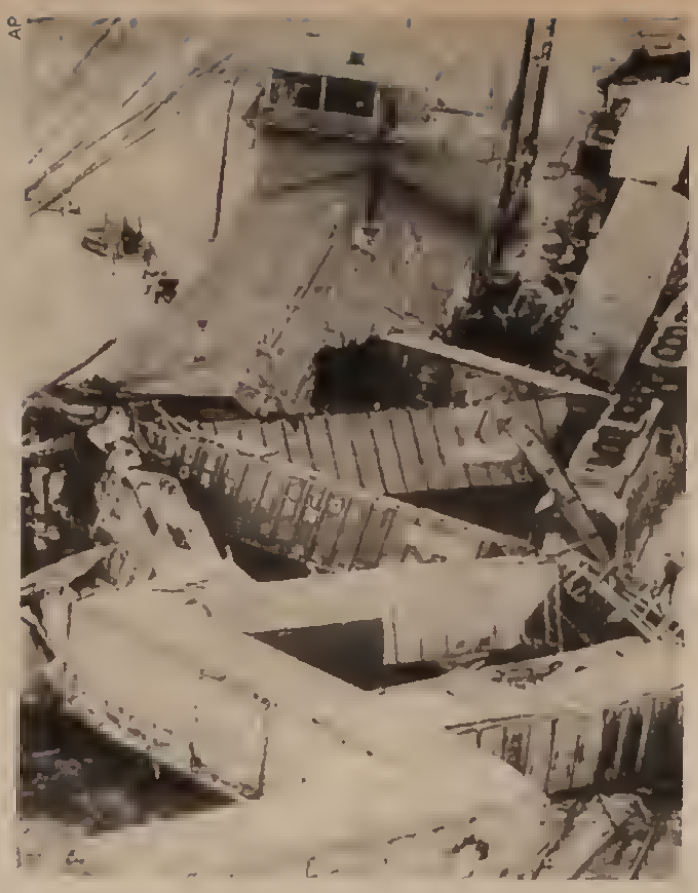
Work on the railroads can be dirty and dangerous even in the best of circumstances. Rail industry spokesmen and their government patrons congratulate themselves on their safety record, crowing that "only" 13,000 rail workers were seriously injured and 31 killed on the job in 1994. The conditions created by corporate greed and capitalist decay ensure that accidents are waiting to happen. John DeCurtis, one of the engineers in the New Jersey collision, with 39 years on the job, had been working a nearly 15-hour nighttime split shift when he was crushed under the roof of his cab. The automatic braking system that could have saved his life had been removed—to save on maintenance costs.

Looking at transport safety, it could not be clearer that the bourgeois state, viewed by reformists as a neutral arbiter between capital and labor, acts as the executive committee of the capitalist class. The Federal Railroad Administration (FRA), supposedly entrusted with overseeing safety, is "in bed with the railroads," remarks a lawyer who specializes in rail safety. Many FRA inspectors are former railroad employees whose old jobs are held open for them as rewards for not causing trouble. Reagan's mass firing of striking PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 opened the way for a massive speedup and deterioration of conditions in airport traffic management. A year earlier, under Democrat Jimmy Carter, the 1980 Staggers Act deregulating the freight rail industry provoked a frenzy of layoffs and speedup: between 1980 and 1993, nearly three out of five rail jobs were eliminated—and the bosses continue to slash away.

The underlying reasons for the slaughter on the rails can be summed up in a few statistics: since World War II, the annual freight tonnage carried by the railroads is up by 30 percent, the amount of track is down by half, and the workforce has been slashed to barely a quarter of its former size. This has meant a bonanza for the bosses—1993 profits totaled $2.25 billion—and dangerous traffic congestion and horrendous speedup for the workers. It's a recipe for disaster.

In response to questions about the latest wave of accidents, a spokesman for Clinton's Department of Transportation said that no safety measure should cost more than $2.6 million for every life it is expected to save (*New York Times*, 25 February). Even this cynical calculus of death is utterly arbitrary and highly suspect. MARC is now promising to shell out $1.6 million to install emergency exit windows on its trains—some $200,000 each for the eight people, mainly black youths, who died because they couldn't get out of the burning wreck. NJ Transit says that eliminating nighttime split shifts will cost it about $67,000 for each of the three fatalities in its crash. And the "two-way end of train" braking systems that could have stopped the runaway trains in Cajon Pass and Leadville cost only $7,000—that's $3,500 per dead worker!

In any rationally organized society, cheap, safe mass transit—like decent and affordable housing and free, quality health care and education—would be considered a necessary public service. But capitalism, with its frenzied competition for profits, is hardly rational. Only under a socialist, planned economy can there be a rational distribution of resources—democratically determined by elected workers councils (soviets)—to harness modern technology with the aim of providing public services to society as a whole.



AP

Automatic braking device could have prevented St. Paul, Minnesota freight train crash.

Drug Witchhunt and Industrial Murder

Virtually without exception, after every transport accident these days the bosses, along with their government and media spokesmen, point the finger at "human error," trying to blame the workers whose deaths they themselves caused. In an article on the January 6 Metro crash, a *Washington Post* (2 February) headline charged, "Drugs Found In Blood of Train Driver." A *New York Times* (12 February) piece on NJ Transit driver John DeCurtis declaimed, "Engineer in Fatal Collision Had a Record of Running Signals." Likewise with the Maryland crash, where the *Washington Post* (18 February) reported, "MARC Train Was Speeding Before Crash, Signal Unheeded."

The "drugs" found in Metro driver Darel Callands' blood were minimal doses of a cold medication. And the other attempts to grotesquely scapegoat the dead workers had even less substance to them. DeCurtis had earned a number of official commendations for safety and punctuality, and the dead MARC crew members all had spotless records ranging over 25 to 30 years' service. DeCurtis had been disciplined *twice* in a 39-year career for missing red lights, but numerous rail workers at both the New Jersey and Maryland lines told of hundreds of cases of faulty signals, showing red where it should have been green or vice versa, leading to near-collisions or trumped-up disciplinary measures against engineers.

As for the MARC train, there was no signal to "heed" in time to prevent a collision. Engineer Richard Orr was going just over 60 mph when a red light appeared through a heavy snowfall. But that was the "home signal" located *at the junction*, where the collision occurred. The pre-junction warning (or "distance") signal, which may have showed yellow (indicating a maximum speed of 30 mph) or green (70 mph), was located *before* the train's last stop at Kensington station, three miles back. In fact, at one time there had been a warning signal approaching the junction, but it was removed three years ago as part of a CSX track "upgrade"—to save money!

This Orwellian form of "upgrading"—in which safety is *downgraded*—is today the norm on U.S. rail lines. A wide range of modern technology exists to make high-speed rail traffic safe. For example, "automatic train control" (ATC) continuously monitors train speed and track conditions using computers, electronic sensors and on-board signals. *But it is not being used.* On the contrary, over the last few decades, existing older safety devices have been torn out and discarded.

The 1920 Signal Inspection Act—passed in the wake of the deadliest rail accident in U.S. history, a 1918 crash in Nashville that killed 101 people—mandated that major passenger rail lines be equipped with a braking system which automatically stopped a train after going through a red signal. In 1947, this "automatic train stop" (ATS) was extended to all passenger trains going faster than 80 mph. The railroad bosses' answer to this was not to install the safety devices, but to order a top speed of 79 mph. And on top of this they have systematically *removed* such devices where they existed. ATS was installed on New Jersey tracks, for example, in the 1930s—but removed in the 1960s! Today, *only 9,600 miles of track across the U.S.* is equipped with some sort of automatic braking, largely restricted to (relatively) high-speed lines like Amtrak's Boston-Washington corridor.

At the same time, there has been a massive decline in the workforce. In the 1950s and '60s, the rail barons and government teamed up in a union-bashing campaign against "featherbedding" and "job-trusting." Between 1946 and 1984, the number of freight rail jobs was slashed from nearly 1,400,000 to 323,000—resulting in a *650 percent* rise in labor productivity. Well under 200,000 jobs remain. The kind of split shift worked by John DeCurtis the night he died is widespread throughout the industry—even more so for freight engineers—despite numerous studies and even more numerous fatal collisions caused by "acute and chronic fatigue." Working hours are still regulated by a 1907 law that allows 16-hour shifts and 112-hour workweeks! Union Pacific engineer Jack Bokay, who works 70 hours per week in shifts lasting 10 or 12 hours on an unpredictable, rotating schedule, told *Trains* magazine (June 1995): "I stay awake because I'm scared to death."

For Union Safety Committees!

Transport safety goes hand in hand with union power. Workers must be able to shut down unsafe equipment and worksites with the full backup—including strike action—of the unions. Particularly in the rail industry, long overtime hours are not only onerous but downright deadly. With stagnant or declining pay scales, it's no wonder that even high-seniority workers routinely accept absurd amounts of "voluntary" overtime. The fight for *a shorter workweek with no loss in pay* is not only necessary to combat layoffs, but is literally a question of life and death for rail workers. Every real measure to defend jobs and working conditions means a bitter fight against the rail corporations *and* the bosses' state—and a political struggle against their labor lieutenants.

The rail unions are hamstrung by misleaders who bow to the government's arsenal of anti-labor laws and promote divisive craft unionism. Since the 1894 Pullman strike led by socialist Eugene V. Debs, which was crushed by federal troops and legions of armed strikebreakers, the capitalist rulers have developed and invoked every kind of law to prevent rail workers from striking. The Railway Labor Act of 1926 virtually outlaws strikes by locking unions into endless "cooling off" periods and government-imposed "mediation." Now Congress is threatening legislation along the lines of New York's Taylor Law, which would ban all strikes by public transit workers. Far from fighting against such slave-labor laws, the union bureaucrats hide behind them as an all-purpose excuse to prevent and sabotage struggle.

In an industry where every strike immediately confronts coordinated company and government opposition, rail workers are saddled with a slew of back-stabbing bureaucrats, each with his own ax to grind. On the Soo Line, for example, a workforce of less than 5,000 is divided among *17 different unions*. Craft divisions doubly undermine union power, reinforcing the racial and sexual discrimination which is notorious in the rail industry. A class-struggle leadership would fight for a union hiring hall and implement measures to reach out to and train minority and women workers. What is needed is the *single industrial union of railway workers* that Debs fought for in his day.

Margaret Bourke-White

Depression-era billboard. "What's good for GM is good for America"? Auto industry magnates have made billions by sabotaging mass transit.

Oakland...

(continued from page 16)

teachers and students called by Advocates for African American Students. Black teachers held up a banner reading "We Demand Quality Education." The school board is trying to prey on the desperation of poor black parents, for whom schools are little more than lousy childcare centers for their children and for whom the idea that an education might be a ticket out of a life of poverty is a cruel joke. Now they are trying to play off the heavily black flatlands against the largely white Oakland hills, where support for the teachers strike has been stronger, reflecting those who can still have aspirations that better schools will translate into a better life for their kids. To bridge this divide, which reflects both race *and class*, the fight for free, quality, integrated education for all must be actively championed in fighting to win the Oakland teachers strike.

But the OEA leadership has backpedaled on even its original demands. In January, the union withdrew its demand for a retroactive pay increase for 1994-95, offering a redesigned pay raise package that would give more to the higher-paid teachers and less to those with lower seniority. This came together with a proposal for an enhanced retirement package designed to *get rid of* older, more experienced teachers. "You get rid of the highly paid employees and bring in younger employees. That saves the district money," boasted Ward Rountree, co-executive director of the OEA (*Oakland Tribune*, 12 January). The school board wasn't buying, and the OEA leadership was forced into a strike that they obviously didn't want.

Rather than mobilizing mass integrated pickets of the teachers and their supporters, scab "substitute" teachers (who are paid *twice* the wages of regular substitutes) are allowed to walk across the picket lines with no trouble. But if the OEA leadership is weak-kneed, the leadership of the Alameda County Central Labor Council (CLC) are downright traitors. At a labor history conference last weekend on the 1946 Oakland general strike—an AFL-organized action which was stabbed in the back by the Teamsters abetted by the then-separate CIO—Owen Marron, current president of the Alameda CLC, argued that the vital lesson was not to let petty jurisdictional disputes get in the way of "labor unity." What hypocrisy when he refuses to support the OEA strike!

Echoing the divide-and-rule tactics of the school board, Marron hides behind the "concerns" of the other school unions that more money for the teachers will mean layoffs for them. This was put most baldly by Morris Tatum, chief steward of AFSCME Local 2078, which represents school janitors. Attacking the teachers for pushing for bigger raises than the other school unions had been given, Tatum argued that in order for the district "to come up with the money they'll have to lay off classified employees" (*Oakland Tribune*, 22 February). This is the typical line of business union bureaucrats, who pit one sector of the workers against another in vying for a bigger share of the limited pie offered by the bosses.

For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!

Although not directly analogous, the attempt by the Oakland school board and its "community" allies to play the race card for the purpose of strikebreaking is evocative of the 1968 New York teachers strike. In the name of "community control," black nationalists, New Leftists and liberals stood together with the Ford Foundation and the city administration in trying to set the ghetto poor against striking teachers.

In the 1968 NYC strike, the Spartacist League called for victory to the strike, while not downplaying our denunciation of the racist union tops of the ilk of United Federation of Teachers (UFT) leader Albert Shanker. In a leaflet titled "Beware Liberal Union Busters," we called "for a radical alliance of teachers with the doubly oppressed black and Puerto Rican working people and the first steps towards building a labor party to lead united, militant struggle against the liberal union-busters." The leaflet emphasized: "No change in the *structure* of the school administration can 'reform' ghetto education without a revolutionary transformation of the society itself."

The OEA is certainly not equivalent to Shanker's UFT bureaucracy, which was utterly indifferent to the needs of the black community and which inflamed the situation by its own racism. Nor are those on the Oakland school board, the NAACP or black preachers identical to the black nationalists of the '60s, but they represent the same social strata. Theirs is the voice of a black middle class who were the beneficiaries of the "war on poverty" programs. Having "made it" themselves, they are looking to protect their positions in the overbloated Oakland school district administration. While weeping crocodile tears for "the children," and preying on the despair of the ghetto poor against the "greedy" teachers strike, they don't give a damn about smaller class sizes, providing current textbooks and decent education for the black poor and their children. On the contrary, they see any improvement in school conditions as a challenge to their share at the public trough.

But rather than fighting to wage the kind of social struggle that is needed, which would mean going up against the CLC labor bureaucrats and the Oakland black Democratic Party administration of Elihu Harris, OEA president Ben Visnick is banking on influencing the upcoming March Oakland city elections. Visnick is calling for "replacing recalcitrant school board members." Indeed, these elections seem to have attracted a whole slew of self-proclaimed leftists and wannabe bureaucrats who smell an opportunity to cash in their chips for the "big time" of city posts.

Oakland teachers are not the only ones under the gun. Across the state, urban schools are feeling Governor Wilson's racist cutback ax. Recently, San Diego teachers waged a one-week strike, which had strong public support, winning a 14 percent salary increase over three years. What we wrote in 1993 is still true today (*WV* No. 586, 22 October 1993):

> "What is urgently needed is a broad social struggle—*a statewide teachers strike, backed up by the power of all labor, to save California schools*. To organize such a struggle requires forging a new class-struggle leadership in the union movement to break with the Democratic Party exploiters. In this epoch of capitalist decay, it is no less true than it was in Karl Marx's time that it is the communists who fight for universal public education. For the right of free, quality public education for all!" ■

Fundamentally, the union tops accept the economic dictates of the capitalist profit system and act as its enforcers. When Amtrak laid off 4,600 union workers a year ago, Transportation Communications Union president Scardelletti declared, "Amtrak doesn't have much choice when it's about to run out of money" (*AFL-CIO News*, 9 January 1995). Now, with a planned merger between Union Pacific and Southern Pacific threatening another 3,400 jobs, the bureaucrats offer nothing more than impotent appeals to Congressional Democrats to lobby against the merger. And while refusing to lift a finger against layoffs, the union misleaders buy into the racist, anti-labor "war on drugs" and promote class-collaborationist safety committees in which management has the upper hand.

High Tech and Capitalist Greed

The huge profit being made in freight rail, particularly containerized shipments, lies behind the Maryland and New Jersey collisions. Amtrak (like most commuter lines) uses track owned and controlled by the freight companies, under a 25-year "Basic Agreement" which expires on April 30. Federal legislation nominally giving passenger trains the right of way is routinely ignored by freight carriers trying to meet shipment deadlines, so there is a deadly scramble for use of the rails. Moreover, the long, lumbering freight trains get by with fewer signals—which are costly to install and maintain—and need flat track. So "extra" signals go by the board, as does "superelevation" of the rails—akin to banking of highway turns—which allows trains to safely take curves at higher speeds.

None of these problems pose technological difficulties. In Japan and much of West Europe, there is genuinely high-speed rail service, like the Japanese "bullet train" and the French TGV, with cruising speeds around 180 mph. Despite a frequency of one train every few minutes, in 32 years of service the bullet train has never had a single accident. Passenger trains by and large ride on dedicated tracks, separated from slower-moving freight trains and isolated from auto traffic by overhead bridges and tunnels. Now Japan and Germany, among others, are moving toward development of the next generation of high-speed rail service, the so-called maglev (magnetic levitation) trains, which ride suspended by magnets at speeds of 300 mph or more.

Why the difference with the U.S.? It's not simply a question of Europeans preferring rail travel while Americans like cars. It's a matter of capitalist priorities. The ruling classes of Japan and Germany determined that they need efficient, advanced railways both to facilitate economic development and expansion and for strategic military purposes (Germany's planned maglev line is projected to eventually extend to Warsaw and Moscow!). So they have invested the funds needed for research, development and maintenance. But the impact of capitalist decay and austerity is being felt in Europe as well. One of the issues which provoked the recent French strike wave centered on rail workers was a government plan to cut out unprofitable stops.

Sixty years ago, the U.S. had more, and more frequent, rail services running at speeds over 100 mph than it does today. Today, as the *New York Times* (18 February) remarked, "the railroad industry is still mired in its Industrial Revolution roots." Following World War II, the rail companies decided that passenger service was not profitable, so they allowed it to go down the drain. At the same time, the government determined that its defense interests and the overall development of U.S. capitalism were best served through a "National System of Interstate and Defense Highways." Despite the fact that the death rate per passenger-mile for car travel is some *ten times* higher than it is for rail, intercity and commuter trains today account for less than 2 percent of all passenger-miles traveled in the U.S.

What led to the predominance of highways over railroads was not economic rationality but a concerted campaign by sectors of the American capitalist class to destroy traction (rail) passenger transport. "The Great Transportation Conspiracy," as an article in *Harper's* (February 1981) called it, involved a years-long effort beginning in the 1930s to secretly buy up electric-powered streetcar lines and commuter rail services—*with the sole aim of dismantling them*—in more than 45 cities, from New York to Los Angeles. The key players in this conspiracy were General Motors (in which DuPont had a controlling interest through the mid-1960s), Firestone Tire, Standard Oil and other auto-related and oil giants. At the same time, auto industry lobbying led to the creation of the Highway Trust Fund, which has provided mammoth subsidies for road transportation. This is what former GM CEO Charles Wilson meant when he boasted, "What's good for GM is good for America"! The lopsided influence of this particular sector of the U.S. bourgeoisie underscores the irrationality of capitalism.

By the late 1960s, passenger rail service had so deteriorated that the government was compelled to step in, with a 1970 law setting up Amtrak as a public corporation. Even so, with ever more stringent cutbacks in government funding, Amtrak has to compete on the capitalist marketplace. Today, it gets only 20 percent of its operating costs from government subsidies, the lowest of any rail passenger service in the world. This has meant sharp cuts in service and next to nothing for maintenance, upgrading and capital investment. Having instituted massive layoffs and the elimination of a third of its remaining daily runs only a year ago, the passenger carrier is now readying another round of cuts and layoffs, mandated by the Amtrak Reform and Privatization Act sponsored by professional union-haters like Staten Island Republican Susan Molinari.

More far-sighted spokesmen for American capitalism, like *Scientific American*, have long argued for major investment in an efficient mass transit system. But with the ruling class clamoring for a "balanced budget" at the expense of school lunches and vaccinations for poor and minority children, the U.S. is not about to invest the billions needed to provide decent transportation for working people. The bourgeoisie hasn't even invested in keeping up the country's air traffic control system, and while big-business CEOs may not take Amtrak, they do fly. With congested airport traffic regulated by computer systems based on vacuum tube technology that hasn't been used even in household TV sets for decades, a major article in the *New York Times* (29 January) warned that all too often "skill and luck substitute for technology."

John DeCurtis, Richard Orr and the young Job Corps trainees who perished in the recent accidents were all victims of a callous system that sacrifices everything to inflate its profit margin. It will take workers revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party to provide efficient, safe mass transit and the other basic necessities of life for all working people. As we wrote a few years ago in "New York Bridges Are Falling Down" (*WV* No. 456, 1 July 1988):

> "The resources to maintain and rebuild the infrastructure of this country cannot be squeezed out of an economic base increasingly made of junk bonds and junk food joints....
>
> "A workers revolution would put America back to work rebuilding the bridges, highways and factories. And not just here—massive aid programs to rebuild Vietnam, Latin America, Africa, everywhere the imperialists have plundered and destroyed. The capitalist class in its twilight has shown that it is incapable of maintaining society. The working class led by its revolutionary vanguard must wrench society from the bourgeoisie's death grip." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Free, Quality Education for All!

Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!

OAKLAND, California—On February 15, some 3,500 classroom teachers and other school workers walked out in their first open-ended strike since 1986. The teachers, organized in the Oakland Education Association (OEA), have been without a contract since June 1994, and have not had a pay raise in *five years*! A two-day strike last November and a one-day strike last month did nothing to move the intransigent Oakland district school board. Pleading poverty, the board has offered the teachers a measly 3.73 percent wage increase, while dodging the union's vital demand to reduce class size. After the board again broke off talks on February 22, one of its negotiators accelerated her Jaguar through a line of strikers, injuring a teacher.

California, which used to boast of itself as the "education state," now ranks second to the bottom of the 50 states in the money it spends on public schools. This is the legacy of the 1978 Proposition 13 tax revolt of elderly white middle-class property owners who didn't want their "tax dollars" going to fund government programs seen as benefiting the young, especially the ghetto and barrio poor. In black Oakland, where minorities comprise 91 percent of the student population, the average pay for teachers ranks second to lowest in the state. Experienced teachers continually leave to go to other districts where they can make thousands of dollars more.

With not enough money for supplies, Oakland teachers routinely spend hundreds of dollars of their own money to buy books and other vital teaching material. Classrooms are grossly overcrowded. An English teacher told *Workers Vanguard* of having *51 students* in her high-school freshman class. School buildings are falling apart. Last year parents at Lazear Elementary School, who are overwhelmingly Latino, kept their kids out for three weeks in protest over the 40-year-old "portable" classrooms with no windows, poor ventilation, leaking roofs and rats.

In this context, the teachers' demands have found a lot of resonance among parents, students and minority communities who want a decent education, not to have youth locked in overcrowded, undersupplied and understaffed holding pens. During the two-day teachers strike in November, the *Oakland Tribune* (30 November 1995) headlined its article, "Teacher Walkout Strikes a Chord." At the time, some 2,000 teachers, parents and students came out to protest in support of the teachers.

WV Photo

Oakland teachers strike rally, February 20. Teachers' battle must unite labor with black and Latino poor in fight against school cutbacks, union-busting.

The current strike has had significant, integrated support. Well over 80 percent of the students and workforce stayed out of the schools in the initial days of the strike. Organized groups of students and parents have come out to striking teachers' rallies. On February 20, a 1,500-strong protest demonstration in support of the teachers marched through downtown Oakland. With California governor Pete Wilson going all-out in his racist drive to abolish affirmative action not only in university admissions but also in employment, the Oakland teachers strike has the potential to mobilize the integrated unions in the East Bay together with the black and minority poor, parents and students in a real struggle against the gutting of public education.

Here are to be found the forces to build mass, integrated picket lines of the teachers and their supporters. Appeals should be made to all workers and unions involved in the school system: custodians and clerical workers, and also those who make deliveries to the schools. The OEA must also seek to mobilize high school and junior high students to join them in this struggle. *Build, respect and enforce the picket lines!*

But this is not the way the OEA leadership has been conducting the strike. Accepting the framework set by the school board, it simply campaigns to find money for the teachers through cutting the grotesquely bloated school administration. Scandalously, the Alameda County Central Labor Council has refused to give official sanction to, much less support, the teachers strike. The excuse that the OEA is not an AFL-CIO affiliate has served as an alibi for outright scabbing on the strike by more than half a dozen other school unions. In doing so, the AFL-CIO unions in the school district are scabbing on the possibility for a better education for their children.

Race-Baiting and Strikebreaking

Both the potential impact of a teachers strike and the weakness of the OEA leadership, which dawdled for 19 months before finally calling a strike, were not lost on the Oakland school district bosses. Together with a prominent black preacher, the Rev. J. Alfred Smith Sr., and the new "black empowerment" head of the Oakland NAACP, Shannon Reeves, they tried to whip up opposition to the OEA strike by painting a picture of a black community being mugged by an allegedly "white" union. Yet more than one-third of the teachers are black!

At a public school board meeting in January, the new black school district president, Lucella Harrison, let loose against student supporters of the teachers, reviling them as "just rebellious white students from Berkeley" who were attacking "a predominantly black board" (*East Bay Express*, 26 January). When the teachers struck for one day, on January 30, Rev. Smith pontificated, "The Oakland Unified School District may have African American administrators, but the majority of teachers are white persons who live outside of Oakland" (*Oakland Tribune*, 31 January). Smith, who doesn't live in Oakland himself, was echoed by NAACP leader Reeves, who declared that it was "educational treason to tell students not to come to school" during the teachers strike.

The night before the strike began, this race-baiting, union-busting bid was challenged at a press conference/rally at the school administration building of

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New Appeal Filed for Former Black Panther

Free Geronimo Now!

LOS ANGELES, February 26—This afternoon, attorneys Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon announced the filing of a petition for a new trial for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). Noting that Geronimo has spent *25 years* in prison for a crime he did not commit, a statement distributed at the L.A. press conference said, "He was a victim of the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operation which worked hand-in-hand with the Los Angeles Police Department to convict an innocent man because of his leadership in the Black Panther Party." Geronimo has been denied parole *13 times*. His last appeal for a new trial was dismissed in less than one day.

Among the speakers at the press conference today were Jim McCloskey, a lay minister who uncovered new evidence linking the murder for which Geronimo was accused to two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panthers. Jeanne Hamilton, a juror in Geronimo's first trial, outlined the evidence that the state withheld from the jury. Also speaking was Wes Swearingen, a former FBI agent who testified that the FBI hid and likely destroyed wiretap transcripts proving Geronimo was 400 miles away from the crime, and Emory Douglas, one of six former Panthers who have recently come forward as witnesses for Geronimo.

This new legal defense effort must serve as a springboard for mass, labor-centered mobilizations to demand: *Freedom now for Geronimo!*

Jonathan Eubanks

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 641 | 15 March 1996

Elections '96: Welfare Bashing and American Chauvinism

Profits Rising, Workers Falling—Capitalists Seek Scapegoats

AT&T began the new year by announcing it would lay off 40,000 employees. The next day the *Wall Street Journal* headlined: "Stock Prices Start 1996 With Surge." Last week, the Labor Department reported that more than 700,000 new jobs opened up in February. This news drove the stock market down by 170 points, its sharpest drop in five years. In launching a series of articles on "The Downsizing of America," the *New York Times* (3 March) carried a chart contrasting rising corporate profits with announcements of mass layoffs with the title "Workers Fall, Business Rises." This was taken straight from the famous words of German revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg, who summed up the carnage of World War I in the phrase, "Profits rising, proletarians falling."

The continuing fall in the living standards of the mass of the American population is the backdrop to the 1996 election campaign. With ever broader layers of the working people sinking into despair and the racist rulers slashing away at every social program introduced in the past 60 years, both parties of American capitalism are engaging in an orgy of scapegoating, seeking to blame Mexican immigrants and black welfare mothers for the misery produced by the workings of the profit system. Every four years, the U.S. presidential elections wallow in the mean, racist cesspool that is American bourgeois politics: from Georgia Democrat Jimmy Carter's appeal to "ethnic purity" in 1976 to George Bush's race-baiting use of black convict Willie Horton in '88 to Clinton's well-publicized execution of a brain-damaged black man in the '92 campaign. It's become standard procedure to pick some representative or sector of the oppressed to bash on the way to the White House.

The current election campaign is a free-for-all of racist, anti-immigrant and anti-woman bigotry and untrammeled capitalist greed. Republican multimillionaire Steve Forbes, who jets around in a private plane with the emblem "Capitalist Tool," pushes a "flat tax" panacea which would mean a bonanza for big business (and himself). Republican

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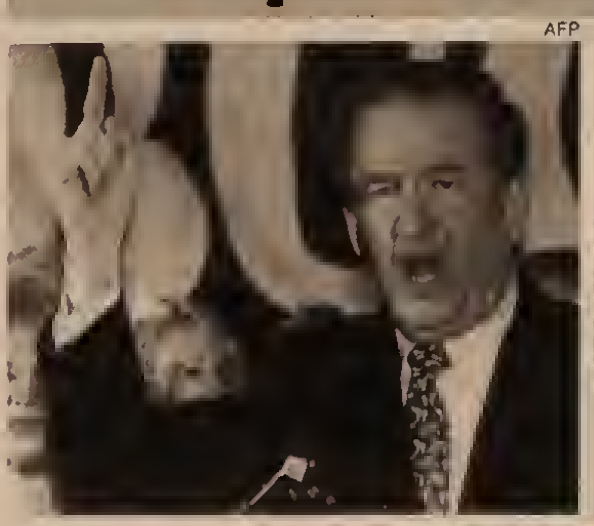

AFP

AP

Der Spiegel

Ruling-class politicians scapegoat the oppressed for mass unemployment, impoverishment created by capitalism. Sinister "America First" racist Buchanan pushes rabid anti-immigrant chauvinism, Republican front-runner Dole caters to Christian Coalition anti-abortion bigots, Democrat Clinton boasts of slashing welfare.

Weiner/AP

For a Workers Party to Fight for All the Oppressed!

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Zionist "Anti-Terror" Crackdown Targets Palestinian Population

MARCH 10—The supposed Palestinian "autonomy" achieved by the vaunted "peace process" was shown to be the fiction it is last week. Israel and its Palestinian Authority puppet police terrorized the Arab population of the Occupied Territories following a string of bombings in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Israeli troops dynamited homes and dragged off Arabs in the village of Al Fawwar in the West Bank. Simultaneously, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat's cops raided dozens of mosques, schools and community centers in Gaza, rounding up hundreds more. In what has become the norm in recent years, Arab areas in the Occupied Territories have again been "sealed off" from Israel, depriving Palestinian workers of what meager livelihoods they still have. Now Israeli troops have cordoned off virtually every Palestinian village and town, effectively turning them into prisons.

This Nazi-like "collective punishment" was justified by the "Labor" government of Prime Minister Shimon Peres as retaliation for a series of bombings which took the lives of some 60 people. Incessant, grinding repression and deliberate starvation policies have led Palestinian youth to undertake suicidal terror attacks on Israeli soldiers and murderous settlers. Such desperate acts are at least directed against the Israeli rulers and their dogs of war. But there can be no justification for indiscriminate terrorist attacks like the two successive Sunday bombings of public buses in Jerusalem and another in a crowded shopping district in central Tel Aviv. From the standpoint of the working class and the struggle for national equality, these are *criminal* acts which target an entire people as the "enemy," mirroring the chauvinist outlook of the far more deadly Israeli rulers themselves. Among the 18 people who died along with the suicide bomber in a Jerusalem bus on March 4 were nine Israelis, six Romanians, an Ethiopian and two Arabs.

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

UMWA Striker Sent Back to Prison Pending Appeal

Free Jerry Dale Lowe!

WV Photo

Lea and Jerry Dale Lowe. Labor must fight for framed-up miner's freedom.

On February 24, an appeal was filed in U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the conviction of United Mine Workers (UMWA) militant Jerry Dale Lowe, who was framed up for the shooting death of a scab contractor in the seven-month UMWA strike against Arch Mineral in 1993. In early January, Lowe, who had been confined to his home, was sent back to federal prison after the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit refused to reconsider its denial of an earlier appeal.

Lowe, a fourth-generation miner, faces nearly eleven years with no possibility of parole after his conviction on trumped-up charges of "interfering with interstate commerce." While the coal bosses sought to pin the scab's death on Lowe, prosecutors had no evidence to charge him under state laws—for anything. So the Clinton-appointed U.S. Attorney in Charleston, West Virginia, Rebecca Betts, whose previous law firm represented Arch Mineral, cooked up a story turning the scab contractor into "interstate commerce." But as Circuit Court judge Diana Gribbon Motz wrote in a dissenting opinion when Lowe's appeal was first turned down: "There was no evidence that the vehicle had *ever* been used outside the state of West Virginia, in connection with interstate commerce or otherwise."

Seven other unionists facing state charges in the frame-up accepted plea bargains before their case went to trial. Jerry Dale Lowe has been made to face the wrath of the ruling class alone because UMWA president Richard Trumka, now secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, has refused to lift a finger in Lowe's defense. Miners, Teamsters, transport workers and all of labor must stand with him and fight for his freedom. It is this kind of solidarity which can defeat the government's union-busting repression. An injury to one is an injury to all!

We print below excerpts of a letter from Lea Lowe, Jerry's wife, to the Partisan Defense Committee.

February 7, 1996

This letter is to give you an update on Jerry's situation. Since the 4th Circuit turned down the first appeal the Prosecutor put in an objection to allow him to remain out on home confinement. He had to go back to jail until they sent him on to a Federal Facility.... This was a great disappointment to us considering we plan to appeal this as far as possible, and felt they should have at least waited until we were through. It could have saved the taxpayers a lot of expense, but I guess that's the last thing on their mind. I suppose it's easy to do what you want when it's somebody else's money. That's probably why the Federal Government is in the shape it's in now.

All of us are particularly concerned with the interstate commerce issue, which is not just a local issue but a national one if they allow this to stand as it is now. It would almost virtually cause any strikes in the future to be stopped by the Government at their will. The Teamsters would be especially affected. I know this is only the stepping stone of the Federal Government to be able to have more power on a local level to intervene in future strikes. As you know the companies are getting richer and the working men and women are either barely sustaining or getting poorer. There seems to be no relief.

This whole mess seems to be pure retaliation from both the State and Federal authorities for not pleading guilty and handing them their case on a silver platter. I believe if someone is not guilty they should not have to plead guilty just to lessen the government's paperwork. I shudder to think of probably the thousands of people now in prison who are as innocent as Jerry. I recently read an article that told of almost a hundred who were totally released *from Death Row*!

There definitely needs to be a change but I don't know where it will start. In order for the Fourth Circuit to keep this case as it is they almost literally had to change the Interstate Commerce meaning. The definition is first the person must be *in* Interstate Commerce. Then they must be carrying *passengers and property* or *cargo*. In order for the Fourth Circuit to pass this off they made the "driver" of the vehicle *the passenger*.

This was purely a local dispute taken over by the Federal Government because of political reasons. I hope the Supreme Court can see through this case the Federal Court has blown out of proportion and rectify it for us. Regardless of how the newspapers have made him out to be, Jerry has always been a hard worker and good provider and never been in any trouble of this nature before. It's not fair that this has had to happen to a hard working decent man.

We do appreciate the exposure on the case, the local paper has not bothered to pursue anything on the local level. They could have had a big story if they would have handled it right but I'm sure the coal company probably threatened to withdraw their ads or something because it just didn't seem normal the way they handled it. Well I'm pretty busy right now, but wanted to get this out to you since you've been so good to support us.

Thanks So Much,
Lea Lowe

Jerry Dale Lowe is one of 17 class-war prisoners in the stipend program of the PDC. Write to him at: Jerry Dale Lowe, #044-93-088, L Unit, Federal Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 6001, Ashland, KY 41105. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Paris Commune, 1871
The First Workers Government

This month marks the 125th anniversary of the proletarian uprising which created the Paris Commune on 18 March 1871. All the bourgeoisies of Europe joined in a frenzy of reactionary hatred against the insurgents, finally unleashing a white terror which slaughtered 20,000 workers. Yet despite its brief existence, barely more than two months, the Paris Commune served as a beacon for revolutionary workers around the world, foreshadowing the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Karl Marx saw in the Commune the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, sweeping away the repressive organs of the capitalist state and establishing the political rule of the working class as the necessary first step to the creation of an international egalitarian, classless society. The Commune's separation of church and state has a striking relevance today in the face of resurgent religious reaction. As we fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, we honor the heroic Communards of Paris who paved the way.

The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*....

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "parson-power," by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.... ·

The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favour, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour.

—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (June 1871)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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"Socialist" Scabs Squirm

The following letter was abridged for space.

New York
21 February 1996

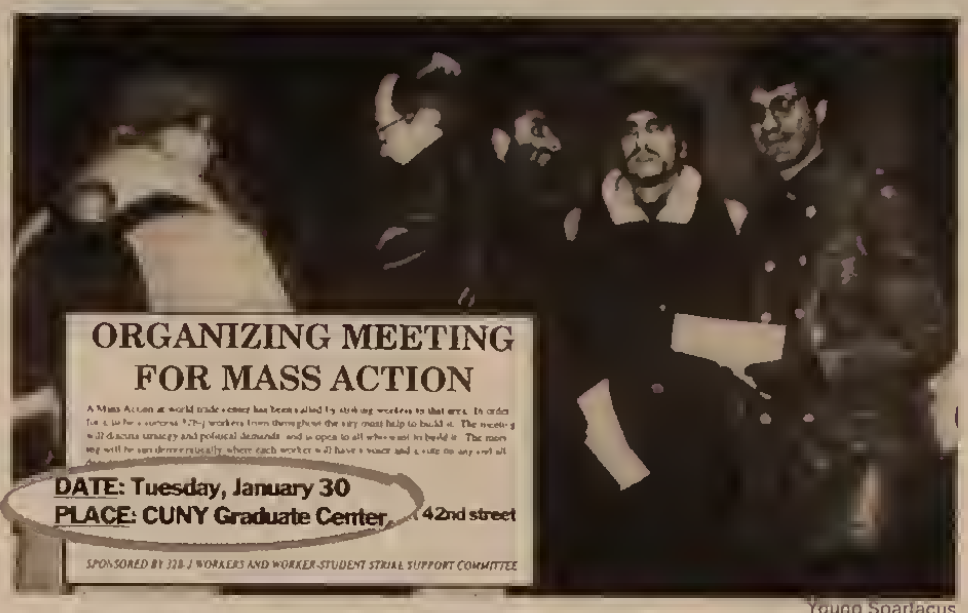
To the Editor of Workers Vanguard:

I am obviously the supporter of the International Bolshevik Tendency you accuse of scabbing on the recent Service Employees International Union (SEIU) strike in New York City ("Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" *Workers Vanguard*, 2 February). Your next issue carries a piece entitled "Scab 'Socialists' Caught Out at CUNY" (16 February), in which you label as "scabs" the twenty or so leftists who showed up for a strike-support meeting at City University of New York Graduate Center on the evening of January 30. I write in order to answer these shameful libels—as well as your idiotic reports of "skulking," "scurrying" and "sputtering"—with a statement of the facts about both the SEIU strike at the *Village Voice*, where I have been a union steward for ten years, and the meeting at CUNY Grad.

First, it should be noted that the six cleaning and maintenance workers at the *Village Voice* were not on strike against the *Voice* or the owner of the building that houses it. Their employer is the Building Maintenance Services Corporation, a management firm that contracts with the *Voice* and other companies. The picketers outside made it clear from the start that they were not appealing to *Voice* employees to stay away, but were there to prevent anyone else from entering the building to do their jobs. Neither I nor any of my fellow union members did the work normally performed by strikers—the defining activity of a scab in the eyes of any trade unionist, or, for that matter, anyone else outside the Spartacist League.

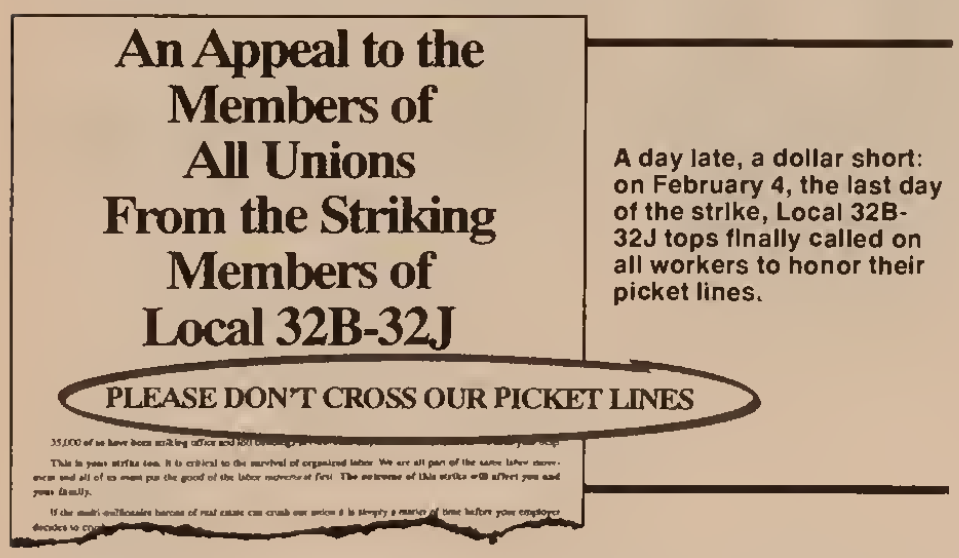
The situation at the *Voice* building (which contains one other firm as well as some residential tenants) could be compared to that of an industrial park, where there is a single entrance for a variety of different companies. According to the SL's definition of a scab—apparently anyone who, for whatever reason, enters a worksite at which pickets are present—all workers in such a park allowed by the picketers to go to their jobs in the non-struck firms would be "scabs." So too was every typesetter, secretary, dishwasher or desk clerk who went to work in the more than 1,000 commercial buildings affected by the SEIU strike.

The SEIU would indeed have won the strike in a matter of days if all workers in the affected buildings had stayed off the job in solidarity. But such an action would in most cases have been a sympathy strike—i.e., a strike against employers other than those of the aggrieved union—and would have required a high degree of class consciousness. This is not likely to be brought about by isolated leftists in the workplace offering themselves up as human sacrifices to the boss. It may sometimes be the duty of Marxists to risk their livelihoods—or their lives—to influence the outcome of collective struggle. But, in this situation, to take a "principled" stand and be victimized without the remotest chance of altering the behavior of a single other worker is the action of someone more interested in saving his or her soul than helping to win a strike. It is self-martyrdom, not Marxism.



Young Spartacus

Caught in the act: fake leftists planned to hold "strike support" meeting behind the picket lines in struck CUNY Grad Center.



A day late, a dollar short: on February 4, the last day of the strike, Local 32B-32J tops finally called on all workers to honor their picket lines.

Instead of making an empty moral gesture, I, as part of a shop stewards' committee, met with the *Voice*'s publisher to demand that the cleaners sent by the management company to do the strikers' work—the only real scabs at the *Voice*—be expelled from the paper's offices, and that the *Voice* not pay the company for their services for the duration of the strike. The publisher agreed. We also donated $1500 from our own strike fund to the six SEIU strikers in our building, and collected $1500 more for them among union members in the shop. Each worker thus received a total of $500 in strike-support contributions.

We were not among the initiators of the strike-support meeting at CUNY. But in our judgment there would, in fact, have been nothing wrong with holding this meeting at CUNY Grad with the permission of the picketers; strikers often make dispensations for people to enter struck facilities for special purposes. But, since the SL's ranting did manage to confuse a few of the strikers, the organizers decided to hold their meeting on the sidewalk outside; not a single person in attendance that night entered CUNY Grad, and, contrary to your reportage, several SEIU militants participated actively in the meeting. While we were planning a strike rally for the following day, SL members spent their time approaching participants individually to inform them that I was a "scab."

The SL is hardly qualified for the role of the left's moral policeman. During the crucial PATCO strike of 1981, air traffic controllers, unlike the SEIU, appealed to other workers and to the public at large to boycott the airlines, and also set up picket lines to try to shut down the airports. Yet taking a train instead of a plane was apparently too much of an inconvenience for the jet-set socialists of the SL leadership, who flew routinely throughout the strike. When several SL members (who were later among the founders of the External Tendency, precursor of the BT) objected to this flouting of the union's call for a boycott of scab services, the Robertsonite leadership even made flying during the strike a point of honor, castigating those who objected as "moralists" and "trade-union fetishists." The SL's injunction that all leftists should have pointlessly risked their jobs during the SEIU strike may sound a lot like moralism. But a genuine moralist must at least believe in the morality s/he preaches. You, on other hand, give hypocrisy a bad name.

Jim C.

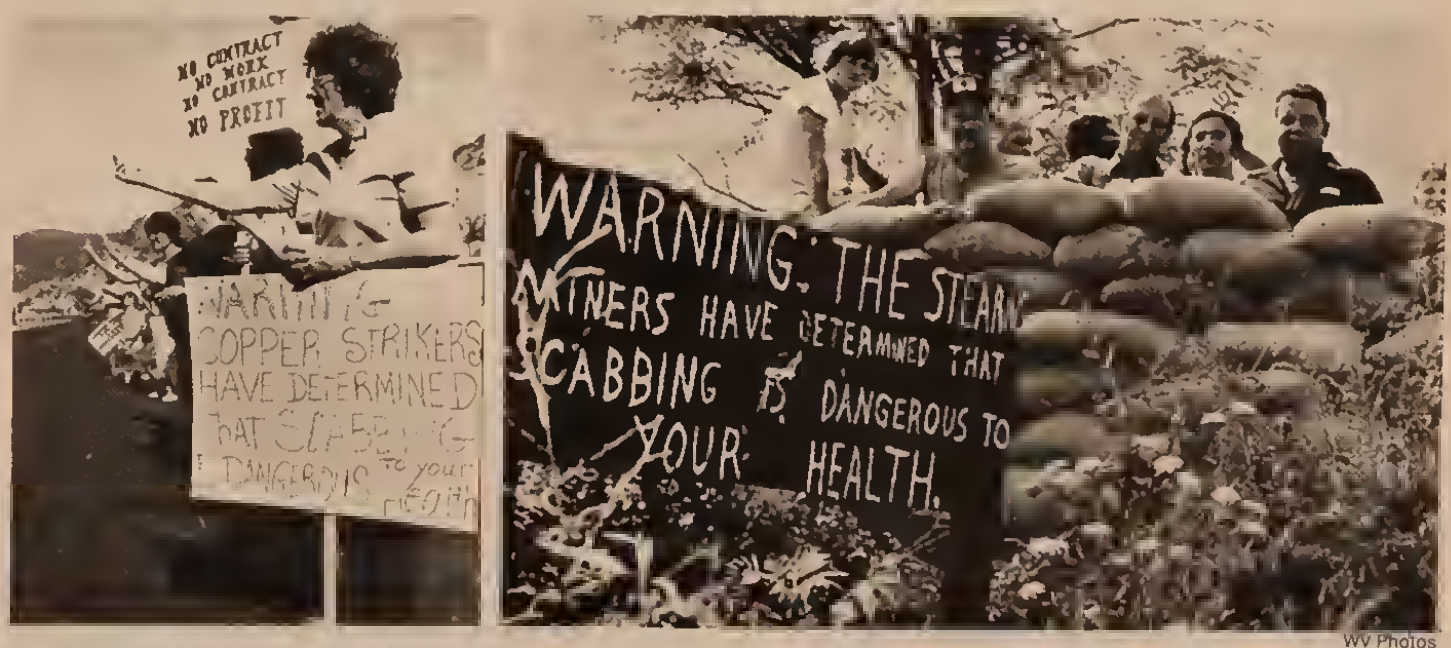
WV replies: No self-respecting trade unionist, no supporter of the workers movement, and certainly no communist, crosses picket lines, ever.

Whining apologetics for scabbing by self-styled "revolutionaries" seem to be quite a thriving cottage industry these days. In addition to the "Bolshevik" Tendency (BT) missive—which is nearly twice as long in the original—we have received an even lengthier diatribe along the same lines from an even tinier grouplet with the grandiose title of Communist Workers Organizing Committee (CWOC). During the four-week strike by the SEIU Local 32B-32J building workers, the BT didn't put out a single statement on this major union struggle. The CWOC did manage to upload a strike support statement on the Internet...on March 1. Hello? The strike ended on February 4. Echoing the BT, their strategy for "victory" called for "mass picketing" outside and "strike support committees" inside the struck buildings—of those who crossed the picket lines!

The cynicism of Jim C.'s contemptuous alibis for scabbing does not detract from the seriousness of the question. Solid picket lines that *nobody* and *nothing* crosses are not only central to winning labor battles, they go to the core of the question of workers revolution—the need to unite the working class in struggle around its common class interests. As Leon Trotsky noted in the Transitional Program, "strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army."

Crossing a picket line is *scabbing*, pure and simple. Jim C. tries to paint this elementary working-class principle as some outlandish Spartacist invention, pointing to all the workers in commercial buildings who crossed the strikers' lines. Everyone else was doing it, he argues, so do you call them all scabs? As Marxists, we understand that the level of consciousness of the working class is

continued on page 4



WV Photos

Picket lines are the battle lines of the class struggle: 1984 Phelps Dodge copper miners (left) and 1977 Stearns, Kentucky coal miners (right) sand warning to scabs.

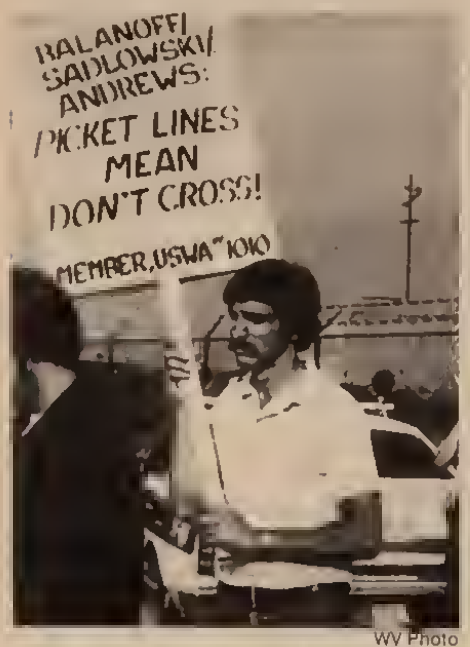
Scabs...

(continued from page 3)

determined in the first instance by the character of its leadership. It is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, with its decades of "informational picket lines," impotent consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns"—and outright strikebreaking—which is responsible for the erosion of understanding within the working class that *picket lines mean don't cross.*

Yet the BT masquerades as an organization which claims to offer an alternative, indeed a revolutionary, leadership for the working class. To justify his treachery, Jim C. pleads that he was only doing what other backward workers did. In fact, the BT & Co. demonstrated less working-class consciousness than even many ordinary, *non-union* FedEx workers, who honored the 32B-32J picket lines despite the fact that they were also not directed against "their employer."

Even the *Wall Street Journal* (17 January) acknowledged during the strike that in the not-so-distant past, as a labor expert they quoted put it, "There used to be families that grew up believing that crossing a picket line is the equivalent



WV Photo

USWA Local 1010 member Keith Anwar, fired in 1979 for refusing to cross a picket line set up by another Steelworkers local.

of pushing an old lady off a curb." The *Journal* recognized the importance of the erosion of picket lines for *its* class, headlining its article, "Declining Power of Picket Lines Blunts New York Maintenance Workers' Strike." And no less a crass business unionist than Local 32B-32J president Gus Bevona—on the last day of the strike, when it no longer meant anything—finally called on "Members of All Unions" to "Please Don't Cross Our Picket Lines." This appeal recalls Oscar Wilde's aphorism that hypocrisy is the tribute vice pays to virtue.

Indeed, until just a few years ago, even bourgeois politicians who were trying to pass themselves off as "friends of labor" knew that you don't cross picket lines. During the 1976 Democratic Party presidential primaries, several of the candidates didn't show up to speak to the Society of Newspaper Editors because they would have had to cross the picket line of the broadcast employees union NABET, then on strike against NBC. In the Spring of 1977, even *King Gustaf of Sweden* refused to cross a picket line of Bay Area Rapid Transit workers in California.

Jim C. raises a bunch of specious arguments to cover his tracks. The *Village Voice* building, a lower Manhattan office building, is like an "industrial park," he claims. What a joke! But even if we were talking about a real industrial park, the BT's line would be an alibi for strikebreaking. In the *maquiladora* "free trade" assembly plants in Mexico, for example, as we have noted, the few strikes that have succeeded are ones where workers from one factory succeeded in *shutting down the entire industrial park* by mass picketing at the entrances.

In fact, Jim C. concedes that "the SEIU would indeed have won the strike in a matter of days if all workers in the affected buildings had stayed off the job in solidarity." But he dismisses this possibility out of hand, calling it a "sympathy strike," just like the bureaucrats do when they want to hide behind the capitalists' laws against "secondary strikes." This isn't a matter of declaring a sympathy strike but a simple matter of honoring picket lines outside your workplace.

In Britain, the BT recently put out a leaflet praising Liverpool dockers who were fired for not crossing a picket line, and calling to "Throw the Scabs Off the Liverpool Docks!" The strikers actually sent delegations around the world to picket ships that had been loaded by scabs in Liverpool. In Newark, as in other ports, longshoremen refused to handle the cargo, respecting the British dockers' picket lines. By Jim C.'s twisted logic, he would have had no principled reason not to cross those lines either.

The one substantive political argument the BT raises in its letter, which could be titled "In Defense of Scabbing," is the claim that a scab is only someone who does "the work normally performed by strikers." This is the retrograde line of the craft-union bureaucrats, who peddle this excuse to justify crossing the strike lines of other crafts. With the BT's line, no strike on the railroads, in construction or the newspaper industry—where the workforces are divided into numerous craft unions—could ever win. Fundamentally Jim C.'s argument is counterposed to the fight for industrial unionism.

The BT's acquiescence to divisions within the working class fostered by the bourgeoisie shows up as well in its revoltingly "color-blind" attitude to black oppression. When Jim C. and his BT pals attended a recent New York SL forum on the "Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation" to defend his scabbing, they had not one word to say about the forum's topic. And this in discussing a strike whose ranks included mostly black, Hispanic and immigrant workers! Nothing new here from an outfit which sneered at our mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan and Nazis as "ghetto" work. Likewise in Canada, the BT capitulates to the Anglo-dominated status quo, calling for a "No" vote in last Octoher's referendum on independence for Quebec.

WV Photo

1981 PATCO strike was betrayed by labor tops who pushed diversionary consumer boycott of airlines while refusing to call out Machinists, Teamsters to shut down the airports.

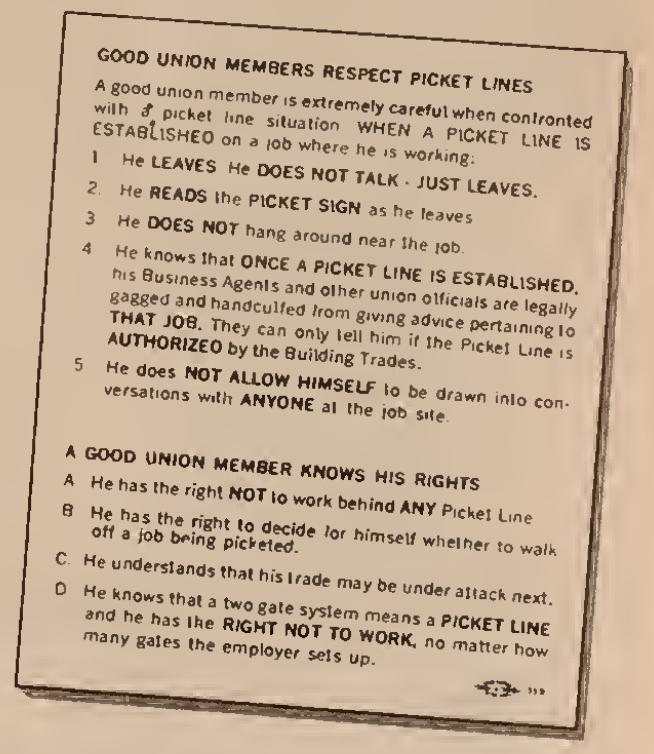
At hottom, the BT tails after the union bureaucracy, whose pro-capitalist politics lead them to degrade *every* working-class principle, resulting in the current devastation of the organized labor movement. This can be seen in the 1981 PATCO strike. In the BT's lying rendition, the striking air traffic controllers set up picket lines "to try to shut down the airports," as well as calling for a (consumer) boycott of the airlines, and the Spartacist League "flouted" this call. In fact, it was the Spartacist League which *uniquely* fought for mass pickets to shut down the airports. The PATCO and AFL-CIO tops *refused* to picket at entrances for Machinists and Teamsters —whose labor kept the airports functioning—fearing that this would mean a confrontation with the capitalist state. (By Jim C.'s logic, they weren't scabbing either, since they weren't working in the control towers!) To cover their betrayal, the bureaucracy substituted the cheap ploy of appealing to passengers outside the terminals not to fly. When his subterfuges are stripped away, Jim C.'s "charge" against the SL is that we refused to buy into the impotent diversionary consumer boycott.

In fact, at a Spartacist League/Britain public class last month, a London BTer acknowledged, "Now it's true that there was no physical picket line at the airport." In other words, the accusation that the SL scabbed on the PATCO strike is just another BT lie. But then, for these sophists the existence of a picket line is irrelevant: "It's not a geographical or physical thing," the London BTers protested. Apparently for the BT, picket lines are metaphysical phenomena, while they readily waltz across the actual "geographical, physical" strike lines.

In fact, picket lines are a very "physical thing": they are the battle lines of the class war. In periods of intensified workers struggles, this is clear to any worker. In bastions of union strength such as the coal fields, for decades a single picket was enough to shut down a pit. And woe to those who tried to cross. As a sign outside a fortified UMW picket station in Kentucky in 1977 read, "Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health." Or as Jack London put it in his famous poem, "The Scab": "No man has a right to scab so long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hang his body with."

The BT is not alone in its predilection for scabbing. Social democrats like the International Socialist Organization regularly cross picket lines. During the 32B-32J strike, the ISO held its "socialist" meetings inside struck facilities. But then again, even during the momentous 1984-85 British miners strike, the ISO's patrons there crowed about their steel worker members crossing miners' picket lines. And one "left" group made crossing picket lines the virtual reason for its existence: the founding issue of the Revolutionary Workers League's paper was devoted to alibiing its strikebreaking in a 1977 University of Michigan campus workers strike.

The intrepid picket line crosser Jim C. blusters that it "may sometimes be the duty of Marxists to risk their livelihoods—or their lives." But not for him, and not now. Unlike such petty-bourgeois dilettantes, Trotskyists take the class struggle seriously. When we call on other workers to honor pickets, we practice what we preach. Several SL supporters lost their jobs because they wouldn't cross the building workers' picket lines during the recent strike. The "Bolshevik" Tendency quitters who were once in our organization might recall the case of steel worker Keith Anwar in Chicago, who was fired in 1979 for respecting picket lines set up by another United Steel Workers local. For the sneering traitors of the BT, this is "self-martyrdom." For communists it is a question of standing with our class. ■



GOOD UNION MEMBERS RESPECT PICKET LINES

A good union member is extremely careful when confronted with a picket line situation WHEN A PICKET LINE IS ESTABLISHED on a job where he is working:

1. He LEAVES He DOES NOT TALK - JUST LEAVES.
2. He READS the PICKET SIGN as he leaves
3. He DOES NOT hang around near the job.
4. He knows that ONCE A PICKET LINE IS ESTABLISHED, his Business Agents and other union officials are legally gagged and handcuffed from giving advice pertaining to THAT JOB. They can only tell him if the Picket Line is AUTHORIZED by the Building Trades.
5. He does NOT ALLOW HIMSELF to be drawn into conversations with ANYONE at the job site.

A GOOD UNION MEMBER KNOWS HIS RIGHTS

A. He has the right NOT to work behind ANY Picket Line
B. He has the right to decide for himself whether to walk off a job being picketed.
C. He understands that his trade may be under attack next.
D. He knows that a two gate system means a PICKET LINE and he has the RIGHT NOT TO WORK, no matter how many gates the employer sets up.

Machinists union card: respecting picket lines is elementary trade-union principle, today flouted by bureaucrats and scab "socialists."

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As Striking Teachers Fight Union-Busting

"Sewer Socialists" Campaign in Oakland

OAKLAND, March 11—The 3,500 members of the Oakland Education Association (OEA) have been on strike for three weeks now. Nearly three out of four students continue to boycott classes in support of the teachers. The teachers' demands for smaller class sizes and higher wages have struck a real chord in this 93 percent minority school district, in a state that has dropped to second from the bottom in per-student spending nationally. This sharp drop in education funding was largely a result of the racist-inspired "tax revolt" Proposition 13 passed in 1978.

The tens of thousands of black, Latino and Asian parents who want the schools to be a place for their kids to get an education have allied themselves with the striking teachers. Desperately needed is a class-struggle leadership that can turn this strike into a fight for quality, integrated public education for all, appealing to the entire labor movement, students and the black and Latino population to join in building pickets lines that can't be crossed. The teachers' strike is an opportunity to wield the labor/minority power that can be used to fight against racist cop terror, vicious anti-immigrant hysteria and the grinding all-sided oppression of workers and minorities under capitalism.

But the strategy of the OEA leadership *accepts* the miserable limits that the capitalist system places on education, playing into the school board's hands by focusing solely on the money spent on the bloated school administration. To that end, the OEA tops are banking on pressuring the Democratic Party city administration to intervene on the strikers' behalf, while pushing a slate of "progressives" to unseat the worst union-haters on the school board. Scandalously, the wretched AFL-CIO bureaucracy has joined hands with the Chamber of Commerce, the school board and the reactionary, pro-Farrakhan Oakland NAACP leadership to denounce and scab on the strike (see "Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!" *WV* No. 640, 1 March).

From "Copwatch" to the School Board?

The strike has drawn unusual attention to Oakland's city council and school board elections, which take place on March 26. A layer of aging New Leftists and "socialist" careerists are using these elections, and the strike, as their opportunity to make it into the "big time" of municipal politics.

The elections take place in the context of increasingly contentious Democratic Party politics, with council member Ignacio de la Fuente positioning himself as the "progressive" challenger to Oakland's current Democratic mayor, Elihu Harris. Oakland's next-door neighbor, Berkeley, has lately reverted to its historically conservative norm, with a new "pro-business" mayor and city administration seeking to wipe out the city's reputation as a haven for radicals. So Oakland, especially the petty-bourgeois Oakland Hills and North Oakland districts adjacent to Berkeley, has become home to a host of reformists seeking to launch their electoral careers. They hope to follow in the footsteps of Sheila Jordan, who as a supporter of the reformist group Solidarity launched her career in bourgeois politics with a 1987 run for Oakland School Board as a Democrat.

The OEA leadership has endorsed a slate of four candidates for School Board, three Democratic Party candidates and one Gerald Sanders, a supporter of the minuscule "Communist Workers Group," a split from the "Bolshevik" Tendency. In his campaign leaflet, Sanders tacks on a call for "an independent party built by working people" which will "fight to bring about a workers government." But these are just rhetorical trappings for Sanders' real program, which is carefully tailored to stay within the bounds of what is acceptable to the pro-Democratic labor bureaucracy, including the standard social-democratic nostrum of "taking money from the corporations" to stop the decline of the schools. Sanders' "program" is so thoroughly reformist and colorblind that it says not one word about the racist assault on immigrants, abortion rights for women, or even cop terror against the Bay Area's black and Hispanic poor and working people.

WV Photo

Strike rally, February 20: Teachers' fight must unite labor with black and Latino poor to smash union-busting and racist cutbacks in Oakland schools.

Moreover, at a campaign appearance Sanders pointedly refused to criticize his Democratic Party slate partners and instead embraced them, saying that if the slate got elected it could effect "immediate changes." It's not surprising that Sanders was endorsed by the main bourgeois daily, the *Oakland Tribune*, whose editors know radical window-dressing when they see it. With nearly *40 percent* of black youth in California caught in the jaws of the criminal injustice system, and with living and working conditions about as bad as they have ever been for the mass of poor, black and immigrant working people in Oakland, left-talking black liberals like Sanders can be of use to the local bourgeois establishment.

In particular, Sanders helps to obscure the necessarily racist nature of capitalism's thugs in blue. For the last several years he has been known around the Bay Area as a spokesman for "Copwatch," a Berkeley organization whose main aim is "reform" of the capitalist police. Sanders, who declared, "We are not anti-police," pushes the dangerous illusion that the enforcers of racist, capitalist rule can be held "accountable." Tell that to the families and co-workers of Aaron Williams, Nathan Cosby, Luke and Raphael Grinage, Jerrold Hall and the scores of other victims of racist police terror in Oakland and the rest of the Bay Area. And Oakland is the birthplace of the Black Panther Party, where Bobby Hutton was gunned down by the cops as part of a racist police vendetta against the Panthers nationally.

"Sewer Socialists" Push Illusions in Capitalist State

Sanders isn't the only pseudo-leftist trying to ride the coattails of "progressive" Democratic Party types into office in these elections. Running for city council in District 1 is Larry Shoup, a supporter of the reformist Committees of Correspondence (CoC). Shoup, endorsed by two Democratic ex-mayors of Berkeley, is running as a candidate of the bourgeois Green Party as well as the Peace and Freedom Party, that halfway house for pro-Democratic Party reformists. The CoC hoped to hit the big time when they fled the reformist Communist Party in 1991, jettisoning the "Communist" label which got in the way of their electoral ambitions and union careers. You won't find a hint of even pale pink in Shoup's campaign, which is indistinguishable from that of any other Democratic Party liberal.

Running for city council at large is Richard Mellor, a supporter of the Labor Militant group and kept "oppositionist" in AFSCME Local 444. Mellor is the only "leftist" candidate to even make a pretense of criticizing "Republican and Democratic big business politicians." But Mellor's campaign is single-mindedly devoted to the reformist proposition that the capitalist state can be made to represent the interests of working people. Mellor offers no other perspective than pressuring the existing pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic labor tops to form a reformist, British-style labor party. Mellor's program, which doesn't oppose the death penalty, or defend abortion rights or immigrants, is scripted not to offend the racist, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

The essence of Mellor's politics, like those of Sanders, can be seen in his attitude toward the enforcers of capitalist state rule. Labor Militant is notorious for its position in favor of bringing cops and prison guards into the labor movement. Mellor's election program calls for "labor/community committees" to "oversee police operations." In his *AFSCME Activist* newsletter, Mellor seems to have a special fondness for the "correctional officers" that the bureaucracy has brought into the union by the tens of thousands. In a recent issue, Mellor sympathetically published the complaints of North Carolina prison guards who were forced to undergo training with one-second doses of the pepper gas they routinely blast at prisoners. Mellor also laments that the "union movement is weakened" by efforts of "correctional officers" in New York to leave AFSCME. Cops and prison guards are the deadly enforcers of this racist, capitalist system—they have no place in the labor movement. Remember George Jackson, shot dead by prison guards at San Quentin!

At times, the Spartacist League has given critical support to working-class parties or candidates who in some way offer a chance to draw a class line against the capitalist parties and class collaboration. But not one of the "leftists" running in the Oakland elections poses a break from bourgeois politics on any decisive question facing the proletariat today. Especially in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, these left tails on the Democratic Party increasingly drop even the posture of a separation from the capitalist parties.

They are more reminiscent of the election campaigns of the right wing of the pre-World War I Socialist Party, represented by the likes of Milwaukee mayor Victor Berger. These "sewer socialists," as revolutionary-minded workers called them, were supporters of the AFL bureaucrats with their narrow craft unionism and anti-immigrant and anti-black racism, who went on to support their own bourgeoisie in the imperialist slaughter of World War I. Of course, the Mellors and Sanders are willing to sell pretty cheap, but then you get what you pay for! ■

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Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Part 2

Mikhail Bakunin—Founder of the Anarchist Movement

by Joseph Seymour

Part One of this article, on "The Origins of Anarchism" and the views of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, appeared in Workers Vanguard *No. 640 (1 March). Part Three will deal with the Paris Commune and the split in the First International.*

While Proudhon's writings were influential among politically active and advanced French workers, he did not strive to become the leader of an organized movement. The anarchist movement as such originated with Mikhail Bakunin in the 1860s. Proudhon was basically a theorist whose views remained fairly consistent over his 25 years as a radical publicist. By contrast, Bakunin was a political adventurer who operated with very different programs in different movements and milieus. Some latter-day anarchists like Sam Dolgoff argue that Bakunin's views and activities before the mid-1860s—which are quite embarrassing for them—have little or nothing to do with anarchism. However, there are important elements of continuity in Bakunin's checkered career.

Mikhail Bakunin was the eldest son of an aristocratic Russian landowner, a man of considerable culture and respect for education but of conventional political views. Typically for a young Russian nobleman, Mikhail was sent to a military academy and upon graduation became a junior officer in the tsarist army. But Bakunin lacked the discipline for a military career and after a few years got himself dismissed from the service. He then drifted into a bohemian existence in Moscow's intellectual circles. There he established friendly relations with Alexander Herzen, the future founder of Russian populism. But Bakunin was in no sense a political radical when in his mid-twenties he left Russia to study philosophy in Germany.

When Bakunin arrived in Berlin in 1840, intellectual life was dominated by the Hegelian Left—its adherents and opponents. This current of democratic-minded intellectuals was being radicalized by the increasingly repressive policies of the new, more reactionary and pietist Prussian king. Fundamentally, the Hegelian Left was an expression among educated German youth of the growing contradiction between the rapid development of bourgeois societies in West and Central Europe and the monarchical regimes derived from the feudal past. That contradiction would soon explode in the Revolutions of 1848.

Bakunin became a member in good standing of the Hegelian Left, his outlook at the time being indistinguishable from mainstream European radicals of the 1840s—the soon-to-be "red '48ers"—except for a penchant for extremist rhetoric. His first writing as a self-declared revolutionary, "Reaction in Germany" (1842), contains the famous aphorism: "The passion for destruction is a creative passion, too."

To his credit, Bakunin became an ardent supporter of the struggle for the independence of Poland, which had been subjugated and divided between the Russian, Prussian and Austro-Hungarian states. The cause of Polish national liberation from the tripartite oppression of the Romanovs, Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs was near and dear to the hearts of virtually all radicals of the 1840s. But for a young Russian nobleman to link the struggle for Polish independence to a democratic revolution within Russia itself was especially significant, not least in the ever-watchful eyes of the tsarist autocracy.

Bakunin as a Left-Wing Pan-Slavic Nationalist

During the epochal year 1848, Karl Marx acted as the leader of an organized group based on a definite program best expressed in the recently published *Communist Manifesto*. By contrast, Bakunin acted as a footloose political adventurer who had scarcely any impact on the momentous events in which he participated. He went from Brussels to Paris, from Paris to various cities in Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire looking for action or fleeing the authorities.

Nonetheless, it was during the revolutionary *annus mirabilis* that Bakunin emerged as a distinct personality on the European left. He did so not as an advocate of anarchism—the basic doctrine of which had already been developed by Proudhon, with whom Bakunin was personally acquainted—but rather as an advocate of a leftist version of pan-Slavic nationalism. He first voiced this program at the Slav Congress in Prague in June 1848 and elaborated it a few months later in a pamphlet, *Appeal to the Slavs*.

To understand pan-Slavism, including its Bakuninite variant, it is necessary to recognize that at this time all the Slavic peoples, except for the Russians, were subject to foreign rule. The Western Slavs (Czechs and Croats) were incorporated in the German-dominated Austro-Hungarian empire. The Southern or Balkan Slavs (Serbs and Bulgars) were under the yoke of Ottoman Turkey. And the Poles were subjugated by two Germanic states and the Russian state of their fellow Slavs.

Pan-Slavism was essentially a right-wing ideology which sought to invest Russian imperialism, especially in the Balkans, with the spurious mission of "national liberation." Bakunin, however, gave pan-Slavism a leftward twist by linking Russian support for the liberation of the Western and Southern Slavs to the establishment of a democratic republic in Russia. Referring to the Slav Congress, his *Appeal* states:

> "[W]e made a strong appeal to that great Russian people which, alone of all the Slavs, has been able to preserve its national existence. We entreated the Russians to give serious thought to what they know only too well—that their nationality and their greatness mean nothing so long as they themselves are not free, so long as they permit their power to be used as a scourge against unhappy Poland and as a perpetual threat to European civilization.
> "This is what we have done and what, jointly with the democrats of all countries, we have demanded: LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY OF NATIONS, within which the Slav peoples, free like these and in fraternal contact with all, but united in a closer alliance among themselves, may soon be transformed into a vast democratic State."
>
> —reproduced in Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy* (1972)

Bakunin was here projecting onto Russia a political and social revolution modeled on the Great French Revolution of 1789, that is, a radical bourgeois-democratic movement based on an uprising of the urban lower classes (centrally the artisan proletariat) combined with a mass peasant revolt. But the Russia of the 1840s had no significant urban bourgeois sector which could initiate and direct a popular revolution against the tsarist autocracy. In their own way, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders (like the Czech Ferdinand Palacky) who organized the Slav Congress in Prague understood this and therefore dismissed Bakunin's notion of a "democratic pan-Slav state" as utopian fantasizing. Except for the Poles, oppressed by the Russian Slavs, the nationalist movements among the Western and Balkan Slavic peoples looked to the tsarist autocracy or the Habsburg monarchy to champion their cause.

Bakunin's *Appeal* concludes with a vague call for social revolution:

> "We need to transform the material and moral conditions of our present-day existence, to overturn, from top to bottom, this decrepit social world which has grown impotent and sterile and incapable of containing or supporting so great a mass of liberty. We must, first, purify our atmosphere and make a complete transformation of our environment, for it corrupts our instincts and our will by constricting our hearts and our minds. The social question thus appears to be first and foremost the question of the complete overturn of society."

From a Marxist standpoint, two things are striking about this passage. First, the

History Today

Mikhail Bakunin first gained prominence as a left-wing, pan-Slavic nationalist in the 1848 Revolutions. His participation in the May 1849 Dresden uprising led to imprisonment for eight years.

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Polish insurgents forge arms to fight tsarist Russian rule in 1863. Bakunin abandoned pan-Slavic nationalism and developed anarchist doctrines following defeat of Polish national uprising.

"we" on whose behalf Bakunin claims to speak are not workers or peasants or even the oppressed and exploited classes as a whole. He is literally appealing to all Slavs of *all* social classes. Secondly, and partly for that reason, Bakunin's call for a social revolution lacks any concrete programmatic content, and is little more than high-flown rhetoric. A constant feature of Bakunin's outlook was an explicit rejection of Marx and Engels' insistence on the laws of history as the basis for elaborating a program for achieving the revolutionary objective. When the historical materialist outlook is rejected, what remains is at bottom moralism in place of a class analysis.

Bakunin's program and views were subjected at the time to incisive criticism by Friedrich Engels in his article "Democratic Pan-Slavism" (February 1849). This polemic is significant primarily because it anticipates the later debate between scientific socialism and anarchism. Engels goes to the heart of Bakunin's worldview: the belief that national and social liberation is basically an act of will which can be achieved in any place at any time and under any economic conditions. Engels explains:

> "There is not a word about the actually existing obstacles to such a universal liberation, or about the very diverse degrees of civilisation and the consequent equally diverse political needs of the individual peoples. The word 'freedom' replaces all that. There is not a word about the actual state of things, or, insofar as it does receive attention, it is described as absolutely reprehensible, arbitrarily established by 'congresses of despots' and 'diplomats.' To this bad reality is counterposed the alleged will of the people with its categorical imperative, with the absolute demand simply for 'freedom'....
> "'Justice,' 'humanity,' 'freedom,' 'equality,' 'fraternity,' 'independence'—so far we have found nothing in the pan-Slavist manifesto but these more or less ethical categories, which sound very fine, it is true, but *prove absolutely nothing* in historical and political questions. 'Justice,' 'humanity,' 'freedom,' etc. may demand this or that a thousand times over; but if the thing is impossible it does not take place and in spite of everything remains an 'empty figment of a dream'." [emphasis in original]

British Museum

While imprisoned in Russia in the 1850s, Bakunin wrote fawning appeal to Tsar Nicholas I (above) to lead national liberation of Slavic peoples.

Today, no less than in 1848, genuine universal freedom, equality and fraternity will require decades of economic development which can be achieved only under a world communist system.

Marx and Engels understood that there was no social basis for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in tsarist Russia at the time. Hence they recognized that, whatever confused notions might exist in Bakunin's head, pan-Slavism could only serve as a cover for tsarist Russian intervention in Central Europe and the Balkans. In fact, just a few months after Engels wrote his polemic against Bakunin, the Russian army in alliance with the Habsburg forces suppressed the bourgeois-democratic government of Louis Kossuth in Hungary.

In one important respect, Marx and Engels' views on the national question during the Revolutions of 1848 were proven wrong by the future course of history. They assessed the aspirations of East European nationalities to national independence according to their ability to consolidate modern independent nation-states favorable to economic development. They distinguished between "revolutionary-democratic" and "reactionary" nations on the basis of whether their national struggle contributed to the European revolutions or impeded it. Like Bakunin, Marx and Engels were adamantly committed to an independent Poland, since the partition of Poland was the cement that bound together the reactionary Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria-Hungary and Russia. But they believed that the Western Slavs (Czechs and Croats) were incapable of an independent national existence and would over time assimilate into the larger German and Hungarian nations.

A later Marxist historian who is highly critical of Engels' views on the Slavic question, Roman Rosdolsky, noted, however, that Marx and Engels were right in assessing the forces in the struggles in 1848-49, commenting that the role played by the "old civilized nations" (Germans, Hungarians and Poles) was "*revolutionary* wholly and overall, while the struggle which the Slavs waged against them benefitted the *counterrevolution*" (*Friedrich Engels und das Problem der "geschichtslosen Völker,"* 1981). Bakunin's hopes for the oppressed Slavic peoples to play a revolutionary role in 1848 were dashed. The Slav Congress which met in Prague in June of that year was split between a radical wing which looked toward joint action with democratic movements in Germany and Hungary and a right wing which sought "autonomy" for the Slav regions within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Sabor (Diet) of the Southern Slavs meeting at the same time in Zagreb was firmly dominated by the right wing which expressed loyalty to the Habsburgs and pledged to remain within the Austrian Empire; only a small minority sought to link their national struggle to the revolutionary struggle against the feudal monarchist regimes.

Although the *Communist Manifesto* anticipated the struggle for power of the proletariat as a class for itself as the only road to the liberation of humanity from exploitation and oppression, Marx and Engels still looked toward the democratic bourgeoisie to play a revolutionary role in bringing economic development to the more backward regions, including by military conquest, as Napoleon's armies had once combatted reactionary and clericalist forces in the areas they occupied. The Revolutions of 1848 demonstrated to Marx and Engels that the bourgeoisie—already fearful of the aroused plebeian masses—would no longer stand on a democratic program of "liberty, equality, fraternity." The defeat of these revolutions thus conditioned Marx and Engels' evolving views on the national question. The prospect of assimilating small nationalities such as the Czechs and Croats in the context of a European-wide social revolution had been removed from the historical agenda.

Over the next decades, Marx and Engels recognized that the conquest and incorporation of more backward regions by more advanced capitalist states would only perpetuate the enslavement of these oppressed peoples as well as of the proletariat of the oppressor nations. In a 10 December 1869 letter to Engels, Marx argued for Irish independence from England and pointed out:

> "*It is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland....* The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland.... The English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland."

Bakunin's Confession to the Tsar

The counterrevolution which swept across Central Europe in mid-1849 found Bakunin in the eastern German state of Saxony. Like Engels in the Rhineland and Baden, he chose to engage in a rearguard action—an uprising in the city of Dresden—against overwhelming military odds. Unlike Engels, Bakunin did not escape safely into exile. He was captured by the Saxon authorities, who turned him over to the Austrians, who after a few years turned him over to the Russians.

Shortly after he was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg in 1851, a senior police official urged Bakunin to confess his crimes to the tsar as if to his "spiritual father." Amazingly, Bakunin did so:

> "My confession to you, as my sovereign, would consist of the following words: Sire! I am entirely guilty before Your Imperial Majesty and before the laws of the fatherland....
> "Yes, Sire, I shall confess to you as to a spiritual father from whom a man expects forgiveness, not here but for the other world; and I pray God that He inspire in me words that are simple, sincere, heartfelt, without contrivance or adulation; in a word, worthy of finding access to the heart of Your Imperial Majesty."
>
> —*The* Confession *of Mikhail Bakunin* (1977)

From the Decembrists of the 1820s to the populists of the 1870s to the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries of the early 20th century, thousands of Russian revolutionaries had faced execution, imprisonment and hard labor in Siberia. Yet with the sole exception of Bakunin, no prominent Russian revolutionary ever addressed an abject personal appeal to the tsar.

But it would be wrong to regard Bakunin's confession as a repudiation of his views or even a hypocritical ploy to secure his freedom or get his sentence commuted to banishment to Siberia. The main theme of this lengthy document is to win Nicholas I to the cause of revolutionary pan-Slavism. In particular, Bakunin appeals to anti-German sentiment supposedly shared by all true Slavs:

> "Hatred for the Germans is the primary basis of Slav unity and mutual understanding among the Slavs. It is so strong, so deeply engraved in the heart of every Slav, that I am even now convinced, Sire, that sooner or later, in some way or another, no matter how political relationships in Europe are defined, the Slavs will throw off the German yoke, and the time will come when there will be no Prussian or Austrian or Turkish Slavs....

Dietz Verlag

Friedrich Engels polemicized against Bakunin's call for a democratic pan-Slavic state as "an empty figment of a dream."

> "You, Sire, know how deep and powerful are the sympathies of the Slavs toward the mighty Russian Tsardom upon whose support and assistance they have relied, and to what extent the Austrian government and the Germans in general have feared and do fear Russian Pan-Slavism!"

The basic program put forward in the "Confession"—a federation of free Slavic peoples—is thus the same as that of the 1848 *Appeal*, only now to be achieved with the aid of the tsarist autocracy rather than by its overthrow.

The "Confession" should not be dismissed as the aberrant act of a desperate man having no relationship to Bakuninist anarchism as a doctrine or a movement. As we have seen, a central premise of anarchism was that there existed a *universal morality* transcending class divisions and conflict. From Bakunin's standpoint, it was just as possible to win the Tsar of all the Russias to a program of national and social liberation as to win an intellectually inclined nobleman, a worker or a peasant. And, in fact, a decade after writing his "Confession," when he had escaped from Russia and was safely domiciled in London, Bakunin *again appealed to the Tsar* to lead the Slavic national liberation movement! In an 1862 pamphlet, *The People's Cause: Romanov, Pugachev, or Pestel*, he stated:

> "We should most gladly of all follow Romanov, if Romanov could and would

continued on page 8

Anarchism...

(continued from page 7)

> transform himself from a Petersburg Emperor into a National Tsar.... We would follow him because he *alone* could carry out and complete a great, peaceful revolution without shedding one drop of Russian or Slav blood." [emphasis in original]

While Nicholas I judged Bakunin's "Confession" to be a "very curious and instructive" document, he decided to keep its author in the harsh confines of the Peter and Paul Fortress. It was not until 1857 that Bakunin, largely through the intervention of his family, was released from prison and banished to Siberia. A few years later he escaped from there, made his way across the Pacific and ended up in London, where he became part of Alexander Herzen's circle. At that time Bakunin's politics were still a leftist—but virulently anti-German—version of pan-Slavic nationalism. In a letter to his sister-in-law in 1862, he wrote: "I am busy solely with the Polish, the Russian, and the pan-Slav cause, and am preaching, systematically and with fervent conviction, hatred of the Germans" (quoted in E.H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* [1937]).

Bakunin's career as a left pan-Slavic

Swen Publications

Alexander Herzen, Bakunin's close colleague, was the founder of Russian populism, a doctrine of peasant-based socialism.

nationalist came to an end with the defeat of the Polish national uprising against the tsarist autocracy in 1863. He tried to reach Poland so he could personally join in the fighting but ended up stranded in Sweden. He and Herzen put out literature calling on Russian democrats to support the Poles and appealing to Russian soldiers not to fire on their Polish brothers. At the same time, Bakunin was highly critical of the aristocratic leaders of the Polish rebellion for opposing an agrarian revolution. His disillusionment with

Collection Bertarelli, Milano

Garibaldi's insurgents land in Sicily in 1860, overthrowing local Bourbon monarchy and launching campaign for unification of Italy. Italian national revolutionaries, soon disillusioned with the conservative unified bourgeois state, became the first adherents of Bakuninism.

Polish nationalism led him to abandon pan-Slavism as well. So Bakunin turned to greener pastures and accordingly devised a new political doctrine.

Birth of the Anarchist Movement

In 1864, Bakunin went to Italy where he became part of the circle around Princess Zoe Obolonsky, a wealthy Russian noblewoman who supported radical causes. It was through the largesse of this Russian princess that Bakunin was able to form his first secret society. Its initial recruits were mainly declassed intellectuals who had been involved in the Italian nationalist movement but had become disillusioned with the conservative, unified Italian bourgeois state arising from the Risorgimento. When Princess Obolonsky moved to Switzerland a few years later, Bakunin followed his patroness there, and he would remain in the Alpine republic, with occasional forays abroad, until his death in 1876.

It was during his Italian sojourn that Bakuninist anarchism originated both as a doctrine and movement. In calling for a revolution in the name of anarchism, Bakunin looked to the *same social strata*—only now located in southern Europe—to which he had previously appealed in the name of democratic pan-Slavism: declassed intellectuals like himself, impoverished artisans and other urban plebeian elements, poor peasants and rural laborers. The 1866 *Revolutionary Catechism*, written for the International Brotherhood, is a clear and cogent statement of Bakunin's program. His subsequent writings are in large measure an elaboration and defense of the positions outlined in this seminal document. The *Catechism* asserts what would become the basic negative principle of anarchism: "the radical dissolution of the centralized, aggressive, authoritarian State, including its military, bureaucratic, governmental, administrative, judicial, and legislative institutions" (reproduced in Dolgoff, *Bakunin on Anarchy*). This document also states the basic positive element of the anarchist program: "The *internal reorganization* of each country on the basis of the *absolute freedom of individuals, of the productive associations, and of the communes*" (emphasis in original). These autonomous communes would freely federate into autonomous provinces which, in turn, would freely federate into autonomous nations.

The society projected by Bakunin is in many ways an attractive one. Unlike the reactionary bigot Proudhon, Bakunin's views on social questions were genuinely libertarian (except for a strong dose of anti-Semitism). He was a believer in sexual freedom and equality: "Religious and civil marriage to be replaced by *free* marriage. Adult men and women have the right to unite and separate as they please, nor has society the right to hinder their union or to force them to maintain it." Bakunin also supported the rights of children against tyrannical and abusive parents, an unusually progressive attitude at the time. As for the aged: "The old, sick, and infirm will enjoy all political and social rights and be bountifully supported at the expense of society." At the end of the day, the communist and anarchist visions of what constitutes a good society converge. The difference—and it is *the* difference—is how to get there.

A careful and critical reading of the *Revolutionary Catechism* in this regard reveals obvious contradictions. Bakunin, whose own nature was highly combative, was not so naive as to think that relations between provinces and nations would always be free of conflict. He therefore projected an international tribunal with considerable powers:

> "The International Tribunal shall have no other function than to settle, without appeal, all disputes between nations and their respective provinces....
> "No federated nation shall make war against another federated country. If there is war and the International Tribunal has pronounced its decision, the aggressor must submit. If this doesn't occur, the other federated nations will sever relations with it and, in case of attack by the aggressor, unite to repel invasion."

An international body which has the power to sanction military action against an "aggressor" nation is in fact a *global super-state*, whatever Bakunin chose to call it, which clearly would possess an organized military force to "repel invasion."

The fundamental contradiction in the *Revolutionary Catechism* and of Bakuninist anarchism in general is between its advocacy of economic equality on a worldwide scale and extreme political decentralization. Even in the 1860s, vast inequalities separated the different regions of Europe, not to speak of the rest of the world. Bakunin's program called for every commune to provide free education for all children. Very good. But how could the children of illiterate peasants in southern Italy or Spain receive the quality of education provided for the children of skilled craftsmen in the relatively prosperous cities of Switzerland or western Germany? Raising living standards in Spain to approach those of Switzerland would require a massive reallocation of world resources toward the less developed countries, which is scarcely consistent with local autonomy and decentralization.

Obviously, some communes and provinces would have far higher living standards than others due to differences in natural resource endowment, industrial development, the cultural level of population, etc. Yet none of Bakunin's numerous writings on anarchist federalism addresses this question. How, for example, will the terms of trade be determined between communes, provinces and nations which export agricultural produce and those which export manufactured goods? Through market competition? Bakunin would have rejected this out of hand. By the decisions of an international tribunal? Then how would such decisions be enforced?

Had the question of overcoming economic inequalities between regions been posed to Bakunin and his followers like Kropotkin, they undoubtedly would have responded: the wealthier communes, provinces and nations will *voluntarily* share their resources with the poorer ones. "Man," prescribed Bakunin, "should wish the freedom, morality, and humanity of all men in the interest of his own humanity, his own morality, and his personal freedom" (*The Knouto-German Empire and the Social Revolution* [1871]). Despite the militant atheism of Bakunin, Kropotkin & Co., classical anarchism was at bottom a secular form of Christian millennialism. On the morrow of the revolution, mankind would undergo a moral regeneration and henceforth live according to the precept: love thy neighbor as thyself. This idealist vision underlay the political conflict between Bakuninist anarchism and the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, which expresses the interests of the modern industrial proletariat.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Elections...

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front-runner Robert Dole is Mr. Balanced Budget, trumpeting his prowess in greasing through devastating cuts in welfare, Medicare and education which will mean millions more poor and minority women and children on the street. Democratic incumbent Clinton has revived his '92 campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it," while deploying thousands more cops and troops to police the Mexican border against Latino immigrants. On the far right wing of this racist pack is Pat Buchanan, whose fascistic demagogy feeds on and fuels the current climate of social reaction fostered by both bourgeois parties.

That the likes of a Buchanan could gain "respectability" and a national platform with his anti-Semitic diatribes and pseudo-populist rhetoric against "New York bankers" is an ominous sign of the times in Clinton/Gingrich's America. He is a certified "America First" racist, who refers to all Mexicans as "José" and trafficks in "yellow peril" anti-Asian chauvinism; who wraps himself in the Confederate flag, the symbol of slavery and banner of the KKK; who champions the anti-abortion "right to life" terrorists and spews venom against gays. Buchanan seeks to make himself a spokesman for an enraged white suburban "middle class," petty-bourgeois layers buffeted by economic insecurity and prey to racist fear-mongering. This is the same phenomenon which is producing a sharp rise in fascistic militia movements and fundamentalist religious frenzy.

While Buchanan echoes the militia shock troops of reaction and fundamentalist fanatics like Pat Robertson in railing against a "New World Order," which they use as code words for their anti-Semitic fantasies of a "Zionist" conspiracy to rule the world, he has gained prominence precisely in the Washington-dictated New World Order proclaimed by fellow Republican George Bush. Behind this is the push to make American capitalism "lean and mean" in the context of heightened interimperialist rivalry following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. While mainstream commentators bewail the Republican right's "isolationist" stance, there is in fact a bipartisan consensus for U.S. domination of the world. When Buchanan and the rest of the Republicans were baying for Cuban blood recently, Clinton obliged by endorsing diehard anti-Communist Jesse Helms' bill to tighten the starvation embargo against the embattled bureaucratically deformed workers state in the Caribbean.

Today most of the left seizes on Buchanan to push their usual "fight the right" rhetoric as an excuse for lining up behind "lesser evil" Clinton, just like they did in '92. In contrast, we Trotskyists fight to break the working class from the partner parties of American capitalism, of which Buchanan is today the most malignant representative. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed and fights for international socialist revolution to expropriate the profit-gouging bourgeoisie—the only way out of capitalist decay and devastation.

Proto-Fascist Buchanan on the Loose

Pat Buchanan's views on race were described by his former boss Richard Nixon as "segregation forever." Buchanan hails the Confederate battle flag as "a symbol of defiance, courage and bravery." He has praised Hitler as "an individual of great courage, a soldier's soldier," denied the mass murder carried out in the Nazis' Treblinka death camp, and castigated Holocaust survivors for "group fantasies of martyrdom and heroics." As Ronald Reagan's chief speech writer, Buchanan pushed for his boss to visit the SS cemetery at Bitburg, Germany in 1985. Two years later, he launched an unsuccessful crusade to prevent the deportation of Estonian Nazi death camp commandant Karl Linnas to the Soviet Union to be tried for his war crimes.

Buchanan's fascistic proclivities have a strongly clerical bent. He was raised in a family which idolized Catholic reactionary demagogues like Spanish dictator Franco, Depression-era fascist radio broadcaster Father Coughlin, and the rabid, red-baiting Senator Joe McCarthy. Today Buchanan's staff is chock-full of white-supremacists like Larry Pratt, a campaign co-chairman who took a leave of absence after his association with the Aryan Nations and Nazi skinheads became known. Little wonder that Buchanan's candidacy is supported by David Duke, the "former" Klan leader and founder of the "National Association for the Advancement of White People." Reminiscent of Hitler's "national socialism," Buchanan vituperates against *Jewish* capitalists like the Goldman Sachs investment firm, and Jewish government officials like Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan.

AP photos

Buchanan's heroes: anti-Communist witchhunter Senator Joe McCarthy and anti-Semitic clerical-fascist Father Charles Coughlin.

While all the candidates are trying to capitalize on anti-immigrant racism, Buchanan rails against black and Latin immigrants as a threat to the "Euro-American" gene pool, and calls for closing the borders to all immigrants for five years. Buchanan's nativist anti-immigrant racism harks back to the mid-19th century "Know Nothings," who answered the first waves of immigration from Central and Southern Europe with virulent anti-Catholic hate-mongering. The Jesuit-trained, Roman Catholic Buchanan may have changed the tune to fit the times, but it wasn't that long ago that the Klan was lynching "Papists" in the American "heartland."

While Buchanan's rhetoric and attempts to mobilize white middle-class resentment are hallmarks of fascism, he is still operating within the framework of bourgeois electoralism. Fascism is a movement of enraged petty-bourgeois and lumpen elements organized as shock troops of capital to smash an insurgent proletariat, pulverizing its organizations, and to terrorize the oppressed. In the U.S., nativist fascist formations like the KKK have at times assumed mass proportions, as in the 1920s, while acting as anti-union goons in the 1930s and auxiliaries to Dixiecrat segregationists during the civil rights era. Wherever they raise their heads, the labor movement in alliance with blacks and all other potential victims of fascist terror must mobilize to stop them in their tracks.

However, as we noted in commenting on Clinton's push for police-state measures in the wake of the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building last April:

> "The U.S. rulers do not presently need to unleash their fascist dogs of war, as the German rulers did with Hitler's storm troopers in the 1930s, because they do not face any real internal challenge to their rule. On the contrary, for the past two decades they have smashed unions, totally impoverished and decimated the inner cities and driven down living standards for the overwhelming majority of Americans...and gotten away with it."
>
> —"Feds Target Everybody," *WV* No. 623, 19 May 1995

While labor struggle is at an ebb, the vast and growing economic disparity between rich and poor is creating conditions for massive social unrest—and also expressing itself in the discontents that fuel nativist racism. If the Buchanan candidacy shows anything, it is that very little separates "mainstream" rightist reaction from outright fascism.

As Ross Perot did in 1992, Buchanan trumpets the anthem of economic nationalism. This is anomalous for a contemporary Republican politician, but it is a conscious appeal to the "Reagan Democrats" who have been alienated by Gingrich's "Contract with America." As the Republican Congress began "balancing the budget" not only by axing welfare, Medicaid and other programs for minorities and the poor, but also by going after Medicare and Social Security, even backward white workers were outraged. Buchanan recognized that the white backlash/tax revolt line had lost much of its potency and credibility. But at this juncture, virtually the entire bourgeois media, Wall Street financiers and captains of industry—as well as dyed-in-the-wool conservatives like Rush Limbaugh and the Heritage Foundation—have said in unison that Buchanan's opposition to international trade pacts is bad for U.S. business.

Even more problematic for the Republicans is the question of abortion. Buchanan is acting as spokesman for the most bigoted and intransigent elements in the fundamentalist anti-abortion right. In the primaries, all the Republican candidates have catered to the Christian Coalition in opposing abortion. But Dole & Co. are well aware that even a majority of people who consider themselves Republicans oppose an outright ban on abortion, and that the 1992 platform's hard anti-abortion stance was a big factor in losing to Clinton. Despite the increasing religiosity and weirdness of American society, it remains the case that most people don't want the government in their bedrooms.

Break with the Partner Parties of Capitalism!

During last year's Machinists strike against Boeing, Buchanan showed up on the picket lines to rail against the aerospace giant for shipping work to plants in China. That this crypto-fascist, a millionaire union-basher who opposes raising the minimum wage, can get a hearing among some backward white workers is a measure of the prostration of the American labor movement under its pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party leadership. The AFL-CIO tops, old and new, have presided over the step-by-step decimation of union gains and decent-paying jobs over the last two decades, during which real wages have fallen by over 20 percent. Pushing for protectionist trade war against Japan and blaming foreign workers (and immigrants) for unemployment here, the Democrats and bureaucrats have provided fertile soil for Buchanan's fascistic ravings.

For the Democrats, the Buchanan candidacy is a blessing in disguise, enabling them to mobilize popular support behind welfare-basher Clinton as a supposed way to fight the "extremist right." An anti-Gingrich, anti-Buchanan "Fight the Right" march has been scheduled for April 14 in San Francisco, endorsed by newly elected black Democratic mayor Willie Brown, the National Organization for Women and Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, with the reformist left clambering over each other to be its "best builders." The popular-front politics of lesser-evilism, which seeks to maintain the status quo with only some minor reforms, cannot address the worsening situation of hard-pressed working people and minorities, which requires a *radical* solution attacking the roots of their deprivation in the capitalist system.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the conditions of black people in this deeply racist country. The impoverished ghetto masses have been deemed expendable by the politicians of both parties. The destruction of unionized industrial jobs has had a particularly heavy impact on the black working class. Higher education is being subjected to a racist purge as affirmative action programs are rolled back across the board. And with the drive to reverse many of the (limited) gains of the civil rights movement, the black petty bourgeoisie is also under heavy fire. Nation of Islam demagogue Louis Farrakhan feeds off despair among the black middle class, while Buchanan exploits the frustrations of the white middle class in the service of racist reaction. Farrakhan's Million Man March last October, far from combatting the all-sided assault on minorities, dovetailed with Clinton/Gingrich's program to blame black people for their own oppression. No wonder the capitalist rulers praised this march for "atonement."

The revival of the labor movement fighting for its own class interests necessarily requires a program to fight for all the oppressed. Unionizing the South cannot even be conceived of without a struggle against black oppression, and specifically against the strikebreakers and lynchers of the Klan. To organize the burgeoning garment industry sweatshops requires a fight for the rights of women and immigrants, including demands for free 24-hour day care and full citizenship rights for all. And this means first of all a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist, die-on-your-knees union bureaucracy which keeps working people chained to their exploiters through the Democratic Party. While new AFL-CIO head John Sweeney is recruiting young activists for a "union organizing" drive this summer, his greater program is for them to rally the ranks to pull the lever for Clinton in November.

In a country where CEOs make *190 times* the average workers' wage, where the president of AT&T was rewarded with a four-fold increase in salary over the last ten years (to over $3 million a year), plus $9 million in stock options last year alone, for handing out 125,000 pink slips, the raw material for an explosion of class struggle is obvious. Penny-ante reformism and Democratic Party liberalism are incapable of ameliorating the conditions which give rise to the likes of a Pat Buchanan. What's needed is a fight for working-class political *power*, for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. A multiracial revolutionary workers party must be built that fights to seize the productive wealth of this society from its greedy, incompetent owners and put it in the service of all. ■

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

The response to the bombings laid bare the true nature of the Israel-PLO "peace" accord of September 1993. We warned at the time that the essence of this "Pax Americana" was that "the PLO will take over the joh of policing the Palestinian masses" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). Today, while unemployment in Gaza reaches *60 percent*, Arafat's Palestinian Authority now has close to *30,000 cops*—fully 70 percent of all its public employees—all to police an "autonomous" area which covers only a portion of the tiny Gaza Strip and a small fraction of the West Bank. In the wake of the bombings, Arafat was summoned to a humiliating late-night meeting where an Israeli general gave him his marching orders, while U.S. ambassador Martin Indyk ranted, "We want more stick and less carrot from Arafat."

Now the *New York Times* (9 March) points to the "unusual level of intelligence sharing and collaboration among the C.I.A., Shin Bet and the Palestinian secret police" in a crackdown against the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas. While Hamas has been singled out as the main target, the crackdown is and has been directed against all opponents and critics of the slavish "peace" accords and the Zionist occupation. In the run-up to the Palestinian council elections in January, Arafat's goons threatened and arrested even dissidents within his own Fatah organization, as well as supporters of the pro-accord ex-Stalinist Palestinian People's Party.

In the last few years, Hamas has managed to capitalize on Arafat's groveling before the Zionist rulers by claiming the mantle of intransigent opposition to the occupation. Hamas and its military arm, the Qassam Brigades, do indeed have a sordid history of sending their supporters out to be "martyred" by carrying out stabbings and other murderous attacks just as likely to be directed against Israeli working people—and Palestinian women and leftists—as against the army and its settler auxiliaries. But Hamas and the Qassam Brigades denied any role in the latest terror bombings. In fact, they have refrained from any attacks for the past seven months, seeking an accommodation with Arafat and hoping to avoid a loss of support among the war-weary Palestinian masses.

Washington Post map

Palestinian "autonomy": impoverished ghettos (black areas) surrounded by Israeli occupation army and armed Zionist settlers.

Reuters

Israeli soldiers attack Palestinian demonstrators last December in West Bank town of Nablus.

Responsibility for the Jerusalem bombings was claimed by a previously unknown group calling itself "The Cells of the Martyr the Engineer Yahya Ayyash—the New Pupils," who said the attacks were carried out to avenge Ayyash's assassination by the Israeli secret police. Ayyash was a Hamas bomb "engineer" who was killed in his Gaza home on January 5 when he picked up a cellular phone implanted with a radio-triggered bomb.

The bus bombings came six weeks after Ayyash's killing, but two weeks after Peres announced new Israeli elections for May 29, as he rode a wave of sympathy generated by the assassination of his predecessor Yitzhak Rabin by a right-wing Israeli. Literally in a matter of hours, Peres' hefty lead over his right-wing Likud opponent Benjamin Netanyahu was wiped out. Several days after the Tel Aviv explosion, amid charges by Arafat that rightist Israeli forces collaborated in the terror bombings, a Palestinian arrested for complicity in the attacks claimed in a TV interview that their purpose was to "work to the benefit of the Likud" and thus to destroy the "peace process."

Whatever Byzantine conspiracies may or may not be going on, it would not he out of character for sections of the Israeli military and secret police to engage in such provocations. The influx of Near Eastern (Oriental) Jewish immigrants in the 1950s was provoked in good measure by Israeli Mossad terror bombings of synagogues and other Jewish institutions in Baghdad and elsewhere. Moreover, it is a fact—only recently noted in the Western press—that *Hamas was set up with the encouragement and support of the Israeli military and secret police.*

Hamas (the acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement) is a wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, a clerical-fascist movement which was founded in Egypt in 1928. During the 1950s and '60s, it became a semi-clandestine right-wing opposition, funded by Saudi petrodollars, to the nationalist Nasser. The Brotherhood spread to the Gaza Strip, which has been under Israeli occupation since the 1967 war. In 1986, the Israeli military governor of Gaza, General Segev, openly admitted that Israel funneled support to the Brotherhood "in order to help create a force that would stand against the leftist forces which support the PLO" (quoted in Graham Usher, "What Kind of Nation? The Rise of Hamas in the Occupied Territories," *Race & Class*, October-December 1995).

Fearing a loss of influence when the *Intifada* uprising broke out in December 1987, the Brotherhood announced the formation of Hamas as its "national liberation" movement. While supporters of Arafat's Fatah and other secular nationalist groups like the PFLP and DFLP and the People's Party were rounded up and arrested by the thousands, Hamas was allowed to function openly, its spokesmen featured on Israeli TV. Hamas was banned only when it began launching attacks on Israeli soldiers nearly two years into the *Intifada*. Even then, as *Race & Class* remarks, Hamas' main activity "was less a national struggle than a vicious social offensive against all manifestations of 'un-Islamic behaviour', especially in Gaza where women were forced to wear the headscarf" (for more detail, see "Palestinian Women and the Intifada," *Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991).

That this outfit can now posture as a militant opposition to the Zionist occupation speaks volumes about the political bankruptcy of the petty-bourgeois Palestinian "left" nationalists. The PFLP and DFLP have virtually collapsed, after first attempting to form a bloc with the Islamic fundamentalists. Meanwhile, Arafat's Fatah has become little more than a Palestinian police force for their Israeli masters.

After two years of "peace" and "autonomy," the plight of the Palestinian masses is today, if anything, worse than it has ever been. Construction of settlements—and highways banned to Palestinian traffic—in the West Bank continues to *increase*. Repeated closures of the Occupied Territories, justified in the name of "security," are aimed at eliminating Israeli reliance on Palestinian labor, while Peres and the Zionist "left" proclaim an apartheid-style policy of "separation of peoples, not territories." One aim of this is to create a cheap, pliant labor force for future U.S./Israeli-financed "industrial parks" in the Occupied Territories; in the meantime, the Palestinians are to starve.

Many Palestinian intellectuals are sharply critical of the PLO's capitulation to Israel and alarmed at the rise of Islamic fundamentalism among the once relatively cosmopolitan Palestinian people. Among the most perceptive is Columbia University professor Edward Said, who resigned from the PLO's Palestinian National Council in 1991 in protest over Arafat's diplomatic maneuvers. In his new book, *Peace and Its Discontents* (Vintage Books, 1996), Said eloquently denounces the new Palestinian Authority as a "kingdom of illusions, with Israel firmly in command" and remarks that "a slave mentality prevails among Arab leaders, for whom a favorable reception in Washington is the summit of their political lives." But, in the final analysis, Said can only throw his hands up in despair, longing for the days of a mythical "Palestinian revolution" and "the secular ideals of liberation and enlightenment."

Yet the current situation is simply the end-product of that earlier era of PLO nationalism. Well aware that it had neither the social nor military power to defeat the Zionist Goliath, the PLO looked for support first to the bourgeois and feudalist Arab regimes and then directly to Israel's imperialist patrons in Washington. And no wonder. These petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalists were themselves striving to become the exploiters of the working people of their "own" nation. This bankrupt program has led not to Palestinian national liberation but to ever more catastrophic massacres and defeats at the hands of both the Zionists and the Arab regimes.

AP

Zionist rulers seized on criminal Jerusalem bus bombing to launch wave of terror against the entire Palestinian population.

It is only the proletariat of the Near East, including the Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel, whose historic interests lie in sweeping away the imperialist-dominated system which has fostered national oppression and fratricide. Particularly in a region of interpenetrated peoples inhabiting the same territory, socialist revolution is the only means of achieving national justice and equality for all the peoples of the region. The Israeli and Arab capitalist regimes, who variously compete and collude with each other in oppression and exploitation, must be overthrown. The key to that lies in the formation of Trotskyist vanguard parties, sections of a reborn Fourth International, which can lead the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

S.F. Cops...

(continued from page 12)

The cops feel they have a green light to continue the kind of murderous rampage they conducted under the last mayor, former police chief Frank Jordan. This included the beating to death by police of a black man, Aaron Williams, outside his home in the Western Addition last June. Another black man, William Hankston, was shot by cops in the back of the head at pointblank range and killed last September as he tried to ride away on a bicycle.

Brown has tried to put a "minority-friendly" face on the SFPD by firing Jordan's police chief and appointing an Asian chief—former SWAT cop Ed Lau—and a black assistant chief, Earl Sanders. On February 12, a "town hall" meeting billed as "Let's Heal the Wounds" was held in the Western Addition where Sanders addressed an audience including many victims of racist police attacks and their relatives. Willie Brown himself put in a grandstanding appearance. Sanders got a standing ovation when he said, "When I take off this uniform and I'm not visibly the assistant chief of police, I know I'm a candidate to be just another n----- beat up by the police" (quoted in the *New Bayview*, 16 February).

For stating a fact known to all present, Sanders was later "called on the carpet" by the police chief and ordered to "go to the stationhouses" to explain himself to cops "upset by the remarks" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 February). But putting black faces in City Hall and at the head of the police does nothing to change the status quo of racist state terror. As Aaron Williams' aunt, Lonette Robinson, bitterly noted at the Western Addition meeting, "We saw the policemen who killed him still working out there on the street.... It's a slap in the face that they're still working, and my nephew is in the cold ground" (*Sun Reporter*, 15 February). Following an FBI "investigation" into Williams' killing, the Justice Department announced none of the guilty cops would face federal civil rights charges.

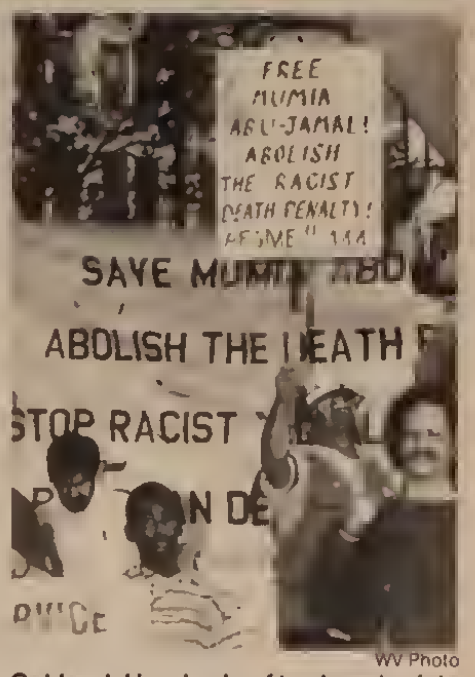
While the March 3 demonstration was in part intended to call for "police accountability," the brutal truth is that the police are accountable only to the ruling class. Demands for civilian review boards promote the liberal illusion that the thugs in blue can be made to answer to those they are paid to brutalize and oppress. Cops are the armed fist at the core of the capitalist state, and racist oppression is their job. Urban police forces have increasingly been given a free hand to maraud at will, often in the name of the "war on drugs"—in reality a war on blacks in particular and minorities, the poor and working people in general. As a speaker for the Spartacist League said at a March 6 press conference held on the steps of the Hall of Injustice to protest the recent arrests:

> "The young people arrested on Sunday got a taste of the program of repression being pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans. The ruling class is throwing a whole generation on the scrap heap, especially blacks. They don't have education or jobs for them, just prisons. We in the Spartacist League are building a revolutionary party to fight for a socialist revolution, for a world in which those who labor will rule, to put an end once and for all to the race-terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms, as part of the fight for a socialist future for us all." ■

Vote No on California Death Penalty Props 195 and 196!

SAN FRANCISCO—California governor Pete Wilson, together with organizations of prosecutors, police and prison guards, has placed two initiatives on the March 26 state ballot which would further expand the number of death-penalty offenses on state law books. Propositions 195 and 196 would add three more to the existing *19* "special circumstances" calling for execution in murder cases, most notably for murders committed during carjackings and drive-by shootings. These measures would give a further racist twist to the grisly apparatus of legal lynching by focusing on crimes which are "special" only in that they are overwhelmingly crimes occurring in the ghetto and barrio. The state is deliberately seeking out blacks and Latinos to kill.

State repression has been escalating throughout the U.S., with the "Golden State" in the vanguard. Since 1980, the state's prison population has soared from 23,000 to 134,000, with 18 new prisons built. A recent survey showed that in California *40 percent* of young black men are caught "in the system" of capitalist "justice"—the highest proportion in the country—compared to 5 percent of young whites. A new study reports that while blacks are only 7 percent of the state's population, they make up 18 percent of those arrested, 32 percent of prison inmates and 43 percent of those sentenced under the new "three strikes and you're out" law. California already has nearly 450 people on death row—more than any other state—the majority of them black and Latino. The death penalty is an exercise in naked state terror against the oppressed, and in this deeply racist country it embodies the capitalist system's impulse toward genocide.



WV Photo

Oakland: Hundreds of trade unionists rallied last August for Mumia Abu-Jamal and against the racist death penalty.

Vote no on Props 195 and 196! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 12)

Swilly bragged about the killing.

Others speaking out at the press conference included Wesley Swearingen, the former FBI agent who exposed the feds' destruction of wiretap transcripts proving that Pratt was, in his words, "set up"; and Emory Douglas, one of six former Panthers who have come forward in recent years as alibi witnesses; and the mayors of Compton and Pasadena, California.

Pointing out evidence from the new legal brief, attorney Hanlon referred to a 1972 handwritten note from a policeman to Richard Kalustian, the D.A. who prosecuted Geronimo and is today an L.A. Superior Court judge, which stated, "It all began with the FBI." The context of the racist frame-up of Geronimo was the expansion of FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's sinister Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), a murderous war against the Black Panther Party and other radical groups in which dozens of Panthers were killed. Many more were ensnared in racist frame-ups and sent to prison for years. Among them were Mumia Abu-Jamal, who as a teenager was a leading member of the Philadelphia Black Panthers and who now sits on Pennsylvania's death row after being framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philly cop.

In December 1969, Chicago police gunned down Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their sleep. Four days later, the LAPD, with its Criminal Conspiracy Section (a special anti-Panther hit squad), made their move on Geronimo, who had been targeted for "neutralization" because he was an effective and well-known Panther leader. Over 140 cops launched a five-hour, middle-of-the-night attack on L.A. Panther headquarters. In his remarks at the press conference, Leo Branton, a retired attorney who in 1971 had represented the Black Panthers, described the cop assault as worse than anything he had seen as an infantryman in World War II. Geronimo escaped the bullets fired at his bed only because he slept on the floor due to spinal injuries he received in Vietnam. It was after this botched attempt to assassinate Geronimo that the LAPD and FBI cooked up their scheme to frame him up for an unsolved murder, part of the na..onwide plot to exterminate the Panthers.

Swearingen's book, *FBI Secrets: An Agent's Exposé* (South End Press, 1995), lays out the history of the FBI's murderous plots against young black militants. He writes that "after witnessing twenty years of FBI wrongdoing," he was not surprised to learn that Geronimo "was framed for murder" as "a target of COINTELPRO." Swearingen tells of no less than *three* sets of FBI wiretaps (by the Oakland, San Francisco and L.A. Bureau branches) on the Panther offices which proved that Geronimo was in Oakland—400 miles away—at the time of the Santa Monica murder.

Swearingen describes an April 1972 meeting of the FBI's Los Angeles "racial squad" to discuss the frame-up of Geronimo, where a supervisor explained how the LAPD would not tell the jury that the victim's husband had "identified at least three other suspects before he identified Pratt." The key government witness in the 1972 trial, Julius Butler, repeatedly perjured himself on the witness stand. Suppressed by the prosecution and unbeknownst to the jury was the fact that Butler, a former L.A. county sheriff's deputy, had been informing for the FBI and LAPD as a member of the Panthers. (Two former LAPD officers who were intimately involved in the frame-up have stated that Butler was an informant as early as 1966.) At the same "racial squad" meeting, the supervisor noted that the FBI would "close our informant file on Butler during the trial so that Butler can say he is not an FBI informant."

Other Panthers could have testified at the trial that Pratt was in Oakland with them on the day of the Santa Monica killing but did not do so because of what they now realize was COINTELPRO-exacerbated antagonism between opposing wings of the Black Panther Party. It was only after Geronimo spent two decades in prison that various former Panthers, including Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, came forward to make statements backing up Geronimo's alibi.

In the past two years, Geronimo has received increased international attention and media coverage. In 1994, a FOX TV series relying heavily on McCloskey's research and other sources compellingly detailed the proof of his innocence. Many civil rights and labor organizations have taken up the call to free Geronimo. At the time of Geronimo's last parole hearing in 1994, two Los Angeles SEIU locals organized a spirited protest outside D.A. Garcetti's office. This union, with a largely black and immigrant membership, has suffered brutal police attacks itself in its campaign to unionize low-paid workers in L.A. Other unions representing millions of workers have come out for Geronimo, including the SEIU International, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, California Teachers Association, Chicago ATU transit workers and others.

Geronimo ji Jaga is the victim of a real capitalist state conspiracy. The key to the fight for his freedom, and that of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all other victims of the racist "justice" system, is to wage a *class* fight, mobilizing the unions in alliance with black and Latino organizations and all opponents of ruling-class repression. Both Geronimo and Mumia are imprisoned because of their political beliefs, because they are advocates of the poor and oppressed. In taking up such struggles, the labor movement can gather strength for battle against the capitalists.

As Partisan Defense Committee Counsel Valerie West remarked, "While we must pursue all available legal channels to free Geronimo, it is the organized strength of the working class that has the power to free Geronimo. We cannot rely on the courts which have rubber-stamped every effort by Republican and Democratic governments to erect a wide array of police-state measures."

Demonstrations for Geronimo are being planned. For more information, call the PDC in Los Angeles, (213) 380-8239, or Oakland, (510) 839-0852. An intensified campaign of publicity and protest of workers, students and minorities is necessary to smash this frame-up and free Geronimo ji Jaga! ■

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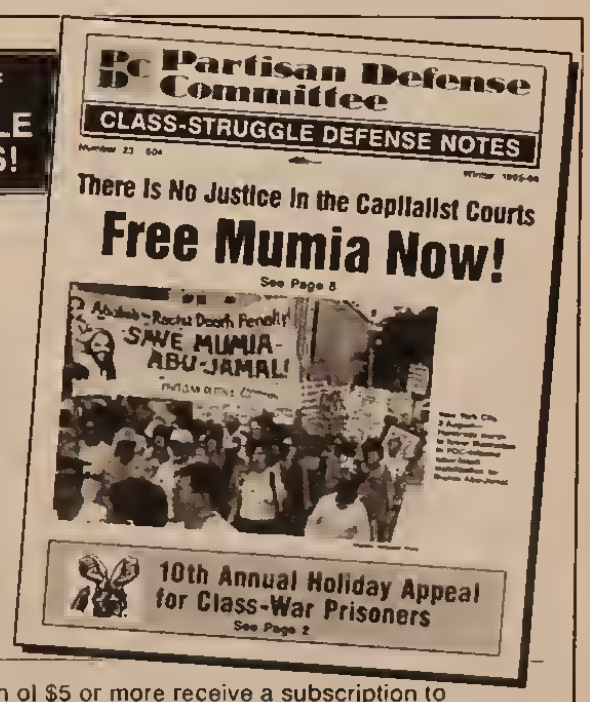

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Hearing March 28 for Former Black Panther

Free Geronimo!

Late last month, Los Angeles Superior Court judge James Bascue ordered L.A. district attorney Gil Gareetti to appear in court on March 28 to respond to a *habeas corpus* petition filed on behalf of former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). The order came just two days after Pratt's attorneys, Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon, filed the papers to overturn his conviction for a murder the government knows he did not commit.

On February 26, a crowd of a hundred journalists and enthusiastic supporters of Geronimo's fight for freedom jammed a Los Angeles press conference held to announce the filing of the petition. Cochran, who was Pratt's lawyer at his 1972 trial, said Geronimo is "a man being held in prison because of his political beliefs, one of the longest held political prisoners in the United States." Geronimo has been imprisoned for more than 25 years, the victim of a conspiracy between the FBI and the L.A. Police Department which framed him up for the 1968 murder of school teacher Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica.

Geronimo has been denied parole 13 times because he has refused to bow before his captors and admit to a crime they know he did not commit and to renounce his dedication to the cause of black liberation. This principled fighter for justice has endured relentless persecution and harassment in California's prison hellholes, including punitive transfers far away from family, lawyers and supporters. A federal court jury found in 1981 that Geronimo spent eight years in solitary confinement in retaliation for his political associations and beliefs. At a 1987 parole hearing, the D.A.'s representative summed up the state's argument for why he should be denied parole, saying that he "is still a revolutionary."

Muwakkil/L.A. Sentinel

Jonathan Eubanks

February 26: Attorney Johnnie Cochran (at podium) announcing new appeal to overturn racist political frame-up of former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt).

At the February 26 press conference, Jeanne Hamilton, a juror in the 1972 trial, spoke movingly of the state's suppression of evidence in their railroading of Geronimo:

> "Never, ever in our discussions did we ever talk about the FBI. We had no clue as to their involvement.... The jury was never informed that Mr. Olsen [the victim's husband] had made three previous eyewitness identifications [of other suspects]. The jury was never informed that the FBI had a COINTELPRO program and targeted Mr. Pratt for 'neutralization.' The jury was never informed that the FBI had wiretapped the Oakland and Los Angeles Black Panther headquarters and had documented evidence that Mr. Pratt was in Oakland at that time. The jury was never informed that the FBI activities had caused a split in the Black Panther Party resulting in members being forbidden to come to Mr. Pratt's defense. And lastly, the jury was never informed that Julius Butler [the state's key witness against Geronimo] was an FBI informant.... If we had known these facts there is no doubt in my mind that we would not have reached a guilty verdict."

Lay minister Jim McCloskey of Centurion Ministries detailed some of the evidence from his 1992-93 investigation into Geronimo's frame-up, centrally the identity of the likely murderers of Caroline Olsen, Larry Hatter and Herbert Swilly. The two, now dead, were petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party and associates of the cop agent Julius Butler. Four of their childhood friends have stated that Hatter and

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Willie Brown's Cops Bust S.F. Protesters

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 3, police here arrested some 130 protesters against police brutality who were demonstrating to mark the fifth anniversary of the vicious racist beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles cops. Police spokesmen lied that the protesters were arrested for ignoring "repeated warnings not to block traffic." In fact, according to Keith McHenry of Food Not Bombs, which helped organize the protest along with Copwatch and other groups, the protesters were marching in a police-designated lane on their way to the "Hall of Justice" downtown when they were rushed by the cops, surrounded and arrested *en masse*, including even those on the sidewalk.

In a similar incident last July, nearly 300—including five children—were arrested at a march in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the renowned black journalist and political prisoner on Pennsylvania's death row. Charges of "blocking traffic" are a transparent ruse to harass opponents of the SFPD's deadly racist violence. The mass arrest on March 3 is an outrageous and arrogant attempt to silence blacks, Latinos, homeless people, striking workers and anyone else in the cops' cross hairs. We demand: *Drop all the charges now!*

It has been only two months since Willie Brown took office as the city's first black mayor, with the full backing of the city's union bureaucrats and of self-proclaimed "leftists" such as the Communist Party and the Committees of Correspondence. We warned against any support to this capitalist politician, pointing out how he pitched himself as a "progressive" to blacks, Latinos and trade unionists, while simultaneously pursuing—and receiving—the endorsement of the racist Police Officers Association and big downtown moneybags like Walter Shorenstein by running a "law and order" campaign (see "S.F. Labor Tops Back Black Front Man for Capitalist Rule," *WV* No. 633, 17 November 1995).

WV Photo

Rally at SF Hall of Justice March 6 to protest arrests of over 100 demonstrators against police brutality.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 642 — 29 March 1996

Racist Furor over Bronx D.A.

Clinton, Dole: Death Penalty Bloodlust

Once again, the presidential election campaign is marked by a vile outcry for racist "law and order" by capitalist politicians. In 1988, Republican George Bush brandished the image of black convict Willie Horton as a weapon against Democrat Michael Dukakis. Four years later, Bill Clinton trumped Bush by personally presiding over the execution in Little Rock, Arkansas of Ricky Ray Rector, a brain-damaged black man. A campaign spokesman boasted that Clinton was "the only candidate in the race who has carried out the death penalty." Now, in the lead-up to the '96 elections, Democrats and Republicans are screaming for the execution of "cop killers," focusing their racist venom on heavily minority New York City.

On March 21, Republican New York governor George Pataki imperiously removed black Bronx D.A. Robert Johnson from prosecuting a case involving the killing of a white cop the previous week. Johnson had refused to bow to a racist outcry to go for the death penalty against the cop's alleged killer. That same day, Clinton issued a public ultimatum that NYC federal judge Harold Baer reverse a supposedly "anti-cop" ruling or face the consequences. Two days later, Republican frontrunner Robert Dole, touring the death chamber at San Quentin, ranted against "liberal judges" and screamed for "swift justice" against death row inmates.

Pataki's 1994 victory over liberal Democrat Mario Cuomo led directly to the restoration of the death penalty in New York last year, setting off a furious search for a test case. When NYPD cop Kevin Gillespie was killed on March 14 in the crossfire during a wild nighttime shootout with three Hispanic men following a car chase along the Bronx's Grand Concourse, the pro-death politicians had the bloody shirt they were looking for. Pataki and New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani rushed to the TV cameras to demand a death penalty indictment. The case was also tailor-made for a showdown with the state's only black D.A. When the new law was signed last March, Johnson outspokenly declared his "intention not to utilize the death penalty provisions of the statute."

Gillespie's funeral at a Catholic church on Long Island's south shore was

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WV Photo

Protest outside the Bronx courthouse against NYPD executions of Anthony Rosario, Hilton Vega Jr. and others, July 1995. Partisan Defense Committee says: Struggle against police brutality and the racist death penalty are part of the same fight.

Bureaucrats' Sellout Squanders Union Power

Two-Week Parts Strike Shuts Down GM

CHICAGO, March 25—After a 17-day strike, during which they brought General Motors' North American empire to a grinding halt, some 3,200 workers at two brake manufacturing plants in Dayton, Ohio returned to work yesterday. By striking the Dayton plants, which produce 90 percent of the brake parts for GM's North American production, the union took advantage of the auto bosses' policy of "just in time" delivery, which eliminates the cost of stockpiling parts by having small quantities delivered as needed. This method is based on the assumption that no significant strikes take place.

A key issue in sparking the strike was GM's intention to "outsource" the production of antilock braking systems for some car models, sending orders to the non-union South Carolina plant of the German company Robert Bosch. This continues the job massacre at General Motors, which

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AP

Striking workers in Dayton, Ohio display solidarity message from Michigan UAW members.

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Freedom for the SUTAUR 12!

Release Leaders of Mexico City Bus Drivers Union!

MEXICO CITY—With a spectacular police deployment, the Mexico City government violently evicted former Ruta 100 bus workers from the city's central square on March 6 and 7. The workers were occupying the Zócalo demanding a resolution of their conflict and release of their 12 jailed leaders of the independent SUTAUR union. Union spokesmen reported that over a dozen workers were hurt during the police attack, including one who was gravely injured when cops threw him from the roof of SUTAUR's own bus. The cops' fury was also aimed at TV cameramen and photographers covering the rally, as *La Jornada* reported the following day.

Espartaco

Militant transit workers march in Mexico City, January 1995. Three months later, government fired all 13,000 bus company workers.

The struggle of the SUTAUR workers has already lasted eleven months. Held behind bars as political hostages by the regime of Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo, the union leaders are facing a slew of charges and sentences of more than 12 years' imprisonment in a typical "justice Mexican-style" frame-up intended to demoralize and divide the combative ranks of this union. Since April of last year, when the government declared the Ruta 100 bus network "bankrupt," SUTAUR has faced a violent union-busting drive whose objective (besides destroying this union) is to send a clear message threatening all workers and oppressed who seek to resist the starvation plans and reprivatizations that the Mexican government is imposing with bloody force.

In 1981, public transport in Mexico City became a state-owned corporation. Ruta 100's vast network of bus service and the Metro subway system represented a key element sustaining the battered livelihoods of millions of workers, who rely on it to get to work. But with the imperialist plunder of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), the government accelerated the sell-off of all state-owned enterprises and social services. Several powerful financial groups, hated by the masses who refer to them as the "bus octopus," decided that the time had come to grab back the juicy spoils of public transport and "disappear" Ruta 100. The regent (mayor) of Mexico City, Oscar Espinosa Villareal, was put in charge of the judicial and police campaign to eliminate the powerful bus drivers union that was the one immediate obstacle to privatization of transport. As a result, all 13,000 bus drivers and workers were thrown out of work (see "Mexico City: Union-Busting at Gunpoint," *WV* No. 621, 21 April 1995).

When Ruta 100 was suddenly declared bankrupt last April 9, Mexico City woke up under a virtual state of siege. Thousands of cops and riot police aided by helicopters took control of Ruta 100's depots, workshops and centers of operation in order to prevent furious protests by its workers and the population. The government hired scabs and buses began operating under police escort. There were confrontations and injured workers. To frighten and demoralize the workers, they proceeded to violently arrest their main leaders, among them the union's legal adviser, Ricardo Barco. The other jailed SUTAUR leaders currently in the Reclusorio Oriente prison are: Bavino Camacho Barrera, Ernesto Avila Velázquez, Eduardo Hernández Quiroz, Cristóbal Flores de la Huerta, Adalberto Loza Gutiérrez, Filemón Ponce Ceron, Octaviano Sánchez Palma, Marcos del Razo López, Jorge Núñez Carrasco, Hilario Salvador Caravantes Cisneros and Eduardo Jáuregui Santos. The Grupo Espartaquista de México demands: Freedom now for the SUTAUR 12!

Both the judicial farce of declaring a state-owned public service "bankrupt" followed by the unleashing of police thugs against this union show clearly that working people and the oppressed will never get the justice they deserve through the capitalist courts. Last June, a magistrate in charge of issuing orders to arrest the SUTAUR officials, Abraham Polo Uscanga, refused to do so because he considered the accusations absurd. For this rare act of personal honesty, he was seized and shot to death in his own office. (The government tried to pass it off as a suicide, even though he was killed with *two* bullets to the head.) Since then, the judicial machinery has been churning out charge after charge against the 12 jailed leaders to pressure the union into accepting a miserable settlement which would leave them with two to four routes of the former Ruta 100.

Meanwhile in the southern state of Chiapas, tens of thousands of Mexican army troops are still besieging the Zapatista Indian rebels in their rain forest redoubts two years after their uprising on New Year's Day 1994. On March 21, hundreds of police attacked peasants occupying estates in Chiapas, leading to a day-long gun battle in which three peasants were killed. In the Gulf Coast state of Tabasco, the capitalist rulers are launching a drive to throw into jail for years those who have been fighting against auctioning off the state-owned petroleum company PEMEX and its genocidal contamination of the local environment. At the same time, the liberal magazine *Proceso* (12 February) recently made public a secret document describing a massive police operation to launch an even greater witchhunt against government opponents if public discontent explodes.

It's urgently necessary for the working class and the millions of oppressed to mobilize in powerful mass actions to stop this planned repression and secure the rescue of the hundreds of fighters for social justice from the dungeons of the bourgeoisie, as well as impoverished *campesinos* and indigenous peoples who oppose NAFTA's rape of their already slim existence. For more than six decades, Mexico's bourgeoisie has kept the millions-strong proletariat in thrall by smashing or buying off every attempt to break the stranglehold of "unions" directly controlled by the ruling capitalist PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). Forging a revolutionary workers party that fights for socialist revolution is the urgent task, and the vehicle the powerful Mexican proletariat needs to free itself from the chains of the PRI-government and its corporatist labor bureaucracy.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers and trade-union locals to send donations for the defense of the embattled SUTAUR workers and their leaders. Send the urgently needed donations by international wire transfer to:

Bank: Banamex
Account: 760878-6
Branch: 566
Names: Emilio Krieger *or*
Jesús González Schmal

TROTSKY

LENIN

On Revolutionary Authority

With the dramatic collapse of Stalinism, leading to capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, anarchism has regained a certain currency among radicalized youth. Stalin and his heirs perverted the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat (a workers state) to justify the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy on the basis of a collectivized economy. In his classic anti-anarchist polemic, "On Authority," written in the aftermath of the 1871 Paris Commune and its bloody suppression by the French bourgeoisie, Friedrich Engels explained why the political rule of the proletariat is a necessary transition to a classless and stateless society.

All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

—Friedrich Engels, "On Authority" (March 1873)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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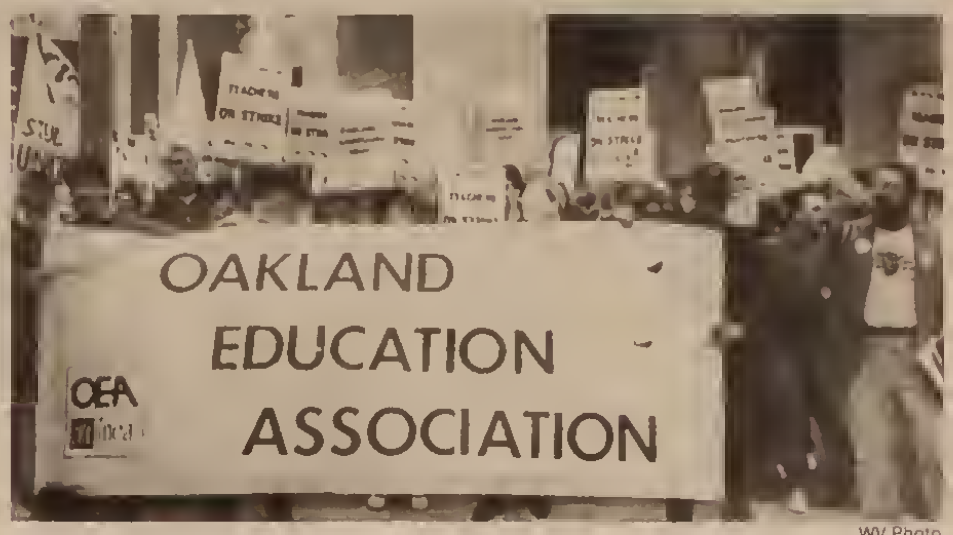
Oakland Teachers Strike Sold Out

OAKLAND, March 25—After more than a month on the picket lines, Oakland teachers reluctantly voted on March 19 to go back to work under a new four-year contract that caved in on the two key issues of the strike: classroom size and wages. Although the strike faced mounting hostility from the ruling class, with both the mayor and state school officials threatening strikebreaking injunctions, and despite attempts by the school board to play off the black ghetto against the integrated teachers union, the strikers won widespread support from poor, minority and working-class parents. But the leadership of the Oakland Education Association (OEA) never sought to mobilize the power of labor for an all-out fight, and the rest of the Bay Area labor chiefs shamefully stabbed the strikers in the back.

When they walked out on February 15, the 3,500 members of the OEA had been working without a contract for almost two years and without a pay raise for five years! What gave the strike broad popular support was the union's demand for smaller class sizes in this heavily minority district where brutal cutbacks in public education have hit hard, cramming more primarily poor, black, Latino and Asian students into decrepit classrooms with inadequate supplies. On this vital question the strike settlement produced a deep sense of betrayal on the part of teachers and parents alike.

The last few years have seen teachers strikes throughout the state, in response to mounting attacks by the racist ruling class on public education. California, which once touted itself as "the education state," is now 48th out of 50 in spending per pupil; heavily minority districts in the miserably poor inner cities, stripped of assets, can scarcely educate anybody. California is leading the charge against affirmative action, while the "war on drugs" launches brutal cop terror against black and Latino youths. And in the Clinton-Gingrich-Buchanan immigrant-bashing frenzy, Congress is passing laws to kick immigrant children out of the schools altogether.

This strike could have and should have sparked a mobilization of integrated union power on the picket lines and in the streets in defense of the embattled black, Latino and Asian population and for the right to a free quality integrated education for all. To do so requires breaking out of the constraints imposed by the capitalist rulers and raises the need to sweep away their entire rotten system. Instead, the bureaucratic misleaders of the Oakland labor movement accepted from the start the framework of a supposed "budget crisis," which is in fact a cutback offensive aimed at all working people, particularly minorities. In this one-sided class war, the rulers always have money for building prisons, but never a dime for teachers and schools.



WV Photo

Teachers rally in downtown Oakland, February 20. Strike won popular support, despite vicious race-baiting campaign against the union, but local labor bureaucracy stabbed strikers in the back.

At the OEA's contract vote meeting on March 19, many teachers told *Workers Vanguard* that they hated this contract, but saw little hope for victory given the way the strike was being run. The OEA leaders kept the picket lines feeble throughout, with no attempt to mobilize mass pickets to stop the scabs. While the OEA considers itself a "professional association" and is not affiliated to the AFL-CIO, about 300 teachers also belong to the Oakland branch of the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Most non-teacher employees belong to AFL-CIO unions. Yet scandalously, *the Alameda County Central Labor Council (CLC) refused to sanction the teachers' picket lines and its affiliated unions encouraged their members to cross them, and the backstabbing AFT officials likewise openly supported scabbing (for example, instructing adult education teachers to cross the lines).*

Adding insult to injury, at the contract vote meeting, the president of the AFT local showed up with an anti-strike leaflet brazenly announcing that if only the OEA merged with them, teachers could "take full advantage" of their CLC affiliation. This has all the subtlety of a mafia protection racket!

For their part, the OEA tops never made any serious appeal to other unions to respect the picket lines, much less enforce the basic union principle that picket lines mean don't cross. At a March 13 school board meeting, CLC head Owen Marron blocked with the bosses in demagogically asserting that the teachers' demands would have to come at the expense of other workers. Earlier, OEA officials stated that "the hiring hall mentality" would have to go, a slur aimed at the non-teacher unionists. Thus, desperately needed united labor action was sabotaged, and the support of Oakland parents squandered, by different bureaucrats squabbling over who is going to get shafted.

Instead of mobilizing for hard class struggle, the OEA tops sought to put a "friendlier" face on the local overseers of education cutbacks by backing a slate of three Democrats and one fake-leftist in the school board elections (see "'Sewer Socialists' Campaign in Oakland," *WV* No. 641, 15 March). OEA president Ben Visnick cultivates the image of a socially conscious "progressive," and the union leadership draws around it a motley collection of aging ex-lefties and rad-lib types who eagerly jumped on the electoral bandwagon in order to play in the Democratic Party sandbox.

The sellout contract negotiated by OEA officials was pushed through with a vote of 1,043 to 330, but only after a bitter debate in which a section of the membership expressed anger at the terms. The pact includes only token class size reduction "goals"—contingent on taking funds from other programs, like desegregation—little better than those the district offered (and the union turned down) two weeks earlier. Maximum size for selected kindergarten classes is projected to go from 27 pupils per teacher to 26 next year and 24 two years later. Even smaller reductions were made for other elementary grades and none at all for middle and high schools.

Despite their rhetoric demanding the district "chop from the top"—cutting back the bloated administrative bureaucracy—in the end the union tops accepted the district's parameters of what was "available" for a wage package, essentially deciding who of their own members would get jobbed. Veteran teachers at the top of the pay scale will get about a 15 percent wage increase ($7,091) through the end of next year, while recently hired teachers will be getting 2 percent ($548) and preschool workers (already the lowest paid) and psychologists will receive almost nothing but cost-of-living increases. The latter, along with counselors, will have increased caseloads.

Demands for pay raises retroactive to 1994 were dumped and even the meager $500 school supply stipend, which teachers often supplement out of their own pockets, was taken away. For many of the strikers, there will be no raise until next year. And a number of teachers at the ratification meeting complained that they would be getting less than the raises reported by the OEA. It's no wonder school superintendent Carolyn Getridge (known as "Get Rich" on the picket lines) hugged OEA president Ben Visnick at the press conference announcing the settlement, which was rushed through ratification to get the teachers

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Hands Off Bolivian Leftists and Labor Leaders!

The declaration printed below from our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México protests the arrest of left activist Juan Pablo Bacherer in La Paz, Bolivia. While Bacherer has now been freed from jail, he is still facing trial. The La Paz Center for Documentation and Information informs us that a number of other university activists have been detained, and a frame-up trial is pending against Lucio González, Secretary of International Relations for the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation).

Also jailed and facing serious charges is Dr. Manuel Morales Dávila, a journalist for *Tribuna de los Trabajadores* (Workers Tribune) who is being persecuted for denouncing the government's privatization plans as "treason." The current anti-labor crackdown recalls last year's state of siege—imposed to enforce the International Monetary Fund-dictated austerity programs of Bolivian president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada—and the vicious state persecution of Vilma Plata and other striking teachers' leaders.

In response to protests against planned privatization of Bolivia's oil industry, as well as the "unlimited general strike" called by the COB on March 18, the army has now occupied the nation's oil fields, while police use tear gas and further arrests to break up protests in the streets of the capital.

Immediate Freedom for Juan Pablo Bacherer!

In response to the mobilizations of university students and professors against the projected "educational reforms" launched by the Bolivian government, on February 29 the police of this South American country detained Juan Pablo Bacherer, a militant of the Oposición Trotskista group and professor at the University of San Andrés in La Paz, together with another university activist and member of the same organization. After being brutally beaten, both were let go hours later. The following day, an order was issued for the arrest of Bacherer on charges of "inciting crime" and "instigating students," and he was again arrested.

This clear example of political persecution is no isolated occurrence but part of a repressive assault by the Bolivian bourgeoisie in response to recent mobilizations by unionists, peasants and students. Thus, after declaring a state of siege throughout the country in the spring of 1995 to spike a general strike, this past January the Bolivian government declared a state of siege in the states of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, intended to contain social protests brought on by the rise in fuel prices and its effects on the prices of basic goods. Meanwhile, on March 12 the government warned it would undertake "legal action" to prevent workers' discontent from leading to a new general strike which, according to statements by the COB, is called for March 18.

Recently, attempts to impose "educational reform" have been accompanied by repression from Mexico and Venezuela to Bolivia and Argentina, where last month police savagely attacked students in the city of La Plata. To defeat these attacks by the bourgeois governments, which are acting under orders from the International Monetary Fund, what is required is an internationalist struggle centered on the working class of the entire continent. As we said in our Spartacist statement "For International Working-Class Action Against Bolivian State of Siege" (25 April 1995): "We call on working-class organizations and defenders of democratic liberties around the world to join in protesting the Bolivian government's dictatorial measures and assault on the workers movement." *Immediate freedom for Juan Pablo Bacherer! Drop all charges against him! Stop the rightist repression against left-wing militants, unionists, peasants and university students and teachers in Bolivia!*

Grupo Espartaquista de México
Juventud Espartaquista
15 March 1996

Down With U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy Against China!

Imperialist Hue and Cry Over Taiwan

UPI

U.S. aircraft carrier *Nimitz* led deployment of Seventh Fleet into waters around Taiwan in provocation against China.

In the largest U.S. naval deployment in the Pacific since the Vietnam War, two aircraft carrier groups from the U.S. Seventh Fleet have been positioned in waters off Taiwan. This was Washington's response to Chinese military exercises coinciding with Taiwan's presidential election campaign leading up to the March 23 vote. It is classic gunboat diplomacy intended to show China—as well as America's imperialist rivals—that the U.S. is the cop of the world.

The American action was a deadly provocation against China and the peoples of the entire region. Headed by the carriers USS *Independence* and *Nimitz*, the imperialist flotilla numbered 16 warships carrying 200 cruise missiles and 200 warplanes between them. Clinton's war secretary William Perry threatened, "Beijing should know, and this will remind them, that while they are a great military power, the premier—the strongest—military power in the Western Pacific is the United States" (*New York Times*, 20 March).

Both Taiwan's ruling Guomindang (Kuomintang, or KMT) Party, which has lorded it over the island for nearly 50 years, and advocates of Taiwan independence held mass election rallies denouncing China's defense exercises. But the U.S. military brinkmanship can't help but remind Chinese of earlier eras of imperialist gunboat diplomacy: the 1841 Opium War, when China lost Hong Kong to the British; and the 1920s and '30s, when the U.S. and several European states stole whole sections of the country in alliance with warlord rulers, while Japan occupied Manchuria and later much of central and coastal China in a genocidal war of conquest.

Even under Taiwan's iron-fisted regime, a protest (blacked out by the U.S. press) of several hundred demonstrators called for the U.S. to get out of the Taiwan Strait, burning American flags. Protesters outside the American consulate in Hong Kong also condemned U.S. actions.

As Marxists, we stand for the unconditional defense of the Chinese workers state, despite the political rule of a parasitic bureaucracy, against U.S. imperialism and its Taiwan client state. This includes defending China's right to stage military exercises. And unlike pacifists and "greens," we uphold China's right to test its nuclear weapons, as it did last summer, as part of maintaining a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail...or worse. The U.S., the only country to ever use atomic weapons against anyone, threatened to drop A-bombs on China in the Korean War.

At the same time, we categorically opposed the French nuclear tests in the South Pacific as part of our opposition to all imperialist military forces. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state under Yeltsin's counterrevolution, the world's capitalist powers are scrambling to capture spheres for exploitation, posing the threat of trade wars leading to shooting wars, including with nuclear weapons.

Taiwan: American Client Police-State

The Western capitalist press has been trumpeting Taiwan's economic power, and, now, its first-ever presidential "free elections." In fact, this fiercely repressive state, which calls itself the "Republic of China," was foisted on the Taiwanese by U.S.-backed dictator Chiang Kai-shek's KMT. Chiang's forces fled there in 1947-49 as they were routed by Mao Zedong's peasant-guerrilla army in the closing stages of the Chinese civil war. As the Chinese Communist Party consolidated its rule on the mainland, 2 million KMT "refugees" made it to Taiwan, at the time populated by 8 million indigenous Chinese and 200,000 Austronesian tribesmen. Ever since that time, the KMT has aspired to reconquer the mainland and reunify China through bloody counterrevolution.

Taiwan's economic "miracle" has been coupled with savage police-state rule, including decades of martial law, during which the left and labor movements were brutally repressed. Even before 1949, the Guomindang moved to cement its rule on the island through sheer terror. A burning memory among Taiwanese is the "2-28" incident: a 28 February 1947 outpouring by the local population against KMT corruption and brutality, after which Chiang's forces systematically slaughtered every potential political opponent, killing several thousand. Now, some 50 years later, Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui has "won" in a preordained election over two KMT rivals and a pro-independence candidate.

Under the Guomindang dictatorship, advocates of independence for Taiwan were subjected to harsh repression. In fact, Lee's current pro-independence rival was jailed in 1964 and then forced into exile until 1992. With the growth of Taiwan's economy, sentiment for independence has spread to wider layers of young professionals and businessmen who see this as a vehicle for their own advancement. But Taiwan is ethnically, linguistically and historically Chinese. Taiwan was a Chinese province that was occupied by Japan from 1895 until the end of World War II. Particularly today, the demand for Taiwanese independence is aimed at maintaining a capitalist state.

The Taiwan Strait has been a stage for repeated imperialist provocations against China. In the years following the 1949 Chinese Revolution, the U.S. pumped in billions of dollars of aid—and enormous military support—to maintain Taiwan as a platform for capitalist superprofits and as an anti-Communist beachhead in East Asia. With the onset of the Korean War, the American navy occupied the Taiwan Strait. In 1958, U.S. naval forces patrolled the Strait at a time when Beijing came close to war with Taipei over the latter's control of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. In the 1960s, Taiwan served as a key staging area for U.S. imperialism's war against the Vietnamese peasants and workers.

In the early 1970s, the U.S. achieved a rapprochement with the nationalist Maoist bureaucracy in China on the basis of shared hostility to the Soviet Union. This led to U.S. recognition of the People's Republic and a seat for China in the United Nations at the expense of Taiwan. As Mao's successors opened up China to foreign capitalist investment beginning in the late 1970s, Washington pursued a course of "engagement" with Beijing. At the same time, a 1979 U.S.-Taiwan defense pact pledges the U.S. to back Taiwan in the event of armed conflict with the mainland. And fully one-fourth of Taiwan's budget goes to its military, which includes one of the most advanced air forces in the world.

American spokesmen describe the current U.S. posture toward China as "strategic ambiguity." While China's naval and air forces possess mostly outdated weapons and vessels, the People's Liberation Army is three-million-strong, and military spending has increased in recent years. As the Chinese Stalinists have increasingly abandoned even their socialist verbiage, the bureaucracy has adopted an aggressive nationalist tone in an attempt to maintain social stability. Washington is worried that China's military buildup poses a threat to American client states and a roadblock to its imperialist interests in the region. There are 100,000 U.S. troops stationed in Japan and South Korea and on ships. Adding to the strains is the conflict over the oil-rich Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, claimed by China, Vietnam and a host of U.S. allies. And there is the always-tense Korean peninsula.

Clinton seized on China's military drills to show the flag in a bid for an electoral boost as the U.S. presidential campaign unfolds. Liberal Democrats and sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy have long pushed for a harder line against China under the rubric of "human rights." Meanwhile, the Republican Party has been pressuring the White House to take a more belligerent stand against China. Last year, Jesse Helms and other Republican right-wingers helped stoke China's anger by ostentatiously greeting Taiwan president Lee as he entered the U.S. to visit his alma mater, Cornell University. Now pressure is building in the Gingrich-Dole Congress to take a "hard line" against Beijing as China's "most favored nation" trade status comes up for renewal in June.

In this context, Taiwan once again becomes a potential flashpoint for military confrontation. As tensions rose over China's military exercises, Washington

continued on page 13

Xinhua

China's naval forces conducting military exercises. Trotskyists defend People's Republic of China against imperialist attack.

Demonstrators Defend Abortion Center

PARIS—Despite a police ban on all demonstrations, more than 150 people came out on March 9 to defend the André Mignot Hospital in Versailles against a threatened mobilization by fascists and other sinister anti-abortion forces. A contingent of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) participated in the demonstration, which was largely composed of militant youth from the anarchist CNT (National Confederation of Labor). When a score of anti-abortion reactionaries showed up, the cops hustled them away in a paddy wagon. Then the cops turned and charged the leftist demonstrators, arresting two young anarchists.

The anti-abortion reactionaries called their action to coincide with the sentencing of Dr. Xavier Dor, the head of SOS-Tout Petits ("Save the Little Babies"), who was prosecuted for leading a commando raid last year against a hospital which performed abortions. This group, like the other main anti-abortion organizations in France, unites Catholic fundamentalists with fascist stormtroopers. Their raids follow the same pattern: they burst into hospitals and clinics, destroy medical records, threaten patients and staff, and disrupt operating-room procedures.

While those who carry out anti-abortion commando raids number in the dozens today, they are a battering ram for larger reactionary forces, from the hierarchy of the Catholic church, one of the pillars of reaction in this country, to the fascists of Le Pen's National Front. In their anti-abortion frenzy, the fascists combine anti-Semitism, racism against North Africans and blacks, and virulent chauvinism in the name of "defense of the national identity." A favorite target of their venom is Simone Veil, a Jewish Holocaust survivor, who authored the 1975 law legalizing abortion.

The March 9 demonstration followed a confrontation six weeks earlier at the same hospital where the CNT, along with the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) and other leftists, blocked an anti-abortion commando action. Although the cops intervened to protect the anti-abortion reactionaries, the leftist demonstrators were able to give a number of them, including Dor himself, a well-deserved thrashing. When the reactionaries provocatively announced they would return on March 9, the local prefect predictably outlawed all demonstrations on that day, equating the fascist scum with working-class and democratic organizations. Yet the pseudo-Trotskyist LCR leaders at the head of the abortion-rights organization CADAC applauded this outlawing of their own demonstration! When the March 9 demonstration was held despite the prefect's interdiction, a couple of LCR members showed up, but they stood midway between the demonstrators and the phalanx of cops, while the leftist youth shouted insults at them. When the cops charged, the LCR was nowhere to be seen. After the arrests, the anarchists and LTF contingent marched to the police precinct where they demonstrated until the protesters were released.

Le Bolchévik

Paris, 25 November 1995: 40,000 demonstrate for women's rights, including right to abortion, as wave of strikes and protests began against government austerity plan.

Illusions in the bourgeois state as a force that can supposedly be pressured into fighting the fascists are suicidal for the workers movement. Yet the entire strategy of the LCR has been based on pressuring the government to initiate criminal proceedings against the anti-abortion reactionaries. They point with pride to a 1993 law making it a crime to prevent or disrupt the carrying out of an abortion. But the Gaullist regime of President Jacques Chirac, like its "Socialist" predecessor under François Mitterrand, has turned a blind eye to the reactionaries' attacks on hospitals and clinics. Despite over one hundred anti-abortion commando attacks in the past five years, Dor is the first of their leaders to receive a jail sentence. Yet he was barely given a slap on the wrist. For targeting an operating room where an abortion was being performed (the doctor had to interupt the procedure to help drive out the attackers), Dor was sentenced to spending nights and weekends in jail for three months!

The right to abortion in France was won in the years following the general strike of May 1968, through the struggle of women, workers and others. Subject from the start to a myriad of restrictions, this right is today becoming such an obstacle course that for a growing number of women it is denied in practice. Drastic budget cuts have forced many hospitals to shut down their abortion services, as in Paris and several other major cities where *40 percent* of the public hospitals do not provide the procedure. The dangerous ten-week waiting period forces many to seek illegal late abortions or go abroad—some 5,000 women are obliged each year to go to the Netherlands or Great Britain to obtain abortions. Particular discrimination hits minors (parental consent required) and HIV-positive women. And in this fiercely racist country, the large number of immigrant women without proper residency cards cannot get legal abortions at all. The struggle for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families dovetails with the struggle for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all.

Emboldened by the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, bourgeois rulers worldwide have launched a reactionary offensive whose main victims are the most vulnerable sectors of society: people of North African and black African origin, youth and women. The German bourgeoisie is exerting enormous pressure on its French counterpart to gut social welfare programs and slash the budget deficit in order to create a common European currency by the end of the century. Last winter, the sweeping attacks by Chirac and his prime minister Alain Juppé on the entire health care and social service system provoked a massive strike wave of public service workers which paralyzed the country for almost one month.

On the eve of that explosion of class struggle, a mass demonstration in Paris on November 25 protesting the bourgeoisie's escalating war on abortion rights became a rallying point for all the oppressed. Contingents from every major union federation were joined by women's groups, homosexuals and large numbers of North African men and women and their children. As the LTF wrote in a leaflet distributed at the March 9 demonstration:

> "The few dozen fascists who came to engage in provocations on November 25 at the Bastille could easily have been swept away by that demonstration of 40,000 people, which included many trade-union contingents. But the reformist leaders of the working class—defenders of the bourgeois order and of the family, which is one of its pillars—prefer to appeal to bourgeois 'justice' to defend women's rights and fight the fascists. This creates the worst illusions in the bourgeois state and demobilizes the masses from the necessary actions to stop the fascists. Nor will small actions, however militant, be sufficient to drive the fascist vermin back into their holes and stop the racist, anti-woman and anti-working-class attacks of the bourgeoisie and its government. What is necessary is the widest possible mobilization of all the oppressed behind the social power of the working class. This requires a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party armed with a revolutionary and internationalist program of expropriation of the bourgeoisie....
> "For mass mobilizations to defend the abortion centers! Free abortion on demand for all, including for minors and immigrants! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!" ■

Protest Paris Cops' Deportation Raids!

Three weeks before the French parliament is due to vote on the racist Toubon Law—a measure against immigrants and "those who aid illegals"—last week the government deployed an army of some 1,000 police and gendarmes to remove 300 undocumented Africans from a church in Paris. Sixty-two now face deportation. There have been repeated demonstrations in solidarity with the immigrants and in defiance of the massive cop mobilization. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Comité de Défense Sociale, which is fraternally linked to the Partisan Defense Committee, turned out to defend the immigrants and issued the protest statement translated below:

26 March 1996

Ministry of the Interior
Ministry of Justice

The Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS) demands that deportations of the Africans arrested during the week of March 19 be immediately stopped.

On March 22 and 24, a thousand police and gendarmes staged dawn raids, first on the Saint-Ambroise church (with the blessing of the Catholic hierarchy, who called on the police to intervene) against African families defending their right to have a decent life in this country. This recalls the dragnets of the pro-Nazi Vichy government of Marshal Pétain. Following the racist operation of March 23 (when the immigrants were locked up in a gymnasium), 300 Africans, men, women and children, were taken to the detention/concentration camp in Vincennes, while demonstrators protesting their deportation were themselves arrested.

The CDDS denounces this racist war operation which follows the imposition of the Vigipirate "security" plan, the biggest deployment of military force on French territory against the immigrant population since the Algerian War. After last December's powerful strike wave, the Chirac-Juppé government is seeking with this racist offensive to divide the multiethnic working class in order to impose its program of social regression on all working people.

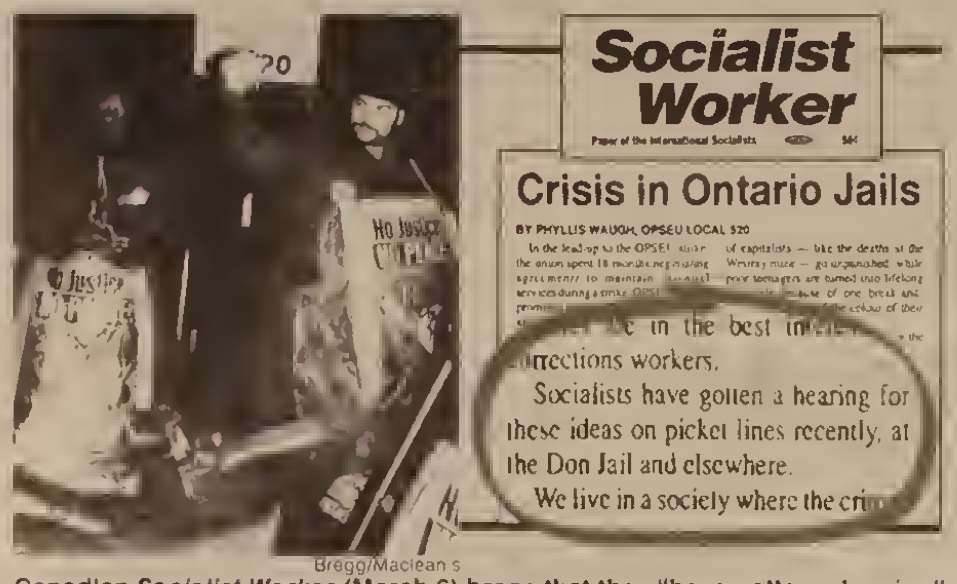
Down with the racist Mitterrand-Pasqua laws and the whole legal arsenal of anti-immigrant terror! No to the Toubon Law, which reinforces repression against immigrants and those who aid them! Stop the deportations and the hunt for "illegal" immigrants! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families!

ISO Hails "Strikes" by Prison Guards, Security Guards

Cops Out of the Unions!

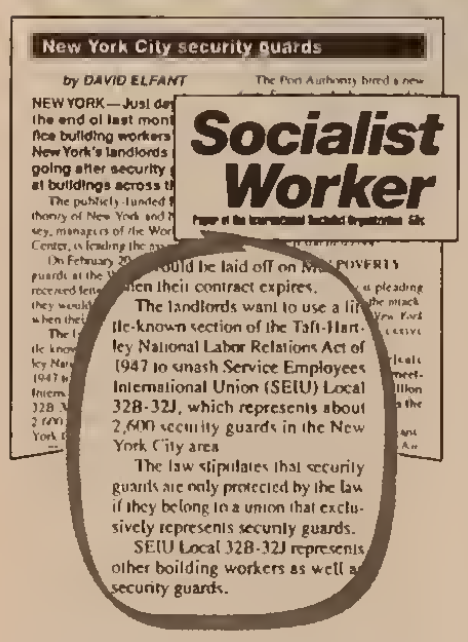
A couple of weeks after the leadership of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32B-32J called off a bitter month-long strike by New York City commercial building workers in early February, 32B-32J pickets reappeared outside Manhattan's World Trade Center. But these were not striking workers. Rather, they were security guards who only a month earlier had acted as strikebreakers for the real estate bosses against the building workers. Having done their dirty work, some of these guards were then laid off by management. The security guards' "picket" is not an action class-conscious workers should support in any way. The Local 32B-32J tops have enrolled nearly 3,000 security guards in order to fatten their dues coffers. But these rent-a-cop auxiliaries to the racist thugs in blue have no place in the union movement.

It's hardly surprising that a right-wing "business union" type like SEIU local president Gus Bevona would embrace security guards. But tailing right behind Bevona is the so-called International Socialist Organization (ISO). During the building workers' strike, the ISO was one of several pseudo-socialist outfits that blithely waltzed across the picket



Bregg/Maclean's

Canadian *Socialist Worker* (March 6) brags that they "have gotten a hearing" from prison guard "unionists" at Toronto's Don Jail (left). Guards' "job action" included subjecting inmates to lockdown and rushing from picket lines to put down prisoners' protest.



American *Socialist Worker* (March 1) wrings hands over laid-off World Trade Center security guards. ISO laments that U.S. law distinguishes guards, police from workers. Cops are the armed fist of the bourgeoisie!

lines, even holding meetings inside struck buildings (see "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" *WV* No. 638, 2 February). But the ISO is ever so sympathetic to the plight of the laid-off security guards, lauding the protests of these "rank-and-file workers" and complaining that the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law "stipulates that security guards are only protected by the law if they belong to a union that exclusively represents security guards" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 March). Where the bourgeoisie, through its laws, implicitly recognizes that the rent-a-cops are counterposed to workers, the ISO denies this basic truth.

The job of security guards is to work in tandem with the official police to protect capitalist private property, including in particular against striking workers. One of the fastest growing industries in the U.S. today is private goon squads, like the notorious Vance Security ninjas, who serve almost exclusively as professional armed strikebreakers. In many cases, security guards are themselves "moonlighting" or retired cops who are simply wearing a different uniform. Whether paid directly by the bosses or by the bosses' state, at bottom security guards and cops have the same function: to act as the armed fist of repression against the working class.

The ISO's support to the World Trade Center security guards is no aberration. Its Canadian sister group, International Socialists (I.S.), is currently enthusing over a "strike" by *prison guards*! The "screws" are members of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), which has been waging a strike of government workers against the austerity onslaught of the rabidly anti-labor Conservative provincial government. In an article headlined "Crisis in Ontario Jails," written by Phyllis Waugh, a prominent I.S. supporter in OPSEU, the Canadian *Socialist Worker* (6 March) hails the "militant reputation" of "correctional workers." In fact, they portray these professional torturers and killers as the vanguard of the class struggle! The picket signs carried by these "militant workers" include direct appeals to their racist masters' "law and order" crusade, warning against "Young Offenders on the Loose" and proclaiming, "OPSEU Corrections Officers: Protecting Ontarians Against Rapists, Murderers."

The Canadian I.S. crows that it has "gotten a hearing" for its ideas among the prison guards "on picket lines recently, at the Don Jail and elsewhere"—no wonder, as the I.S. denounces "government cutbacks" in prison funding! As part of their "work action," guards at Toronto's Don Jail subjected inmates to a lockdown, denying them the right to watch television or use the showers and phones. When prisoners staged a protest against the lockdown, the guards rushed into the jail from their picket lines to suppress it (*Toronto Star*, 8 March). Likewise in Barrie on February 28, "striking" guards dropped their picket signs to put down a protest by inmates who had been locked down.

On March 18, a riot squad from the prison guards' colleagues in the Provincial Police viciously attacked a rally of 5,000 unionists outside the legislature building in downtown Toronto. A picture in a local paper the next day shows I.S. supporter Waugh in the row of OPSEU marshals holding back workers from the cops who had just busted some heads. As always, the I.S. reformists take their cue directly from the pro-capitalist union tops, in this case OPSEU president Leah Casselman, who is a former detention center guard herself.

The I.S./ISO's support to cops is a long-standing position. A few years back, their parent organization in Britain, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, also boasted that it "had a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 26 June 1993).

After years of boycotting the fight to free black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, the ISO has now launched a "campaign to end the death penalty" based on liberal appeals to capitalist politicians. When the Spartacist League distributed a leaflet at an ISO event in Chicago last June, pointing to the glaring contradiction between their newly professed support to Mumia and their embrace of the cops, they responded with a physical attack. The previous fall in Boston, the ISO launched a vicious assault against Spartacus Youth Club comrades who were distributing petitions for Jamal (see *WV* No. 625, 30 June 1995).

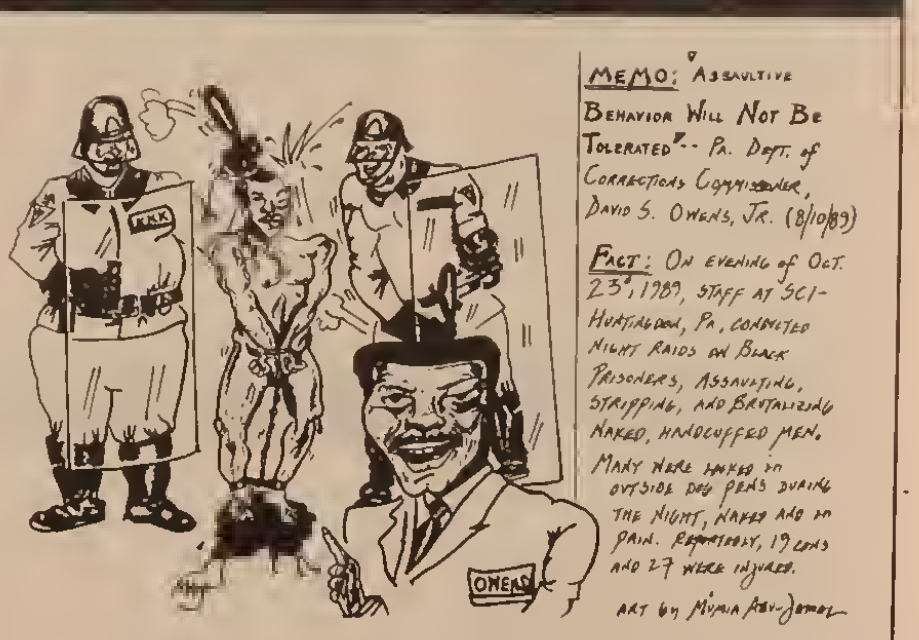
At bottom, the Cliffites are social democrats who share the political outlook of their big brothers in the British Labour Party and Canada's New Democratic Party. These agents of capitalist class rule and their "left" tails foster illusions that the capitalist state can be "reformed" to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. In the early 1930s, the German Social Democrats disarmed the proletariat by preaching reliance on the Prussian police, who had largely been recruited from among socialist workers, to stop Hitler's Nazis. But as revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky warned, "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next?*, January 1932).

Today, with government funding for cops and prison construction burgeoning, unions from AFSCME to the Teamsters are feverishly competing to recruit cops, prison guards and security guards. They are looking to fatten their dues base, and to gain some political "clout" with the capitalist rulers. To what purpose? In California, the prison guards "union" is "using its muscle and generous campaign contributions to push...for ever more prisons and tougher sentencing laws" (*New York Times*, 7 November 1995). Over the last five years, California prison guards have killed three times as many inmates as were killed in all other state and federal prisons combined!

Police "militancy" and cop strikes over pay and "conditions" inevitably have a bonapartist thrust, reinforcing the cops' view that they are a "law unto themselves." In an earlier polemic against the Cliffites and the British reformists of Militant Labour, who also argue that the cops are "workers in uniform," we wrote: "Better 'working conditions' for cops means fewer restrictions on their ability to brutalise minorities, attack picket lines and carry out provocations against leftists" (Spartacist Pamphlet, *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State* [1994]).

The interests of the working class cannot be defended by those who invite its enemies to infiltrate labor's ranks. We fight to build a revolutionary vanguard party which, like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, understands that the capitalist apparatus of repression and terror cannot be reformed but must be swept away through workers revolution. ■

Prison Guards: The View from Inside



In 1989, Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote a column, "Nightriders Meet Rage," exposing an October 1989 prison guard riot against inmates at Huntingdon Prison, Pennsylvania, illustrating it with this drawing. He reported, "Armed, armored squads went from cell to cell, pulling, cuffing, punching, bludgeoning, kicking, brutalizing naked prisoners. Men were handcuffed, seized, dragged outside, and thrown into cages, naked, beaten, and bloodied." Twenty-seven staff and 19 inmates were injured, as unarmed prisoners fought back against the racist guard assault. The column was reprinted in his book, *Live from Death Row* (Addison-Wesley, 1995).

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 1)

the occasion for a racist pro-death mobilization, as over 10,000 cops massed on the scene and police choppers roared overhead in formation. Under the fusillade of demands, Johnson indicated he had "never said he would never" seek the death penalty. But Pataki peremptorily ordered State Attorney Dennis Vacco, a rabid death penalty proponent, to personally take over the case. Meanwhile, Clinton's Justice Department offered to make it a federal case under a 1992 law mandating the death penalty for "carjacking" and "racketeering."

At the same time, Clinton joined the posse attacking liberal judge Harold Baer Jr., whom he appointed two years ago to the federal bench. As a former member of the Mollen Commission investigation into NYPD corruption and the first head of the city's Civilian Complaint Review Board, Baer was already hated by the police. But the entire bourgeois establishment went ballistic when he threw out evidence illegally seized from a parked car in a Washington Heights drug case in January. The cops claimed they were justified in searching the car without a warrant after they saw four black men "suspiciously" running away. The judge responded that it was "reasonable behavior" for minorities in Washington Heights—particularly given the reputation of the 34th Precinct cops—to flee "when the cops began to stare at them." This simple statement of fact provoked a crescendo of demands for Baer's resignation or impeachment.

This is the bloody backdrop to the 1996 elections. The mean streets of Giuliani's New York are being used by America's millionaire politicians as the stage for a campaign of racist fear and loathing aimed at all workers and minorities. As we have stressed for years, the "war on drugs and crime" is in fact a war against the ghettos and barrios, leading to the wholesale imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of minority youth, whom the rulers now consider a "surplus population." The fragile lifelines which once allowed a few to escape the ghetto and barrio through education or decent-paying jobs have been stripped away through factory closings, tuition hikes and welfare "reforms."

And the racist rulers use the death penalty as the ultimate sanction for control and intimidation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the outspoken journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter framed up and sentenced to death for his defiant exposures of this system of racist terror and oppression.

Behind the intensified push for police-state repression is the plummeting decline in living standards for all working people, white as well as black, while the profit-gouging corporations rake it in. Meanwhile, the capitalist rulers, aided by black demagogues like Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, push "divide and rule" to keep down those they exploit and oppress. The union misleaders have a heavy responsibility for this abysmal state of affairs, mobilizing the vote for Clinton while *demobilizing* and preventing the class struggle needed to reverse the onslaught against labor and minorities. Against the perennial appeals to support the Democrats as a "lesser evil," we Trotskyists fight for a revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops, to sweep away this whole rotten system of poverty and repression.

The Bronx: An Occupied Territory

The Fordham section of the Bronx was put under a virtual state of siege following Gillespie's shooting. Hundreds of police in riot gear descended on the neighborhood, going through buildings floor by floor over a six-block area while cops stationed on rooftops trained their guns on the streets and helicopters hovered overhead. Such military-style police invasions, and the cops' regular practice of patrolling the streets with "task force" convoys, are standard operating procedure in NYC's ghettos and barrios. The Bronx and the heavily Dominican Washington Heights area of northern Manhattan have long been a particular target for Giuliani's cops.

New York's kill-crazy cops played a big role in putting Giuliani in City Hall.

Sawchuk/Newsday

Sheehan/Newsday

Bronx D.A. Robert Johnson, the only black district attorney in New York State, was removed from murder case for his reluctance to use death penalty. Governor Pataki (center) and Mayor Giuliani beat the drums for death.

and have taken his election as a license to murder in the black and Hispanic communities. In a rare instance when some action was taken after an uproar of protest, the 46th Pct. cop who killed Bronx youth Anthony Baez in December 1994 was finally charged with "criminally negligent homicide" a full year later. More typical is the case of Anthony Rosario and his cousin Hilton Vega, who were shot to death by 46th Pct. cops as they lay on the floor. One of the killers, a volunteer bodyguard for Giuliani during his election campaign, got a congratulatory call from the mayor after the shooting!

Although black and Hispanic youth have overwhelmingly been the NYPD's targets, New York's sizable Asian population has also suffered at the hands of Giuliani's uniformed thugs. Significantly, a joint sit-in protest was held March 13 at the Brooklyn D.A.'s office by relatives of Yong Xin Huang, the 16-year-old honor student executed by a cop in Brooklyn a year ago, and the family of Anibal Carrasquillo Jr., a 21-year-old Hispanic youth shot in the back by a cop in January 1995.

In witchhunting D.A. Johnson, Pataki insisted that the Bronx could not be an exception to the state's death penalty law. In fact, the law was *intended* for the population of the Bronx and other heavily minority areas of New York City. Well aware that inner-city minorities are far less enthusiastic about the death penalty than white suburbanites, the bourgeois rulers are prepared to do an end run around local officials and purge liberal judges. And with juries increasingly refusing to buy police "testilying," there has been a wave of proposals to gut the right to a trial by a jury of one's peers. Amid much consternation about the 40 percent acquittal rate by Bronx juries, there has been talk of moving New York's first death penalty trial out of the city.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The pace of executions has been skyrocketing in recent years. Last year it was 56, more than one a week and nearly 20 percent of the total number executed since the death penalty was reinstituted in 1976. But even the massive speedup on death row has not slaked the bloodlust of the capitalist rulers. There is today a firm bipartisan consensus for eliminating any legal and constitutional obstacles that stand in the way of committing ever more people to lethal injection, electrocution, hanging or (in Utah) death by firing squad.

Clinton's "New Democrats" are trying to outdo the Republicans as the party of racist "law and order"—with some success. An article in the *Wall Street Journal* (8 February) observed: "The advantage that the GOP held for decades as the antierime party has vanished." The article reports both major police organizations are planning to support Clinton this year. Clinton took office vowing to put 100,000 more cops on the streets. And the White House seized on the right-wing terror bombing in Oklahoma City last year to introduce a "counterterrorism" bill so draconian in its reach that significant provisions were opposed even by right-wing Republicans. But there is near-unanimity when it comes to the death penalty.

Last week the House passed the "Effective Death Penalty and Public Safety Act," which would massively expand the number of federal capital crimes and impose the death penalty in states which have rejected it by allowing the Attorney General to prosecute a wide range of homicides by labeling them "terrorism." Even more ominously, the new bill seeks to gut the right of habeas corpus—which allows appeals of state sentences in federal courts—a keystone of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Former Reagan attorney general Elliot Richardson and former Carter attorney general Benjamin Civiletti warn that the new bill would "strip the Federal courts of the power to enforce the Constitution" (*New York Times*, 16 March).

In fact, the attack on habeas corpus by the Republican Congress and Democratic White House is a continuation of the juridical counterrevolution inaugurated by the Rehnquist Supreme Court under Reagan. Liberal opponents of the death penalty are impotent in the face of this sweeping, bipartisan assault on civil liberties, as reflected in the near-absence of significant protest on the streets when the New York State legislature approved Pataki's death penalty law last year. Typically, groups like "New Yorkers Against the Death Penalty" are reduced to arguments about the cost or "effectiveness" of legal lynching in "fighting crime" (the same arguments raised by Bronx D.A. Johnson).

The liberals accept the framework of racist "law and order" enforced by the capitalist state, and can do no more than quibble over the terms and extent of repression and terror it metes out to working people and the oppressed. The reformist left takes the same tack. Thus an article in the International Socialist Organization's *Socialist Worker* (12 May 1995) declared, "Death Penalty Not a Deterrent to Murder." But the death penalty *is* murder, executed by the racist capitalist state.

Unlike the liberals and reformists, we do not advise the capitalist state on more "humane" ways to pursue its repression, like entombing its victims in a prison hell for life. We Marxists are opposed to the death penalty. We do not accord the government the right to decide who should live and who should die. The death penalty is a particularly barbaric component of the bourgeoisie's arsenal of repression. In the United States, it has historically served as a key prop in maintaining and reinforcing black oppression, from the Slave Codes of the pre-Civil War South to the present situation in which blacks occupy an overwhelmingly disproportionate number of places on death row. We fight against the racist death penalty as part of the struggle to finish the Civil War through a third, socialist American revolution.

It is this understanding which guides the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in fighting for labor-centered action—like the labor/black rallies in New York and the Bay Area last August—to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. Mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class is a key lever in the fight to free Mumia from the clutches of his would-be executioners. It is also part of our task as a revolutionary vanguard seeking to inculcate the proletariat with the consciousness of a class acting in its own interests and those of all the oppressed. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (Partisan Defense Committee Pamphlet, July 1995):

> "This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed.... As part of a multiracial workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, black workers will play a key role in sweeping away this system of exploitation, war and racism." ■

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, April 2: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; April 9: *The Lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1917*; Boston College, Devlin Hall, Room 221
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Spartacist League Forum

Saturday, April 27, 7 p.m.: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism!* University of Chicago, Ida Noyes West Lounge, 2nd Floor, 1212 E. 59th Street (at Woodlawn Avenue)
For more information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist League Forum

Friday, March 29, 7 p.m.: *Stalinist Bureaucracy Opens Door to Capitalist Restoration—China: "Free Market" Misery Targets Women; For Proletarian Political Revolution!*
Hunter College, Room 511, Hunter West, 695 Park Avenue (at 68th Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, March 30: *Imperialism*; April 13: *The Permanent Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Mondays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, April 1: *The Russian Revolution*; April 8: *The Revolution Betrayed*; University of Maryland, College Park, Hornbake Library, Non-Print Media Section, Room P
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Part 3

The Fight in the First International

by Joseph Seymour

Mikhail Bakunin's precursor Proudhon and his successor Kropotkin were primarily theorists who sought to further the goals of anarchism through enlightening literature. Bakunin, however, was by temperament a political adventurer, whose activities therefore were often at variance with and sometimes in outright opposition to his avowed "anti-authoritarian" principles.

This is obviously so in the case of his secret societies. Here it should be emphasized that these "organizations" were to a large extent literally fantastic. Most of the legions of agents Bakunin claimed for the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, the secret network he set up in the mid-1860s, existed only in his mind. But whether imaginary or semi-real, the declared purpose of these organizations was *the conspiratorial manipulation of the mass movement*. This is stated quite clearly in Bakunin's letter (July 1870) to his French follower Albert Richard:

> "We must bring forth anarchy, and in the midst of the popular tempest, we must be the invisible pilots guiding the Revolution, not by any kind of overt power but the collective dictatorship of all our allies [members of the International Alliance], a dictatorship without tricks, without official titles, without official rights, and therefore all the more powerful, as it does not carry the trappings of power. This is the only dictatorship I will accept, but in order to act, it must first be created, it must be prepared and organized in advance, for it will not come into being by itself, neither by discussions, nor by theoretical disputations, nor by mass propaganda meetings....
> "If you will build this collective and invisible power you will triumph; the well-directed revolution will succeed. Otherwise, it will not!"
>
> —reproduced in Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy* (1971)

It takes real *chutzpah* for present-day anarchists, who claim Bakunin as their forebear, to condemn the Leninist conception of a revolutionary vanguard party as elitist and anti-democratic. Unlike Bakunin's shadowy Alliance, the Bolshevik Party's program and aims were well-publicized and known to working people throughout the Russian empire. In addition to producing newspapers, journals and factory leaflets, and organizing study circles and workers' discussion clubs, the Bolsheviks used the electoral arena to propagandize for their revolutionary politics, running candidates for the tsarist Duma (parliament). The party was in form and practice internally democratic. On occasion, Lenin found himself in a minority on an important question in the Bolshevik Central Committee or at party congresses.

But Bakunin could never be outvoted in his various organizations since these had no rules and no policymaking bodies. Here is how the British historian E.H. Carr described the Alliance: "It had no list of members, no agreed rules or programme (since Bakunin's numerous drafts were all made on his own responsibility), no officers, no subscriptions, and no regular meetings" (*Michael Bakunin* [1937]). The contemporary American anarchist Sam Dolgoff concurs: "Bakunin's secret organizations were actually quite informal fraternities of loosely organized individuals and groups connected by personal contact and correspondence." This is a description of an organization *run by a clique* in which rank-and-file members have no means to determine its leadership and policies.

Bakunin Joins the First International

The current image of Bakunin is that of the wild radical of the European left of his day, who defied the bourgeois order and bourgeois respectability. The reality was very different. Bakunin's conversion from pan-Slav nationalism to anarchism in the mid-1860s did not immediately lessen his penchant for *class collaboration*. When the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) was formed in 1864, Marx personally invited Bakunin to participate. But the soon-to-be anarchist leader disdained to do so and instead involved himself in Italian petty-bourgeois nationalist circles.

When Bakunin, now an anarchist, returned to the Europe-wide political stage, he did so not in the workers movement but in the bourgeois liberal milieu. In 1867, he joined the Geneva-based League of Peace and Freedom. As the name connotes, this was a liberal pacifist organization launched by progressive bourgeois notables such as John Stuart Mill and John Bright in England, Victor Hugo in France and Giuseppe Garibaldi in Italy. Its immediate purpose was to head off the movement toward war between Louis Napoleon's France and Bismarck's Prussia. More generally, the League—which Marx derided as "peace windbags"—was an attempt by bourgeois liberals to counter the growing influence of the workers' International in the European left.

It is typical of Bakunin that having proclaimed as a paramount principle the "radical dissolution" of the state, he then turned around and joined an organization whose main programmatic demand was for a (bourgeois) United States of Europe! It was only when the liberal notables and literati of the League predictably rejected Bakunin's program of anarchist federalism that in 1868 he finally joined the International Workingmen's Association. Here it's worth pointing out that in his previous 25 years as a self-professed revolutionary, Bakunin had never been involved with the working class or expressed any particular concern for its struggle against capitalist exploitation.

From the outset Bakunin aimed to displace Marx as the leading figure in the International, but he proceeded with tactical caution. Writing to Alexander Herzen in 1869, he explained: "If I started an open war against Marx now, three quarters of the International would turn against me, and I should find myself slipping down an inclined plane" (quoted in Boris Nicolaievsky and Otto Mänchen-Helfen, *Karl Marx: Man and Fighter* [1936]). Yet just a few years later Bakunin was able to win enough support to disrupt the International.

To explain this development it is necessary to consider the International *before* Bakunin joined it. The International Workingmen's Association was launched by British trade-union leaders, centrally those of the London building trades, whose primary concern was to prevent their strikes from being broken by the importation of scabs or scab products from continental Europe. The British union leaders were not socialists in any sense but rather radical democrats who supported the bourgeois Liberal Party of William Gladstone and John Bright. They were also prepared to support not only economic struggles by workers in the continental Europe of Louis Napoleon and Bismarck but struggles for democratic rights such as freedom of the press and a sovereign parliament based on universal manhood suffrage.

Marx quickly became the preeminent figure in the London-based General Council of the International because he was able to define a *consensus* between the left-liberal British trade unionists and the various continental radicals—socialists, communists, French Proudhonists. The Provisional Rules of the International, written by Marx, simply stated its aims as "the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes." How, concretely, the complete emancipation of the working classes was to be brought about was deliberately left an open question. After the demise of the International, Engels described its original character in a letter (12 September 1874) to his German American colleague Friedrich Sorge:

> "It belonged to the period of the Second Empire [of Louis Napoleon in France], when the oppression throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal controversy for the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore.... German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party. Proudhonism was too weak to be able to insist on its own particular fads. Bakunin's new trash did not yet exist even in his own head, and even the leaders of the English *Trade-Unions* thought they could enter the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the Preamble of the Rules."

These heterogeneous forces could work together under Marx's skillful guidance as long as the International's main activity involved support to local economic struggles, raising money for striking workers, organizing campaigns against scabbing, etc. But when the question of proletarian revolution was posed point-blank by the 1871 Paris Commune, the International disintegrated in a witches' sabbath of factional frenzy.

The Split in the International

The defeat of France at the hands of Bismarck's Prussia in 1870 led to the fall of Louis Napoleon and shattered the French army. As the Prussian army laid siege to Paris, the French ruling class moved to rebuild an effective state

Dietz Verlag

Political adventurer Mikhail Bakunin joined the First International at its 1868 Congress in Basel, Switzerland. In his previous 25 years as a self-styled revolutionary, Bakunin had never involved himself in the struggle of labor against capital.

apparatus. Elections based on universal male suffrage resulted in a victory for the parties of the right due to their support by the peasantry, which was still under the influence of the local Catholic clergy. Paris, however, remained a stronghold of the left which was growing amid the economic dislocations and privations caused by the German siege. The principal military force in the French capital was the National Guard, largely composed of working men. Fearful of the radical Parisian masses, the new right-wing government of Adolphe Thiers established itself in the suburb of Versailles, just outside of Paris.

When Thiers ordered the National Guard to surrender its artillery to the regular army, the Guard insurrected and took over the city. Thus was born the Paris Commune of March-May 1871. Its leadership consisted of radical democrats (old-fashioned Jacobins), the followers of Auguste Blanqui (the Jacobin communist advocate of a dictatorship of a revolutionary minority drawn from plebeian elements), and the Proudhonists. These divisions within the Commune's leadership along with the overriding task of military defense prevented the Communal government from undertaking the socialization of the city's economy. Nonetheless, Marx saw that the Commune was the first historical experience of the *political rule of the working class*: "It was essentially a working-class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour" (*The Civil War in France* [April-May 1871]).

The French army's suppression of the Commune, massacring 20,000 people, was followed by a Europe-wide red scare and anti-communist witchhunt. Marx, whose impassioned defense of the Commune, *The Civil War in France*, was an official statement of the International, became the personal focus of the anti-communist frenzy. Hitherto Marx had been a relatively little-known figure outside of left-wing circles. But now he was denounced by government ministers and the bourgeois press as the "red terrorist Doctor," who supposedly commanded legions of fanatical revolutionaries from Madrid to St. Petersburg. As Marx wrote (18 June 1871) to his friend Ludwig Kugelmann: "It [*The Civil War in France*] is making the devil of a noise and I have the honour to be *at this moment the best calumniated and most menaced man of London*. That really does one good after a tedious twenty years' idyll in the backwoods" (emphasis in original).

However, Marx's newfound notoriety gravely weakened his position in the International. Two prominent British trade-union leaders resigned in protest against the General Council's defense of the Commune; several others quietly drifted out of the organization. Those British unionists who remained in the International distanced themselves from Marx by forming a separate English regional council independent of the General Council. A number of leading figures in the International who did solidarize with the Paris Commune, such as the eclectic Belgian socialist César de Paepe, nonetheless resented Marx's new public image as the supreme leader of the European left. Thus, Bakunin's campaign to weaken Marx's authority in the International received support from politically diverse forces extending well beyond his own anarchist followers.

The question remains: why did the decomposition of the First International coincide with the rapid growth of the anarchist movement, a movement which had scarcely existed a few years earlier? The answer lies on two levels: the uneven effect of industrialization on the different regions of Europe and the political climate in the immediate aftermath of the Paris Commune.

Combier

March 1871 uprising of the Paris National Guard, largely composed of working men, ushered in the Paris Commune. Karl Marx hailed the Commune as first "working-class government."

The split in the First International was marked by a clear geographical divide. Marx's main bases of support lay in the most developed capitalist countries—Britain, Germany and among German American immigrants in the United States. Bakunin's followers were concentrated in economically backward countries—Italy, Spain and the French-speaking regions of Switzerland.

Bakunin's vision of a social order based on autonomous communes had little attraction or even meaning for a London construction worker or a German immigrant working in a factory in New York City or Philadelphia. In Italy and Spain, however, the urban economy was still dominated by small-scale artisanal production, the very existence of which was threatened by the spread of industrialization. Bakunin's initial base of support in the International came from watchmakers in the Jura region of Switzerland. These skilled craftsmen, most of whom worked in their own homes, were facing an influx of cheap watches from British and American factories. For Swiss watchmakers in this period, the Bakuninist program of autonomous communes meant above all trade protectionism against industrial competition. A current student of the fight in the First International has emphasized that Bakuninism "spread, chiefly in those countries—Spain, southern Italy, parts of France and Switzerland—where large numbers of newly restive peasants, domestic workers and artisans, all of them threatened in various ways by what seemed to them to be the 'leap in the dark' of capitalism (which held out the certain prospect only of proletarianization), were gaining a new political voice" (Paul Thomas, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists* [1980]).

In his own way, Bakunin recognized that his anarchist program had little attraction for the industrial proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, whom he disdained as bourgeoisified. After the collapse of the International, he wrote:

> "Nowhere are there more favorable conditions for Social Revolution than in Italy. There does not exist in Italy, as in most other European countries, a special category of relatively affluent workers, earning higher wages, boasting of the literary capacities, and so impregnated by a variety of bourgeois prejudices that, excepting income, they differ in no way from the bourgeoisie."
>
> —*Statism and Anarchy* (1873)

In addition to these basic socio-economic factors, the growth of anarchism was conditioned by the political climate prevailing in the aftermath of the Paris Commune. While Marx saw in the Commune a model for future social revolutions, he was under no illusion that the final battle between labor and capital was at hand. Indeed, the fate of the Commune had been sealed by its isolation. As the affronted reactionary government prepared to strangle the insurgent Parisian proletariat, an attempt in Marseilles to establish a "red commune" was quickly and easily smashed by Thiers. And the white terror following the suppression of the Paris Commune broke the power of the left in France for a decade. Furthermore, the Europe-wide anti-communist witchhunt seriously weakened the left wing of the workers movement in Britain, then the dominant capitalist country in the world. Marx insisted that a socialist revolution anywhere in Europe would require *years of preparatory work*, building up mass trade unions and workers parties in the course of struggles for economic gains, social reforms and democratic rights.

Bakunin, by contrast, appealed to the *impatience* of many leftist radicals. With the fall of Louis Napoleon at the hands of the Prussian army in 1870, Bakunin staged an almost comical attempt at a coup in the city of Lyon, which was put down the same day. After the defeat of the Commune, he played on the desire within the left for vengeance against the bourgeoisie which had applauded the massacre of the Communards. Anarchist militants in Barcelona and Naples wanted to emulate the Paris Commune or at least give the propertied classes a good scare. The British social-democratic historian G.D.H. Cole described the mood of Bakunin's following:

> "It now became for them a matter not of a general European revolution but of seizing every opportunity that occurred anywhere for revolutionary action, almost regardless of the prospects of success—for they held to the idea that every rising was part of a process of revolutionary education of the masses and was accordingly a step toward the desired end of utterly uprooting the existing social structure."
>
> —*Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism 1850-1890* (1954)

Marx's Answer to the Bakuninists

The fight between Marx and Bakunin was *not*, however, posed in terms of having the International adopt the principles and program of scientific socialism or, alternatively, of anarchism. Both protagonists maintained that the International should continue to be a broad, inclusive body open to all class-conscious workers whether English left-liberals, German communists or Italian anarchists. Hence the fight was conducted on narrow organizational grounds which only tangentially touched on the basic differences between Marxism and anarchism.

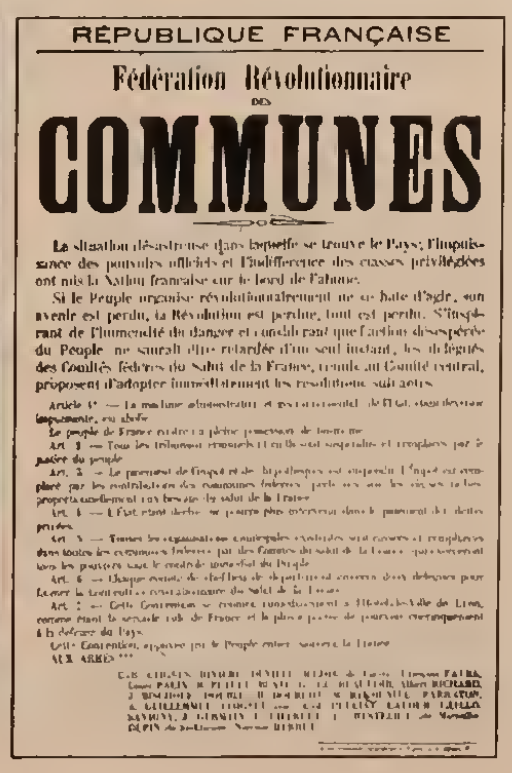
Marx held no official position in the International other than that of corresponding secretary for Germany. His authority rested on his de facto leadership of the General Council which issued the International's policy statements and programmatic documents, recognized new sections, adjudicated disputes between and sometimes within sections, etc. The Bakuninists therefore concentrated their efforts on stripping the General Council of its powers, reducing it to a "simple office for correspondence and statistics."

By way of theoretical justification, they held that the structure of the International should prefigure that of the anarchist society of the future. Just as such a society would be a free federation of autonomous communes without any central government, so the International should be a free federation of autonomous sections with no central leading

continued on page 10

Radio Times Hulton

Proclamation issued by Bakunin during an attempted coup in Lyon, France in October 1870, declaring state abolished. Rebellion was suppressed within hours.


RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

Fédération Révolutionnaire des

COMMUNES

Anarchism...

(continued from page 9)

body. The main Bakuninist factional statement, the *Sonvillers Circular* (November 1871), argued:

> "How can you expect an egalitarian and a free society to emerge from an authoritarian organization? It is impossible. The International, embryo of future human society, must be from this moment the faithful image of our principles of liberty and federation, and reject from its midst any principle leading to authority and dictatorship."
>
> —quoted in James Joll, *The Anarchists* (1964)

This is a concept of social organization corresponding to a petty bourgeoisie of property owners and would-be property owners, even where disguised under the watchwords of cooperativism and collectivism.

Marx and Engels responded that the purpose of the International was to bring about the overthrow of the existing bourgeois order. Such a *combat organization of the working class* must necessarily have a different internal structure and character than a future classless and stateless society in which social relations are harmonious. They pointed out that the Paris Commune, which the anarchists, too, held up as a model for social revolution, was *highly militarized* in order to defend itself against the hostile bourgeois government in Versailles. But in the future society envisioned by both communists and anarchists, there would be no armed forces, no police, no bodies of organized violence of any kind. Marx and Engels regarded anarchy, i.e., the disappearance of the state, as an end goal of the communist movement but certainly not a means of getting there:

> "All socialists see anarchy as the following programme: once the aim of the proletarian movement, i.e., abolition of classes, is attained, the power of the State, which serves to keep the great majority of producers in bondage to a very small exploiter minority, disappears, and the functions of government become simple administrative functions. The [Bakuninist] Alliance reverses the whole process. It proclaims anarchy in the proletarian ranks as the most infallible means of breaking the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. Under this pretext, it asks the International, at a time when the old world is seeking a way of crushing it, to replace its organization with anarchy."
>
> —*Fictitious Splits in the International* (March 1872)

The showdown between Marx's supporters and the anarchists took place at the International congress held in the fall of 1872 in The Hague, capital of the Netherlands (see Hans Gerth, ed., *The First International Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872 with Related Documents* [University of Wisconsin Press, 1958]). Of the six days allotted for this gathering, three were spent resolving disputes over the delegates' credentials. This alone indicates an organization in an advanced state of disintegration. Marx had a working majority at this congress in large part due to the support of the French Blanquists who were in exile in London. While Bakunin was expelled from the International for financial chicanery, Marx recognized that the organization was no longer viable and had, in fact, played out its historic role. In a surprise move at the end of the congress, Engels proposed that the seat of the General Council be transferred from London to New York City. With many anarchists voting in favor, the motion carried, signaling the self-dissolution of the International Workingmen's Association as an umbrella organization for working-class militants and leftist intellectuals.

Marx vs. Bakunin on Post-Revolutionary Society

It was paradoxical but understandable that the most serious polemical exchange between Bakunin and Marx on the organization of post-revolutionary society took place after the collapse of the International rather than during their fight for its leadership. In 1873, Bakunin wrote, in Russian, a major work, *Statism and Anarchy*, which contained a section attacking Marx's concept of the proletarian dictatorship. A few years later, in the course of teaching himself Russian, Marx read this book and wrote extensive notes on it. These notes both defend his own conceptions against Bakunin's confused criticisms and indicate the basic fallacy of the anarchist worldview.

Bakunin and Marx posed the fundamental difference between them in a different way. The former concentrated his fire on the concept of a workers state or revolutionary dictatorship, which he regarded as but a cover for the Marxists' lust for political power. "The leaders of the Communist party, meaning Mr. Marx and his friends," he asserted, "will concentrate all administrative power in their own strong hands." Marx pointed out that underlying the differences with the anarchists over the question of political and military power in the post-revolutionary situation was Bakunin's *idealist* conception of social change. This was expressed in Bakunin's notion that any and every exploited class could effect a socialist revolution and that a classless and stateless society could be established under any, even the most primitive, economic conditions. Marx wrote:

> "A radical social revolution is bound up with definite historical conditions of economic development; these are its premisses. It is only possible, therefore, where alongside capitalist production the industrial proletariat accounts for at least a significant portion of the mass of the people.... He [Bakunin] understands absolutely nothing of social revolution, only its political rhetoric; its economic conditions simply do not exist for him. Now since all previous economic formations, whether developed or undeveloped, have entailed the enslavement of the worker (whether as wage labourer, peasant, etc.), he imagines that *radical revolution* is equally possible in all these formations. What is more, he wants the European social revolution, whose economic basis is capitalist production, to be carried out on the level of the Russian or Slav agricultural and pastoral peoples.... *Willpower*, not economic conditions, is the basis of his social revolution." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Notes on Bakunin's *Statism and Anarchy*" (February 1877)

Bakunin's argument against the proletarian dictatorship is basically a version of the old liberal canard that power corrupts:

> "What does it mean that the proletariat will be elevated to a ruling class? Is it possible for the whole proletariat to stand at the head of the government? There are forty million Germans. Can all forty million be members of the government? In such a case, there will be no government, no state, but, if there is to be a state there will be those who are ruled and those who are slaves....
>
> "Ultimately, from whatever point of view we look at this question, we come always to the same sad conclusion, the rule of the great masses of the people by a privileged minority. The Marxists say that this minority will consist of workers. Yes, possibly of former workers, who, as soon as they become the rulers or the representatives of the people, will cease to be workers and will look down on the plain working masses from the governing heights of the State; they will no longer represent the people, but only themselves and their claims to rulership over the people. Those who doubt this know very little about human nature.
>
> "These elected representatives, say the Marxists, will be dedicated and learned socialists. The expressions 'learned socialist,' 'scientific socialism,' etc., which continuously appear in the speeches of the followers of Lassalle and Marx, prove that the pseudo-People's State will be nothing but a despotic control of the populace by a new and not at all numerous aristocracy of real and pseudoscientists."
>
> —*Statism and Anarchy*

Engels, writing to the German workers leader August Bebel in March 1875, repudiated any notion that he and Marx stood for a "people's state." In this letter, which preceded Marx's famous "Critique of the Gotha Program," Engels wrote:

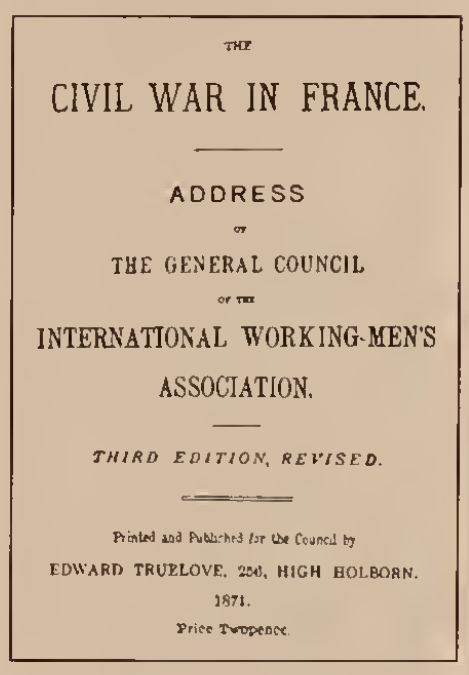
> "The '*people's state*' has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece and after it the *Communist Manifesto* declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist."

Engels further maintained that "the Commune...had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term." As Lenin later elaborated in his fundamental work, *The State and Revolution* (1917): "The Commune *was ceasing* to be a state since it had to suppress, not the majority of the population, but a minority (the exploiters). It had smashed the bourgeois state machine. In place of a *special* coercive force the population itself came on the scene."

To Bakunin's rhetorical question about the entire proletariat standing at the head of the government, Marx responded: "In a Trades Union, for example, does the entire union form its executive committee?" Marx saw the trade-union movement within capitalist society as prefiguring in important respects the future workers state. Many decades later, Trotsky would describe Stalin's Russia as analogous to a highly bureaucratized trade union with state power. Bakunin's arguments against a workers state could logically be applied against trade unions as well. If the elected officials of a workers government, even if themselves former workers, must inevitably become corrupt and despotic, why would this not also be true of the elected officials of the trade unions? Here one should recall that the original theorist of anarchism,

Musee Carnavalet

Women Communards defend the Paris barricades in May 1871. Bourgeois government of Adolphe Thiers massacred 20,000 Parisians in crushing the "red Commune."



THE

CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE.

ADDRESS

OF

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OF THE

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THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

Printed and Published for the Council by

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John Mayall

Karl Marx's impassioned defense of the Commune in *The Civil War in France* made him target of Europe-wide anti-communist witchhunt. In the aftermath of the Commune, the First International disintegrated into warring factions.

Washington: Dramatic UDC Protest over Budget Cuts

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Three hundred students at the University of the District of Columbia (UDC) sat down in the middle of busy Connecticut Avenue in front of their school, stopping traffic for hours and facing down scores of cops eager to bust heads on March 18. The demonstrators were protesting against massive budget cuts and the threatened April 1 closure of the school. UDC, the only public university in the District, has a policy of open admissions. The students' target was the federally appointed financial control board charged with overseeing D.C. finances. The control board recently ordered $10 million in budget cuts. Combined with earlier cuts over the past five years, this would mean that the university has reduced its budget by 47 percent in the past two years (*Washington Afro-American*, 23 March). The demonstration petered out when students got a letter from the control board's point man in the city government, Anthony Williams, which the students say rescinded the cuts.

Smith/Washington Post

Hundreds of UDC students stage March 18 sit-in on busy Washington street against budget cuts which threaten to close the school.

Washington is a 70 percent black city—with a growing Hispanic immigrant population. The ruling class, which sees the nation's capital as "their" plantation, is hell-bent on gutting all the social services that support black working people and the poor. Last month, D.C. mayor Marion Barry announced layoffs of 10,000 city workers—one-quarter of the city workforce. A dozen public schools are slated to close. There are plans afoot to "privatize" the city's health clinics and only public hospital. Like the city itself, UDC's student body consists overwhelmingly of working-class blacks. Student protests rocked the campus six years ago when students objected to the poor quality of education and services at the school. Last year, the city floated a proposal to move UDC off of its rented campus in affluent, mainly white Northwest D.C. into an old abandoned high school in the heart of the black ghetto.

At the March 18 demonstration, Spartacus Youth Club activists agitated among demonstrators for open admissions, no tuition, and a state-paid stipend for all students. We fight for free, quality higher education for all those who wish to attend. Farrakhan supporters at the demonstration responded to these key demands with vicious anti-communist, race-baiting venom from the microphone. The fight of UDC students necessarily must be part of a struggle against the racist capitalist system as a whole. But the Farrakhanites seek to work within the racist capitalist status quo, exploiting their "own." They oppose integrated struggles like mobilizations against the Ku Klux Klan in favor of racial separatism.

The situation faced by black youth and working people in D.C. cries out for revolutionary leadership, a multiracial vanguard party that will lead the workers and the oppressed in the fight against the exploiters and their front men!

When the Democratic Party's mayor Barry showed up at the sit-down, the cry should have gone up against the city's principal budget axman. Instead, the student bureaucrats hustled him up to the mike to let "the brother" try to diffuse the student struggle with hollow words about opposing cutbacks and backing the students. While Barry has in the past been a target of the racist rulers, the mayor's role is to enforce the White House and Congress' cuts on black D.C. Just last week Barry announced 500 layoffs of home health care workers who care for of the sick and elderly. These workers are 99 percent black women, and make an average of $7.20 per hour. Barry is a capitalist politician and no friend of black and working people!

Demonstrating their role as apprentice Democratic Party politicians, the student misleaders also had stacks of voter registration cards, which they passed out to demonstrators. Even if there were anyone besides the Republicrats to vote for, D.C. residents don't have the elementary democratic right to vote, at least not one that counts. The elected D.C. "delegate" in Congress doesn't have a vote in that body, and the mayor can't move garbage without asking Congress and the financial control board first. We say: Full enfranchisement for D.C.!

The only way UDC students are going to win their demands is through linking their struggles with all the victims of this vicious ruling class, particularly the workers who make this city run—and have the power to bring it to a halt. City workers have every reason to fight. Hispanic workers have actively organized around the "Justice for Janitors" campaign. One day last December, city sanitation workers blocked the offices of the control board with their trucks. The control board is still vindictively seeking their firing.

Workers, students and oppressed in D.C. must unite in common struggle against the common enemy. To win even the most basic rights, such as the right to a decent education, requires a fight against the whole capitalist system. This fight requires a Leninist vanguard party. The SYC, the youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League, seeks to win youth to this struggle. Join us! ■

Joseph-Pierre Proudhon, was *against* trade unions.

Anarchism and Stalinism

Given the experience of Stalinism in the former Soviet Union and also in "Communist" China, leftist youth reading the Bakunin/Marx exchange today might well conclude that Bakunin, whatever his other failings, was more prescient than Marx about the danger of bureaucracy in post-revolutionary societies. However, such a way of approaching the question is liberal idealism, and totally ahistorical. The rise and consolidation of a privileged bureaucracy in post-revolutionary Russia was the direct reflection of the ebbing of the world revolutionary tide and expressed itself in the Stalinists' anti-Bolshevik program of coexistence on the international plane with the reactionary old order. Analogously for a trade union, it is not the *union's* power which promotes corrupt bureaucratism, but the pressure of the powerful capitalist ruling class and its state.

Marx assumed that socialist revolutions would first take place in the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe—Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland. The resulting workers states would perforce not have to organize militarily and economically to defend themselves against hostile and more powerful capitalist states. And more fundamentally, socialist governments in West Europe could rapidly increase the level of economic productivity through the rational application of the most advanced available technology.

But the course of history didn't conform to these projections. Instead, proletarian revolution occurred first not in the most advanced capitalist countries but in what Lenin called the "weakest link" in the European imperialist system. By the beginning of the 20th century, a significant industrial proletariat had developed in tsarist Russia alongside the huge, backward peasant sector still subject to feudal-derived forms of exploitation. This combined and uneven development was a key reason why proletarian revolution—the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917—succeeded in Russia.

However, Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders sought to spread the Russian October on a world scale, recognizing that this alone would provide the economic resources for the socialist transformation of Russia. In November 1917, Nikolai Bukharin, one of the leading Bolshevik theorists, wrote: "The victory of the Western proletariat will make it possible to heal in a planned way the economic wounds of Russia with highly developed West European techniques. The economic backwardness of Russia will be offset by the high technical level of Europe" (quoted in C. Ahramsky, ed., *Essays in Honour of E.H. Carr* [1974]).

The subsequent bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Russian workers state—under conditions of encirclement by hostile and more economically advanced capitalist states—*confirmed* the basic premises of historical materialism. As early as 1920, Lenin warned that the new Communist officials were being contaminated by the values and attitudes of the old tsarist officials. And in the mid-1920s, Leon Trotsky declared political war on the bureaucratization of the Communist Party and Soviet government whose supreme leader would be J.V. Stalin.

Anarchism and Stalinism are conventionally viewed as representing the extreme opposite poles of the left. Yet the basic premises of Bakuninist anarchism are similar to that of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and especially to the Maoist notion of peasant-based socialism. Bakunin located the vanguard of the social revolution in the most backward countries of southern and eastern Europe, such as Italy and Russia, where in the 1860s-1870s the industrial proletariat scarcely existed at all. "If the workers of the West delay too long," he declaimed in 1869, "it will be the Russian peasant who will set them an example" (quoted in Joll, *The Anarchists*).

It is no wonder that Bakunin is hailed by contemporary anarchists like the American historian Paul Avrich as a "prophet" of the Maoist and Guevarist conception of an "alliance of estranged intellectuals with the dispossessed masses in guerrilla-style warfare" (preface to *Bakunin on Anarchy*). This peasant-based guerrillaism led at best to the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states in economically isolated and backward countries like China, Vietnam and Cuba.

It is true that Bakunin—never prone to theoretical consistency—also argued in the 1866 *Revolution Catechism* that an isolated social revolution in a single country could not succeed in the face of "the world counterrevolution and the conspiracy of kings, clergy, nobility, and the bourgeoisie, based on enormous budgets, on permanent armies." Characteristically, Bakunin's argument at the time for world revolution is based on *military, not economic* grounds. But Stalin, too, maintained that only imperialist military intervention could prevent Soviet Russia from building "socialism" with its own self-sufficient resources.

Against this, Trotsky wrote: "To the extent that productivity of labor and the productivity of a social system as a whole are measured on the market by the correlation of prices, it is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy" (*The Third International After Lenin* [1928]). The central theme of Marx's polemic against Bakuninist anarchism in the 1870s and of Trotsky's opposition to Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" is the same: the establishment of a classless and stateless society in which all members can freely develop their full potential must be based on a level of economic productivity far higher than even the most advanced capitalism.

Both Bakunin and Stalin divorced socialist consciousness from the overcoming of economic scarcity. "The Russian people," according to the author of *Statism and Anarchy*, "are socialist by instinct and revolutionary by nature." During the 1930s, the Stalin regime proclaimed that a "new socialist man" had emerged in Soviet Russia, one who had overcome individualism and egoism and who totally identified with the collective well-being of the working people.

In pointing to the important elements in common to anarchism and Stalinism as ideologies, we of course also recognize the fundamental difference between Bakunin and Stalin as historical figures. Stalin was a psychopathic mass murderer who served the interests of a parasitic, corrupt, cynical and fundamentally conservative bureaucratic caste sitting atop and strangling a workers state. Mikhail Bakunin, with all his faults, genuinely aspired to an egalitarian and humane society whose members would live free and productive lives. Nonetheless, the "triumph of the will" idealism which lies at the core of the anarchist outlook is also a key component of Stalinist bureaucratic commandism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

Victory to the Yale Strikers!

MARCH 26—Yale University's campus workers are locked in a drawn-out fight with the arrogant Ivy League bosses. Service and maintenance workers in Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International (H.E.R.E.) Local 35 are scheduled to walk out tomorrow against Yale's union-busting drive. This strike continues a battle that began when

One Out, All Out!

sister Local 34, representing clerical and technical workers, struck in February for four weeks. Earlier in January, graduate student teaching assistants declared a "grade strike" in a drive for unionization. Crucial to winning this battle is the fight for a solid campus-wide strike and solidarity action by other unions. One out, all out!

Yale is New Haven's biggest employer, accounting for one in seven jobs in the city. Yale is also among the top, elite private universities, and its Board of Trustees is a rogues' gallery of powerful capitalists. Besides pushing a "two-tier" wage scheme for new workers, Yale is proposing to hit up retirees for medical insurance. The university plans to pay newly hired dining hall workers $4 an hour less than current workers and eliminate their guarantee of alternative jobs in the summer. The result would mean a typical dining hall worker going from $23,000 to *$10,000 a year*! This is far below the poverty level in New Haven, the fourth-poorest city in the U.S. Workers would literally be driven to the welfare rolls. This was routine for Yale laborers in the 1960s, when dining hall workers clocked in during the school year for minimum pay, then collected welfare during the summer. With Yale grad Bill Clinton vowing to "end welfare as we know it," this is clearly the road to starvation.

The campus workers are in a fight for their livelihoods, seeking raises, better pension arrangements and job security, and an end to subcontracting. Yale *wanted* this strike to try to bust the unions. The university administration is running a slick anti-union campaign, hiring Robert Mann, the former partner in the notorious Chicago-based union-busting law firm Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson. At the same time, they have put a 150-plus supplementary security force of professional strikebreakers on the Yale payroll. Yale's pleas of poverty ring hollow, with an endowment of over $4 billion. In fact, a year's tuition is more than the average worker gets paid.

Members of the New York Spartacus Youth Club have gone to New Haven to join with supporters of the strike. The clerical workers strike gained broad appeal among Yalies. On March 5, as Local 34 brought down its picket lines just before spring break, SYCers joined undergraduates and graduates on a roving march of hundreds, rallying for strikers at Yale. We call for united action by students, teachers and staff to build mass pickets that *nobody* crosses, halting business as usual at Yale. Picket lines are the front line of workers' struggle. If unionists built mass pickets, coordinating strike action with student supporters boycotting classes and boycotting the use of dining halls, the strike could win. Let's shut down the university!

Young Spartacus

Strikers picketing the private Yale Club in Manhattan on March 1 were joined by striking clerical workers from Barnard College.

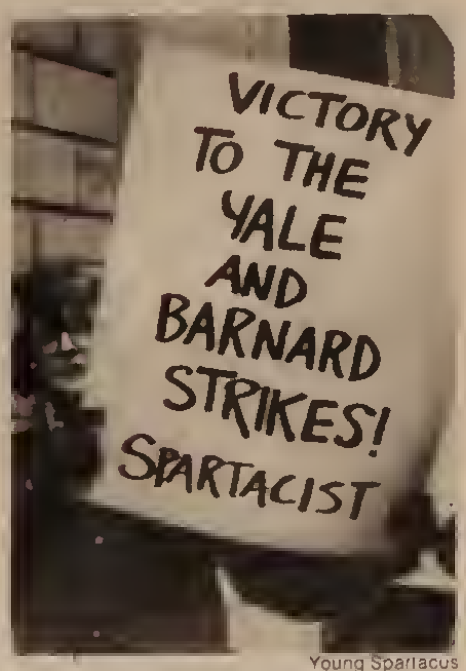
Boycott Classes! Shut Down Yale!

Even at this ruling-class bastion, before spring break grad student TAs organized more than 200 classes off campus in solidarity with the strikes. This gesture is a step in the right direction, but still continues the business of the university with a minimum of disruption. A full-scale boycott of classes would express concretely an alliance of students with the workers' strike. If the campus is struck, classes should be shut down. The Graduate Employees and Students Organization (GESO) has been closely involved in the H.E.R.E. locals' strike. In January, GESO's unionization drive was defeated when Yale threatened to ban the instructors from teaching. This campus workers strike now provides an opportunity for GESO to fight back against a common enemy. GESO members should turn their classes into pro-strike teach-ins and organizing meetings for a student boycott! This could be central to broadly mobilizing the campus to win.

During a day of solidarity teach-ins organized by GESO and other groups on February 29, members of the Spartacist League and SYC pointed out the role students can play in alliance with working-class struggles. At a meeting of about 100 undergrads, a Spartacist supporter said: "Yale's bosses are correctly perceived as the enemy of workers and blacks in this city. This provides a way to mobilize broad support for the union: a victory for the union would be a victory for everybody!" Only the working class can defeat the capitalist assault on the right to an education, which should be open to all, not the privilege of an elite few.

The elite private institutions like Yale should be nationalized. Against the inherent race and class bias of higher education under capitalism, we raise the demand for open admissions and free higher education for all with a paid stipend, posing the fight for the right to a decent education. We defend limited reforms like affirmative action, which in a minimal way allows minorities and working-class youth some access to higher education. The SYC seeks to link the struggles of students with the power of the labor movement as a whole. Yale's iron gates should be thrown open—including to those who work there!

While the administration claims Yale is pursuing a lofty mission of "community involvement," many students recognize in Yale a key exploiter of blacks and the poor in New Haven. These students show a real disgust for Yale's role as a ruling-class training ground for tacticians and technocrats who perpetuate the racist status quo. At the February 29 teach-in, a black student spoke movingly about racism on campus and remarked, "Yale is a plantation." Another student posed this idea: Why not refuse to let scabs handle trash in the dorms and



Young Spartacus

instead collect it and dump it on the administration building lawn?

The campus is becoming divided as students begin to see Yale as the workshop for union-busting that it is. On the one side stands the Yale Corporation, with an anti-union formation called "Students for Union Compliance" echoing the bosses' anti-working class hubris. On the other side stand the unions with student supporters who want to do the right thing and support the strikers. One Yale freshman remarked at a recent union rally: "My mother is a member of the teachers union. My father is in a public employees union. This is where I belong."

The question is: how is this sentiment of solidarity to be organized? A group called the Student Labor Action Coalition has circulated petitions which complain of the anguish suffered for having "to cross a picket line to go to class today"(!). But real student support for the campus unions is more than an empty statement of solidarity—it can be a factor in winning the strike. A strike picket line is the main defense workers have against the bosses. Boycotting classes is the most powerful way students can back the unions. If the picket lines were solid mass mobilizations that shut the campus down, no one would have to think twice about being fired from a teaching job or getting flunked out for missing a midterm. The problem is that with the *occasional* picketing pushed by the union leadership, students who support the strikers see the lines mainly as gestures of moral outrage rather than a real attempt to shut down the workings of the university. Honoring a picket line shouldn't be simply a question of individual will but *a collective act of hundreds mobilized to defend the strike.*

The strategy of the union locals of alternating their strikes—in effect, swapping turns crossing picket lines—starts from a position of weakness, rather than strength. While groups like the Communist Party's Yale Workers Club see this as a "creative strike strategy" mobilizing "support and solidarity on all levels," we insist that campus-wide labor action *to shut down the university* is what's needed. Remember, in 1984, joint strike action by both locals was decisive in winning official union recognition for clerical workers after Local 35 succeeded in shutting down all but one dining hall.

It's necessary to fight on a program that takes on the capitalist system, recognizing that it is fundamentally racist and based on the exploitation of workers. The corporate bosses who run Yale and other businesses are trying to take back every gain won by working people, from welfare and civil rights to the right to unionize or the right to a quality education. A victory for Yale workers means gains for all the oppressed.

Build picket lines—don't cross them! Victory to the Yale strikers! ■

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Brazil...

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working to separate the municipal police from the union, because the police are not part of the workers movement. The job of the police is to break strikes and carry out the racist attacks which are the everyday reality of capitalist "law and order" in Brazil.

Geraldo was elected president of the SFPMVR on the MEL slate, with an overwhelming 62 percent majority against the slate backed by the company union federation Força Sindical, the Popular Front government of the municipality of Volta Redonda, and Lima Netto, a federal deputy for the PFL [a right-wing party], who earlier carried out 10,000 layoffs in the National Steel Company (CSN) plant, as well as being the author of the *parceria* scheme ["partnership"—joint union-management committees] and is campaigning to eliminate job security for government workers. The local bourgeois press, such as *Diário do Vale*, was particularly dismayed by the ties of the MEL slate to Luta Metalúrgica, well known in Brazil for its principled struggle for the class independence of the workers and its political opposition to the class-collaborationist Popular Front headed by the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers Party) of Lula.

Behind Arthur Fernandes and his cohorts are powerful forces. Already during the election campaign last year, the MEL was the object of government attacks. The local bourgeois press virulently attacked Ribeiro, Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo" and Luta Metalúrgica as "radicals." Cerezo, a fired steel worker, had run for president of the union of metal workers of the Sul Fluminense region (which includes the now-privatized CSN plant) a few months earlier, also in opposition to Força Sindical and a popular-front slate, and is now an adviser to the SFPMVR. Geraldo is secretary of the regional CUT union federation, and Cerezo is vice president of the regional CUT; they were elected to these posts in November 1993.

Luta Metalúrgica photos

Luta Metalúrgica leader Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo" (above), speaking at demonstration last August in Volta Redonda to save life of American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Municipal Workers union co-sponsored rally.

A Pattern of Provocation

In an orchestrated campaign involving physical provocations, secret meetings and smear articles in the bosses' press, Arthur Fernandes and his camarilla have sought to usurp control of the union from president Geraldo Ribeiro. An initial leaflet demanding his ouster was issued by the plotters just two days before scheduled wage negotiations with the mayor. The result: the mayor postponed the negotiating session with the spurious argument that there was an internal dispute in the union. Next came another leaflet from the plotters accusing Geraldo of "treason" for mobilizing the workers and rejecting secret meetings with the mayor.

The March 13 meeting was intended to be the crowning piece of the attempted coup to remove the union president. In a scandal-sheet flyer, after reproducing the section of the program of the MEL slate—which Arthur was part of!—explaining that all levels of the police and armed forces, including municipal police, are "the armed fist of the bourgeoisie," the would-be usurpers *then called provocatively to come to the meeting to "defend the police."* This was a clear attempt to provoke a physical confrontation with the police at the meeting. However, the workers at the meeting overwhelmingly supported Geraldo and reaffirmed him as president. Seeing that their plans had backfired, the plotters resorted to physical provocation.

Who called the Military Police? Arthur himself admitted the following morning, 14 March, on the "Dário de Paula" radio program on FM-88 that he had done so. He claimed that union president Geraldo supposedly attacked Motorzinho, the exact opposite of the facts. In reality, after Motorzinho's attacks, Arthur had told him to apologize. This shows that Arthur is lying. Also on this radio program, Arthur accused Luta Metalúrgica of threatening him with death, using this as his excuse for calling the Military Police and contracting municipal police as "security." This is another, deadly lie! In fact, it is Arthur who is setting up the leaders of the MEL and LM for violence from the state, as he tried to provoke on March 13.

Never before in the history of the SFPMVR have union members brought the Military Police to intervene in union meetings. In Volta Redonda, workers are tragically familiar with the murderous violence of the military. Under the military dictatorship of 1964-1985, this was a "national security zone," due to the importance of the CSN steel plant, the largest in Latin America. During the 1988 steel strike, three workers—William, Valmir and Barroso—were killed by the army.

The Military Police are notorious for the racist murders of hundreds of street children, most of them black, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, including the infamous massacres of Candelária and Vigário Geral, as well as the murder of two leaders of the black movement in November 1994, the "disappearance" of black trade-unionist Rufino, and the murder of various other leftists. In the Volta Redonda area, the newspaper *O Globo* (13 September 1991) reported that from January to August of 1991, at least 113 children were killed by military police, and the municipal *guardas* as well are suspected of involvement in these crimes. The Military Police together with the army are also responsible for the massacre of peasants in the state of Rondônia last August, in which "officially" eleven people were murdered. Recently, they attacked a land occupation by more than 3,000 peasant families in the state of Pará.

We call on the workers movement and members of democratic rights organizations around Brazil and internationally to protest this outrageous attack on the municipal workers of Volta Redonda, demanding: *Stop the dangerous police provocations against union militants in Volta Redonda! Police hands off the unions!*

Thank you for your support. Workers' greetings,

Luta Metalúrgica/Liga
Quarta-internacionalista
do Brasil

20 Mareh 1996

We urge that protest messages be sent to: Marcello Alencar, Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Palácio Guanabara, Rua Pinheiro Machado s/n, Laranjeiras, CEP 22238-900, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Fax No. (55-21) 553-6090. And to: Paulo César Baltazar, Mayor of the City of Volta Redonda, Prefeitura Municipal, Praça Sávio Gama 53, Aterrado, CEP 27180-000, Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil. Fax No. (55-243) 46-4954.

Messages of solidarity can be mailed to: Geraldo Ribeiro, Rua União No. 147, Bairro Santo Agostinho, CEP 27290-000, Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil. And to: Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-internacionalista do Brasil, Av. Lucas Evangelista, n/418 sala 306, Aterrado, CEP 27295-320, Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil.

Internationally, copies of solidarity messages can be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013, U.S.A. Fax No. (212) 406-2210.

Documentation is available at the Luta Metalúrgica office. ■

China...

(continued from page 4)

announced the sale of 150 F-16 fighter planes to Taiwan. In response to the dispatch of American warships to the area, Chinese foreign minister Qian Qichen declared, "Those people have forgotten that Taiwan is a part of China and not a protectorate of the United States." But with the conclusion of the Taiwan elections, both Beijing and Taipei are making conciliatory statements, and Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui has hinted that he may make a visit to Beijing.

There is another major player in East Asian power politics, namely Japan Inc. The Japanese ruling class has consistently pursued a strategy aiming to bring about a "cold" capitalist restoration in China by buying off decisive sections of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy. Tokyo was the first imperialist capital to restore full commercial relations with China after the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. Today Japan is providing massive loans to Beijing to modernize China's infrastructure—airports, water treatment plants, highways, etc.

A top official of the Clinton administration has admitted that if the U.S. adopts a hard line against China, such as a trade boycott, "not a single friend and ally would join us," and it "would cause severe strains with Japan, South Korea, Australia and in Southeast Asia" (*Time*, 25 Mareh). As for China's recent flexing of its military muscle in the Taiwan Strait, Tokyo went no further than saying this was "regrettable," while the Taiwan regime lashed out that the Japanese "care only about their own interests." And the interests of Japan are increasingly in conflict with those of American imperialism.

Chinese Revolution in Danger

Revolutionaries must defend China against attacks from the imperialist powers and their proxies. Yet at this time, neither the U.S. nor the most rabid Guomindang irredentists on Taiwan want a military confrontation with China, as this would threaten the course taken by the Stalinist regime in pursuing capitalist market "reforms." Through dismantling centralized economic planning and agricultural collectivization, and by opening up whole chunks of China to foreign exploitation, the Stalinists have encouraged the rapid growth of capitalist-restorationist forces, including inside the bureaucracy itself, which aim to destroy what remains of the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

Taiwan businessmen have already penetrated the mainland with almost $30 billion in investment—second only to Hong Kong—mostly in light manufacturing plants in the capitalist "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs) where wages are a fraction of those on Taiwan. In a recent incident attesting to the horrendous conditions in these plants, 19 workers died on New Year's Day as a fire swept through a Taiwanese joint venture factory producing Christmas decorations in the Shenzhen SEZ. In 1993, a fire in a Shenzhen toy factory killed 87 workers who could not escape because the doors and windows had been locked by management.

Under the watchword "One China, two systems," the Chinese Stalinists have said they do not intend for reunification to threaten Taiwan's capitalist economy. The reversion of Hong Kong to Chinese control on 1 June 1997 is intended by the Stalinists to he a showcase of this policy. At a conference in Beijing last year with leading Hong Kong capitalists, a Chinese government official stressed that Hong Kong would remain "financially independent"—to the extent that Beijing would not even collect taxes there. However, such arrangements are highly unstable, and would soon go in one direction or the other. Reunification without expropriation of Hong Kong and Taiwanese capitalists would give a further powerful impetus to counterrevolution on the mainland.

As the counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union demonstrated, the restoration of capitalist rule in China would be an unmitigated disaster for the worker and peasant masses. The prospect of capitalist restoration is already stoking the fires of interimperialist rivalry as the U.S. and Japan position themselves to grab the anticipated spoils (and the Germans have started to invest heavily).

It is a cruel irony that the Stalinists' pro-capitalist policies have invited back into China the hated Guomindang oppressors who were driven out in 1949. But capitalist restoration is far from a certainty. Waves of labor unrest and peasant revolts testify to growing plebeian resistance to "free market" measures. Militant struggle, however, is not sufficient to defeat the forces of counterrevolution. The Chinese working people need a revolutionary Marxist leadership—a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party—to mobilize the workers at the head of the peasantry in struggle to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. Such a leadership would link the struggles on the mainland with workers struggles in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea and Japan, fighting for the perspective of proletarian political revolution in China and socialist revolution in the capitalist countries leading to a socialist federation of Asia. ■

GM...

(continued from page 1)

with the cooperation of the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership has eliminated more than 100,000 jobs in the first half of the 1990s.

The strike began on March 5, and by the end of the second week lack of parts had forced GM to idle 26 of its 29 assembly plants and another 18 parts plants, laying off over 177,000 workers in the United States, Mexico and Canada. It was the largest stoppage in the auto industry in North America since the nationwide GM strike in 1970. By the beginning of the last week, key plants like the one in Janesville, Wisconsin which produces the highly profitable Chevy and GMC Suburban sport-utility vehicles were shutting down. But just as GM was beginning to really hurt, the UAW tops called off the strike—as they have in other local strikes in recent years. And from the outset, the UAW sent 300 strikers back *across their own picket line* to continue making brake components for Chrysler and Isuzu. Sounding just like the auto bosses, the Dayton strike chairman argued, "We either had to produce to keep these customers running or we felt we had a very real possibility of losing these customers" (*New York Times*, 10 March).

The UAW is claiming that on local issues, the GM subsidiary Delphi will add 275 workers to alleviate the grinding seven-day overtime schedule, and a total of just over 400 jobs in all will be created at the two Dayton plants. General Motors management says employment won't change significantly. To induce a "yes" vote, strikers were given a $1,700 payment to settle "subcontracting violations." But this payoff for letting GM ignore a 1994 contract agreement to buy brake systems from the UAW-organized parts factories *amounts to the UAW bureaucracy authorizing non-union parts production*. On the key issue of defending union jobs in the parts industry, the wretched UAW bureaucracy has again given GM its blessing to use more "outsourcing." In particular, the UAW International okayed letting the work go to Bosch's Charleston, South Carolina plant where labor costs are *one-third* those at the unionized plants in Dayton.

Wall Street applauded when GM took a hardline position and let the strike drag on for almost three weeks. One analyst said, "The longer the strike lasts, the better it is for the company" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 March). General Motors has a huge war chest, almost $11 billion in cash, and last year made a profit of $6.9 billion—*more than any other U.S. corporation*. With the exception of sport-utility vehicles and some trucks, GM was sitting on a glut of inventory. Clearly Wall Street welcomed the confrontation. After socking it to labor at Caterpillar, the ruling class saw this battle as important in hardlining it against the labor movement. We wrote after the UAW loss at Caterpillar that the defeat would be paid for by workers all over the country. Now GM (and the rest of the ruling class) is itching to capitalize on this and gouge ever more profits out of the workers.

Dave Yettaw, president of Local 599 in Flint, Michigan and head of the New Directions house "opposition," criticized the decision of the UAW leadership under Stephen Yokich to send 300 workers into the struck Dayton factories to produce brakes for Chrysler, calling this "a taste of business unionism." But in an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Yettaw said he wasn't aware of the no-strike clause for the Dayton plants, and now says the UAW "properly got the members back in there to honor their contract." Moreover, these union "dissidents" *supported* Yokich when he was elected UAW president last summer. Yettaw declared, "I know Yokich will fight back" (*New York Times*, 15 June 1995). Yet it was Yokich who as head of the union's Ford department presided over the destruction of jobs there in the '80s, before moving over to the union's GM division, where he greased the skids for the company's "downsizing" through mass layoffs. As newly elected UAW chief, Yokich ordered Caterpillar strikers back to work last December, even though over 80 percent had voted against the surrender.

The UAW bureaucracy hoped that the Dayton work stoppage, with its dramatic impact, would make it easier to reach a settlement when the national auto contracts with Chrysler, Ford and GM expire in September. But by displaying the union's potential power to shut down the nation's biggest corporation, it could whet the workers' appetite to fight. The key question is leadership. And the last thing the gang in the UAW International's headquarters wants is a national strike against one of the Big Three automakers during the re-election campaign of their candidate, "right to work" Democrat Bill Clinton.

Sutton/Picture Group

UAW-organized Caterpillar workers (on 1992 picket line) taunting scabs. Union tops prepared devastating defeat, refusing to mobilize area labor to build militant mass picket lines to stop scabbing.

"Cheap Labor": Made in U.S.A.

The job-slashing at GM has led to a series of strike actions from Dayton to Flint. What all these actions have in common is that the UAW brass called them off as soon as the workers had GM by the throat. (In fact, the "just in time" delivery system, taken over from Japanese management, has made the auto companies more vulnerable to strikes in key plants.) Such piecemeal actions save a few hundred jobs here and there, but the numbers pale in comparison to the overall numbers of unionized jobs that have disappeared over the last decade. As recently as 20 years ago, more than two-thirds of parts workers were in the UAW. Now it is less than a quarter. Of the Big Three, GM is the only company that supplies most of its own parts, roughly 70 percent. With the complicity of the UAW, Ford has cut the proportion of parts it makes in-house to about 50 percent, while at Chrysler it is only 30 percent.

The drive by the companies to save on labor costs by "outsourcing" production is not simply corporate policy, but is intrinsic to capitalism. If they can't hike their profits by forcing givebacks out of organized American workers, the bosses will go to cheap, unorganized labor in the "open shop" South or abroad. Without a class-struggle leadership with the program and determination to tackle the capitalist system head-on, union labor will continue to lose ground against the bourgeoisie's drive to increase its profits through layoffs and union-busting.

Codified in its allegiance to the Democratic Party, the labor bureaucracy's collaboration with the bosses has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor. With a nationalist program of defending "American interests"—i.e., corporate profits—the labor misleadership laid the basis for the loss of millions of union jobs in recent decades. John Sweeney, president of the "new" AFL-CIO, calls for a "social contract" between corporations and workers, saying he wants to "build bridges between labor and management, so that American business can be more successful and American workers can share in the gains." This fairy tale is a deadly dangerous illusion: American capitalists and American workers are not "partners" but *class enemies*, as the hardlining heads of General Motors well know.

The UAW misleaders have used the current campaign against "outsourcing" as a means of deflecting workers' anger away from the Big Three bosses and turning it against the superexploited workers overseas, especially the workers of the *maquiladora* plants in Mexico, where GM's Delphi parts division now has 63,000 workers—more than half its workforce—earning as little as $10 per day. Yokich & Co. claim that "Supporting the struggles of Mexican workers is crucial to maintaining the UAW's bargaining power with the Big Three automakers and independent parts suppliers" (UAW *Solidarity*, March 1996). This talk of "maintaining bargaining power" is at best a cynical backhanded appeal to "save American jobs" by raising Mexican auto workers wages a few cents—while opposing joint class struggle against layoffs and for decent wages on both sides of the border. In fact, the UAW is doing next to nothing to support Mexican auto workers. A class-conscious leadership would have used the recent auto parts strike to stage a powerful joint class struggle by Delphi workers on both sides of the border!

As it wages its poisonous protectionist campaign against Mexican and Japanese workers, the UAW bureaucracy has *reinforced* the role of the South as a haven for the racist open shop. Bosch is just one of many new plants established by foreign capital to take advantage of the "union-free environment." At BMW's non-union plant in Spartanburg, South Carolina—also headquarters of the racist Denny's restaurant chain—the German automaker will profit to the tune of more than $4,000 per vehicle over labor costs in Germany. Mercedes-Benz is building a huge new plant outside Tuscaloosa, Alabama. From the Honda plants in Marysville, Ohio to the Nissan plant in Smyrna, Tennessee where the UAW tops lost a disastrous union representation election in 1989, the auto union tops have done nothing to organize the South. The only new assembly plant where the UAW is present is the Saturn plant in Tennessee, where they gave GM a sweetheart deal to get in the door.

The capitalists will always seek to move to where the profits are greatest: for high-wage Germany, the American South is a low-wage production site. Labor struggles in the manufacturing plants of Dayton or Detroit must be linked to a sustained and far-reaching drive to unionize the factories that stretch along the new industrial corridors of the South. Such an organizing drive will have to defy Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor laws in utilizing "secondary strikes" and labor boycotts. What's posed is a broad social struggle even more sweeping than that which led to the organization of the industrial unions of the CIO in the 1930s. Then, the UAW confronted Klan terror directly in its drive to organize the scattered outposts of the auto industry. During a 1936 strike at a GM plant in Anderson, Indiana, UAW organizers (including Sophie Reuther, the wife of Walter Reuther) had their headquarters stormed by Klansmen acting at the bosses' behest. In the Midwest and throughout the South, CIO organizers were hounded and murdered by these nativist fascists.

Today as well, *any attempt to organize the South requires fighting racism, defending immigrants, and taking on the whole apparatus of capitalist repression*—from the cops and courts to the mercenary strikebreaking outfits like Vance Security and the lynchers of the KKK. Last summer during a union organizing campaign at a poultry plant in Alabama, a cross was burned on company property to intimidate workers into voting against the union. The union tops breed illusions in the Democrats as supposed "friends of labor." Yet Democrat Clinton's longtime financial backer, Arkansas-based Tyson Foods, is one of the biggest non-union poultry packing operations in the country. As we have repeatedly stated, black rights and labor rights go forward together...or fall back separately.

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy is the conscious enemy of class struggle. The bureaucrats' zeal for protectionism is a particularly vile betrayal of the working class, fueling anti-immigrant racism at home and poisoning workers' struggles internationally. Spewing such filth is nothing new for the labor sellouts, who for years, along with their Democratic Party bedfellows, have blamed the massive decline in the living standards of

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After UPIU Tops' Surrender at Staley

Trailmobile Workers Fight Lockout

CHICAGO—Less than an hour's drive from Decatur, the center of what was proclaimed the "war zone" of Illinois labor struggles, corporate union-busters are at it again. Trailmobile, a manufacturer of semi-trailers in the tiny city of Charleston, locked out 1,200 members of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 7591 on January 21. The workers, who have gone four years without a single pay raise, had just rejected the company's "offer" of another three-year wage freeze. A month into the lockout, Trailmobile started bringing in scabs protected by phalanxes of state and local cops while a police helicopter droned overhead. Since then, picketing union members have been watching 200 scabs enter the plant each day, while union tops wring their hands.

The shadow that falls longest across the workers at Trailmobile is the defeat at A.E. Staley, where UPIU Local 7837 ended their two-and-a-half year struggle in a total surrender just weeks before the lockout at Trailmobile. "A lot of people are scared because of what's happened in Decatur. They don't want that to happen here," a locked-out union member told *Workers Vanguard*. In fact, the Trailmobile bosses' aggressive union-busting assault is a direct result of the smashing of the Staley workers, as well as of the surrender by the United Auto Workers (UAW) tops at Caterpillar in early December and the folding of the Bridgestone-Firestone strike by the United Rubber Workers (URW) last May. This string of defeats was the product of the labor bureaucrats' refusal—despite the "war zone" rhetoric—to wage all-out class war against the capitalists who are bent on destroying the unions.

In late December, members of UPIU Local 7837 were strong-armed by Paperworkers' International president Wayne Glenn to vote on a contract worse than the one they rejected more than three years ago. Staley workers approved the contract with a vote of 286 to 226. It is indicative of their will to fight that even after enduring 30 months of a lockout, 45 percent of the bitter and exhausted Staley workers voted against the surrender. Less than one-third of the original 762 locked-out workers will ever get their jobs back in Staley's huge corn processing plant. Those who do return face 12-hour days on 30-day rotating shifts and mandatory overtime, in addition to being "retrained" by scabs. Like UAW workers returning to Caterpillar plants, any union members who aren't "polite" to the scabs can be fired on the spot.

Corporate Campaign

Staley workers being gassed by cops during sit-down demonstration in June 1994. Union tops played by bosses' rules, leading to bitter defeat.

The labor battles of the Illinois "war zone" could have been won. Thousands of Midwest workers repeatedly trekked to Decatur or Peoria to bolster picket lines or attend rallies. But the union brass refused to build mass picket lines to stop scabs and shut down production, refusing to "hot cargo" scab products and instead launching toothless consumer boycotts while spewing out poisonous protectionism. The centerpiece of the Staley struggle was yet another "corporate campaign" designed by Ray Rogers—whose policies ran the 1986 meatpackers strike against Hormel into the ground—and pushed by Jerry Tucker, the "New Directions" honcho in the UAW. Their struggle-free "Boycott Pepsi" substitute for militant labor action predictably fizzled, and the UPIU traitors easily shoved Rogers and Tucker out of the picture just before knifing the Staley struggle altogether.

Tailing after the union brass and their "progressive" advisers were a gaggle of pseudo-socialists in the Staley Workers Solidarity Committee in Chicago, which dedicated itself to "corporate campaign" demos against Miller Beer and Pepsi. Although some wanted to spice up their empty "solidarity" with civil disobedience stunts, they never frontally challenged the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and its policies of defeat. Now this crowd is writing post-mortem reports, sugarcoating the surrender. The International Socialist Organization cynically reported "Staley Workers Approve Return-to-Work Proposal," the Socialist Workers Party headlined "Paperworkers Return Under New Terms," and Solidarity spewed out gobbledegook about how "Local 7837 should be proud of stretching the boundaries in how its members view business, the media, government and the interrelatedness of the three.... We shall never forget you!" (*Against the Current*, March/April 1996).

The same blueprint for defeat is being repeated at Trailmobile, where the UPIU's sellout bureaucrats have already told workers not to block the plant's entrances, but to stand in idle protest as the scabs cruise past. Despite this, Federal Express and UPS drivers have refused to cross the lines, as have a few other truckers. Students from nearby Eastern Illinois University have stopped by to bolster the lines and show their support. "The union has instructed everybody to abide by the law and everything," said a worker who then echoed the union misleaders' strategy of defeat. "We want everybody to realize that we're the victims here. We're protesting but we're being orderly about it." But Staley workers were "orderly" and all they got was pepper-gassed by the capitalists' cops. What's desperately needed are militant, mass picket lines that scabs won't dare cross!

Southeastern Illinois is Klan country, and while the locked-out Trailmobile workers are overwhelmingly white, many of the scabs recruited by the company are black. A class-struggle leadership would undercut the bosses' attempts to play the race card by aggressively mobilizing against the racist terrorists of the KKK. In January 1994, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor-centered action to spike a Klan provocation at the Illinois state capitol in Springfield. But although there was considerable interest from among the embattled unionists in the Peoria-Decatur area, the state AFL-CIO tops ordered unions to stay away from the labor/black mobilization. Only by championing the struggle against the special oppression faced by black people, as well as by Hispanics and immigrants, can the unions forge the integrated struggle needed to defeat the capitalist attacks.

Turning back the "war zone" defeats won't be easy. Doing so means sweeping out the "labor lieutenants of capital" who sit atop the unions and whose main interest lies in protecting their own salaries, prestige and the profit system. Labor's misleaders have shackled the unions to the Democratic Party and are even willing to preside over their destruction. They are quite prepared to sacrifice the 1,200 Trailmobile workers, just as they did earlier with Caterpillar, Bridgestone-Firestone and Staley. To conquer the bosses, the workers need class-struggle leadership fighting to build a workers party. Victory to Trailmobile workers! ■

American working people on "unfair" Japanese competition. In their determination to knife struggle against the Detroit auto bosses in the 1970s and '80s, the UAW bureaucrats organized violently anti-Japanese "Toyota-bashing" rallies, inflaming racist attacks on Asian Americans. This fueled the chauvinist climate that led to the murderous 1982 attack in Detroit on Chinese American Vincent Chin by a Chrysler foreman and his unemployed stepson.

AFL-CIO tops recently complained of proto-fascist presidential candidate Pat Buchanan's "populist" appeal to blue-collar workers. AFSCME head Gerald McEntee said he felt "like a songwriter who wrote a song about seven years ago and he couldn't get anybody to publish or sing it, and then all of a sudden Pat Buchanan is singing part of it" (*AFL-CIO News*, 11 March). Their complaint over Buchanan's racist "America First" protectionism is that they said it first! Sweeney whined that Buchanan "talks the talk, but won't walk the walk." But just listen to Buchanan's talk—he is an admirer of witchhunter Joe McCarthy and clerical-fascist Father Coughlin. He calls Hitler "an individual of great courage" and denies the Nazis' mass murder in the Treblinka death camp. He is a Jew-baiting, black-hating, immigrant- and gay-bashing deadly enemy of workers and all the oppressed.

Meanwhile, Buchanan has provided the bureaucrats and their fake-left cheerleaders with a convenient foil for their usual "fight the right" rhetoric as an excuse for lining up behind Clinton. The massive layoffs, cutbacks and union-busting drives have only escalated under the Democratic White House. Nonetheless, the AFL-CIO tops plan to use the issues raised in the Dayton strike—job security and "corporate responsibility"—as their banner in the elections. Yesterday, a special convention of the AFL-CIO formally endorsed Clinton for president, and pledged to raise $35 million for the campaign. The "Union Summer" campaign they have launched to recruit college students to become labor organizers will spend a lot of its efforts stumping for the Democrats.

Waging real class struggle against the capitalists requires a break with the Democrats and forging a workers party. The strike in Dayton showed that labor has the power to shut down industry. The question, however, is one of class-struggle leadership. What is necessary is a political battle to oust the labor lieutenants of capital and forge a revolutionary vanguard capable of leading the working class to victory over its exploiters. As we wrote in response to a letter from an IAM business representative who repeated many of the same themes as Sweeney, Yokich et al. ("Protectionism vs. Class Struggle," *WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995):

> "Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the bureaucracy's acquiescence to what is possible and 'practical' under capitalism, which over the last two decades or more has led to disaster. Or there is the revolutionary strategy posed by us Marxists. In the course of sharp class struggles and through patient education, the workers will become imbued with the consciousness of their historic interests as a class fighting for itself and for all the oppressed." ■

Oakland...

(continued from page 3)

back to work one and a half days later.

Earlier, at a March 13 press conference, Oakland's black Democratic mayor, Elihu Harris, demanded that teachers accept a "compromise" within the week or face a strikebreaking court injunction. Also on hand were the state superintendent of schools, Delaine Eastin, to make her own injunction threat, and former Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson, who called on church ministers to help get the kids to school the following Monday, "strike or no strike" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 14 March). Highly paid black school officials (several pulling down over $100,000)—echoed by the local NAACP leadership, black ministers, the capitalist media and the Chamber of Commerce—frequently denounced the integrated strike as "racist," while themselves trying to keep poor black youth condemned to decaying, understaffed schools!

However, these cynical attempts to set minority parents against the teachers mostly failed. Many black and Latino parents in the Oakland flatlands saw the strike as a way to fight for their children to get a decent education, and kept their kids out in solidarity until the bitter end. For them, the settlement was a real stab in the back. At one school with a mixed black and Latino student body, where no teachers crossed the lines, teachers decided as a group to oppose the contract because of its failure to provide for the children.

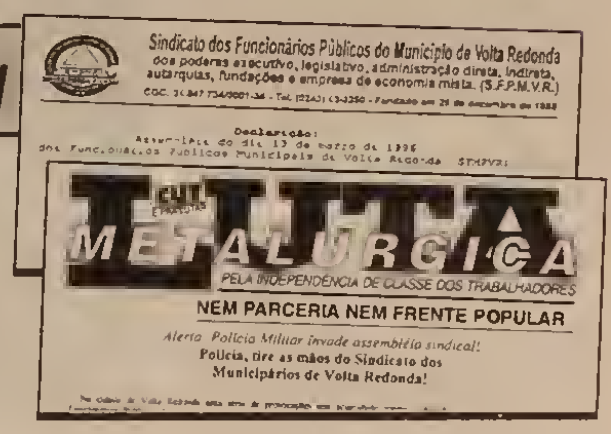
This was a fight for all of the working people of Oakland, for our children and our future. To bring that fight to a successful conclusion requires sweeping away the labor traitors. We need to forge a new, class-struggle leadership of the workers movement, one that will break with the Democrats and Republicans and build a workers party that champions the interests of those who create the wealth of this country. Such a party must lead labor to take up the struggle of blacks, women, Latinos and immigrants, fighting for a workers government where quality education will be a right for all and not restricted by class privilege. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Military Police Invade Municipal Workers Assembly

Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!

Labor Alert: Call for International Labor Solidarity



Appeals issued by combative workers in Brazilian steel center of Volta Redonda protesting Military Police invasion of Municipal Workers union meeting.

We print below an urgent appeal from Luta Metalúrgica (LM—Metal Workers Struggle) in the Brazilian industrial center of Volta Redonda, near Rio de Janeiro. On March 13, a meeting of the Municipal Workers Union was invaded by the notoriously murderous Military Police. It is vital that the police and the state authorities who give them their orders are sent a message that the labor movement and defenders of democratic rights the world over stand in solidarity against this cop provocation against combative sectors of the Brazilian workers movement.

Luta Metalúrgica, which recently adopted the name of Liga Quarta-internacionalista do Brasil (LQI—Fourth Internationalist League of Brazil), is fraternally linked with the International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section. Last August, LM organized labor/black rallies in Brazil against the threatened execution of black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in Pennsylvania. An August 10 protest in Volta Redonda was co-sponsored by the same Municipal Workers Union which is today under attack.

The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WV* to take up the defense of these unionists. The following appeal is being circulated with accompanying supporting documentation available on request from the PDC.

* * *

In the city of Volta Redonda, Brazil there has been a series of escalating provocations against the leadership of the combative Municipal Workers Union of Volta Redonda (SFPMVR), climaxing in a sinister invasion of a union assembly by the Military Police. On the afternoon of March 13, while an SFPMVR membership meeting was underway outside the city council building, a physical attack, apparently premeditated, was staged against union president Geraldo Ribeiro, who had been elected on the slate of "Municipários em Luta" (MEL—Municipal Workers in Struggle) last November. A bare five minutes after this attack, a squad of four Military Police entered the meeting armed with pistols and shotguns. Ominously, the assistant coroner, known as "Pereira" and currently a candidate for city councilman, showed up as well.

Although union president Geraldo managed to calm the police and no one was injured, this was a potentially deadly attack on the SFPMVR, the CUT trade-union federation with which it is affiliated, and the entire workers movement. The Military Police are notorious for their massacres of street children, blacks, peasants and others the authorities consider "suspect." We urgently appeal to unions and organizations throughout Brazil and internationally to denounce this outrage and demand: Police hands off Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union! An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Military Police invasion was orchestrated by one Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes, the secretary of the union, who has carried out a campaign of provocations over the last two months, seeking to stage a coup to oust union president Geraldo Ribeiro and his adviser Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo," leader of Luta Metalúrgica (LM). From the very beginning of the March 13 meeting, one of the members of the Arthur faction, Sebastião de Fátima Batista Passos, known as "Motorzinho," began provoking Geraldo, attempting to prevent the president of the SFPMVR from presiding over the union meeting, which was attended by some 50 people. As the workers present chanted, "Geraldo presidente," Motorzinho kept pushing and finally grabbed Ribeiro's arm, ripping the buttons off his shirt. Geraldo was unharmed only because union members intervened energetically to defend him, while Motorzinho kept hurling foul-mouthed curses against him.

Barely five minutes after this altercation, the four Military Police arrived. There were two sergeants and two privates, the latter armed with shotguns and pistols. Shotguns are generally not used in Brazil in strike situations. Rather, they are used in extremely violent confrontations. These are the preferred weapons of the ROTA, the Military Police of the state of São Paulo, internationally known as one of the most violent police forces in the world.

The Military Police said they came because they were called, and asked if there was a disturbance. Union president Geraldo replied that everything was under control. At this moment, Arthur and Motorzinho rabidly pointed at Cerezo, pointing him out to the Military Police, saying that Cerezo threatened to kill them. Cerezo demonstrated to the police that he was not armed. The Military Police put back their shotguns but came back with riot clubs and positioned themselves strategically around the meeting, placing the assembly under police occupation.

Later, three municipal policemen (*guardas*) arrived, and several plainclothes policemen were also present in the meeting. One of them was overheard saying that they had been contracted by Arthur for 10 Reais (US$11) apiece, but expressed concern that because they arrived late according to Arthur, they might not be paid.

This attack comes at a time when the federal government and Congress are preparing a constitutional change to eliminate public employees' gains, rights and civil service job protection, preparing the way for massive layoffs. It is part of an effort to destroy the Municipal Workers Union, which has ceaselessly fought against firings by the Volta Redonda city administration. The SFPMVR has carried out seven strikes in recent years, successfully preventing 2,800 threatened layoffs. Union president Geraldo played a leading role in those strikes. The timing of the police assault is particularly ominous, given that in recent weeks Geraldo has been

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Police Death Squads Murder Street Children

Financial Times

AP

Brazilian police are notorious for murdering black street children in the huge *favelas* (slum areas) around the major cities. Above (top): Military Police patrolling the Rio de Janeiro district of Rocinha. Bottom: Six street children massacred in the shantytown of Duque de Caixas in November 1991.

Recently, on March 15, a police death squad killed three street children outside the provincial capital of Belo Horizonte. Calling themselves the "Reaction Group," the cold-blooded murderers left a letter complaining of low wages for civilian cops and threatening that "the blood ritual will not stop."

This is the killer cops' grotesque idea of a "job action." We say: *Police are the armed fist of the bourgeoisie! Cops out of the unions!* ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 643 — 12 April 1996

Democrats, Republicans Push Racist War on Immigrants— Full Citizenship Rights for All!

Vile Cop Beating of Mexican Immigrants

LOS ANGELES, April 7—Millions of television viewers watched in horror as, yet again, a videotape showed Southern California cops brutally, methodically, repeatedly bringing their nightsticks down on their defenseless victims. "It's like Rodney King all over again," was the common response. Once again, the cops got caught on videotape doing what they always do for their racist capitalist masters. This time the victims were not black but a Mexican immigrant couple who had come north in a desperate attempt to earn enough for themselves and their children to survive. It almost cost them their lives. "I thought they were going to kill me," recalled a shaken Alicia Sotero Vásquez of the beating she and Enrique Funes Flores suffered at the hands of two Riverside County sheriff's deputies on April 1.

Coming after the 1991 beating of black motorist Rodney King and the fascist ravings of former LAPD detective Mark Fuhrman last year, the televised images of this sadistic cop attack threw a spotlight on the whole system of racist cop terror and, more particularly, on the bipartisan war on immigrants. Haunted by the spectre of another explosion like the 1992 multiracial upheaval that rocked L.A. after the acquittal of King's tormentors, bourgeois spokesmen from Clinton down to the local sheriff's department rushed to issue hypocritical condemnations of the latest cop beating. But murderous anti-immigrant racism is endemic to this system. Only five days later, seven immigrants were killed and 18 injured when the Border Patrol pursued their truck until it crashed near Temecula. And the same weekend in San Francisco, 41-year-old Mark Garcia was killed by cops who beat and pepper-sprayed him.

Sotero and Funes were among some 20 undocumented immigrants who found themselves in the middle of a terrifying 80-mile car chase after the pickup truck they were in came under pursuit near an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) checkpoint near Temecula. The others fled when the truck pulled over on a freeway in South El Monte, but were later captured. Sotero was still trying to get out when the cops arrived and immediately began crashing their batons down on her, pulling her to the ground by her hair and throwing her against the side of the truck. When her companion Funes came to her side, he was also beaten to the ground with repeated baton assaults. The TV footage also showed a third Mexican migrant worker, José Pedroza Cortés, being beaten by a deputy.

The vile beatings provoked outrage internationally, particularly in Southern California and Mexico. Angry protesters have taken to the streets almost every day in Los Angeles, culminating in an April 6 march on L.A. City Hall by upwards of 10,000 people. Among the overwhelmingly Latino marchers were union contingents from various SEIU (Service Employees) locals, including Local 399 Justice for Janitors, H.E.R.E. Local 11 hotel workers and the Garment Workers Justice Center.

As a speaker defiantly declared, "We are not illegal," thousands chanted in unison in Spanish. "We want justice, we want justice!" But while the demonstration organizers lambasted Republican governor Pete Wilson, architect of the 1994 anti-immigrant Proposition 187, they provided a platform for an array of local Democratic Party politicians. Yet no less than the Republicans, Clinton's Democrats are in the forefront of the war against immigrants, from militarization of the Mexican border to coast-to-coast dragnets by the hated *migra* (INS) against "illegal" immigrant workers. Even fascistic Republican Pat Buchanan praises Clinton's anti-immigrant operation for being "on the right track."

The Spartacist League and L.A. Spartacus Youth Club joined in the April 6 rally and earlier protests including an SYC-initiated speakout at UCLA on April 5, to win workers and youth to a class-struggle fight against anti-immigrant racism. SL and SYC signs called for "Full Citizenship Rights for *All* Immigrants!" and "For Labor/Minority Mobilizations Against Racist Anti-Immigrant Terror!" Against pervasive illusions in the Democrats, the SL/SYC raised the call, "Break with the Democrats/

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California Videotape Shows What Happens All the Time

KCAL-TV

Reuters

Los Angeles, April 6: Upwards of 10,000 people took to the streets in outrage over videotaped police beating of Mexican migrant workers Alicia Sotero Vásquez and Enrique Funes Flores (above).

WV Photo

Spartacist/Labor Black League contingent at April 5 protest in San Francisco. Mobilizing labor power is key to defending immigrant rights.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Suit Filed Against NPR Censorship of Mumia Abu-Jamal

On March 28, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Prison Radio Project, a project of the Quixote Center, filed a lawsuit in a Washington, D.C. federal court against National Public Radio (NPR), charging it with violation of Jamal's First Amendment right to speech free from government censorship. The Prison Radio Project had recorded a series of powerful commentaries by Mumia about life on death row and oppressive prison conditions in the U.S. which he had prepared especially for NPR. Before his imprisonment, Jamal, a former Black Panther leader and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, was an award-winning radio journalist.

In May 1994, the announcement by NPR of its plans to broadcast Mumia's commentaries on its premier show, *All Things Considered*, was met immediately with vicious hostility by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and other reactionary forces. Senate majority leader Robert Dole joined the F.O.P. campaign, railing on the Senate floor against NPR's plans to air the commentaries and threatening to cut off its federal funding. NPR capitulated *within two days* to the F.O.P.-organized protest against the broadcasts, canceling Mumia's commentaries.

NPR's cancellation was a dangerous blow against Jamal's struggle to overturn his frame-up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. Nevertheless, the controversy over the banning of the broadcasts served to put a national spotlight on Jamal's case, and led to widespread recognition of Jamal as a gifted and courageous journalist. At the same time, the F.O.P. extended its campaign for Mumia's execution, in Philadelphia and nationally.

The lawsuit focuses on the fact that NPR had initially made an editorial decision to use the commentaries. After hearing a sample of Jamal's commentaries, Ellen Weiss, the executive producer of *All Things Considered*, had told Noelle Hanrahan of the Prison Radio Project that they offered a "unique perspective" that "my audience needs to hear." NPR's subsequent cancellation of the broadcasts in response to political pressure was an act of self-censorship that constituted, according to the suit, a "viewpoint discrimination in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments." The suit demands $2 million in damages and that the tapes, which NPR now wrongfully holds, be aired. NPR has consistently suppressed the tapes, refusing to let other radio stations play them.

Significantly, a year after the NPR incident and shortly after a death warrant had been signed against Mumia—which was later stayed following a wave of international protests—Republican Dole delivered a sinister speech on the Senate floor claiming credit for himself and other members of Congress for NPR's abrupt canceling of Jamal's commentaries. Meanwhile, the Democrats are trying to outdo the Republicans in carrying out the racist "law and order" drive, with Clinton pushing Congress to adopt a "counterterrorism" bill drastically restricting the right to appeal death sentences in the federal courts. Last May, Clinton ostentatiously addressed a mass F.O.P. rally, held during its convention in Washington, which was attended by the widow of the policeman Jamal was falsely convicted of killing.

At the time of NPR's reversal, the Partisan Defense Committee made clear the danger presented by NPR's capitulation to the cop campaign to silence Mumia. At a June 1994 New York City speakout protesting the ban, which was hosted by actor Ossie Davis and organized by the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, a PDC spokesman noted: "They are trying to silence Mumia today to make it easier to execute him tomorrow."

Those same reactionary forces who sought then to gag Mumia are still trying to silence this impassioned and articulate voice on behalf of the oppressed. The lawsuit against NPR is an opportunity to further publicize Mumia's fight. While every available legal measure must be exploited in the effort to overturn the frame-up of this innocent man, we look to the unleashed power of the multiracial working class to win Mumia's freedom and that of all class-war prisoners. Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Kronstadt 1921 and Counterrevolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

In March 1921, after Soviet Russia had been bled white by three years of Civil War, imperialist intervention, embargo and famine, the Bolshevik government was confronted by a rebellion of the Kronstadt naval garrison. In the 75 years since, anarchists, social democrats and bourgeois reactionaries have all seized on the Bolsheviks' suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny in order to equate the communism of Lenin and Trotsky with the bureaucratic Stalinist regime which usurped political power and ultimately paved the way for capitalist restoration. In fact, the revolt by Kronstadt sailors (largely of peasant origin) was a counterrevolutionary rising—supported by open White Guardists like Milinkov—whose suppression was a matter of life or death for the workers state. Trotsky made this clear in responding to a "hue and cry" over Kronstadt in the 1930s by anarchists and social democrats—who were themselves aiding the Stalinists in betraying the Spanish Revolution.

Unless we are to deceive ourselves with pretentious slogans, false labels, etc., we shall see that the Kronstadt uprising was nothing but an armed reaction of the petty bourgeoisie against the hardships of social revolution and the severity of the proletarian dictatorship.

That was exactly the significance of the Kronstadt slogan, "Soviets without Communists," which was immediately seized upon, not only by the SRs but by the bourgeois liberals as well. As a rather farsighted representative of capital, Professor Miliukov understood that to free the soviets from the leadership of the Bolsheviks would have meant within a short time to demolish the soviets themselves. The experience of the Russian soviets during the period of Menshevik and SR domination and, even more clearly, the experience of the German and Austrian soviets under the domination of the Social Democrats, proved this. Social Revolutionary-Anarchist soviets could serve only as a bridge from the proletarian dictatorship to capitalist restoration. They could play no other role, regardless of the "ideas" of their participants. The Kronstadt uprising thus had a counterrevolutionary character.

From the class point of view, which—without offense to the honorable eclectics—remains the basic criterion not only for politics but for history, it is extremely important to contrast the behavior of Kronstadt to that of Petrograd in those critical days. The whole leading stratum of the workers had also been drawn out of Petrograd. Hunger and cold reigned in the deserted capital, perhaps even more fiercely than in Moscow.... The Kronstadt uprising did not attract the Petrograd workers. It repelled them. The stratification proceeded along class lines. The workers immediately felt that the Kronstadt mutineers stood on the opposite side of the barricades—and they supported the Soviet power. The political isolation of Kronstadt was the cause of its internal uncertainty and its military defeat....

A revolution has its own laws. Long ago we formulated those "lessons of October" which have not only a Russian but an international significance. No one else has even tried to suggest any other "lessons." The Spanish revolution is negative confirmation of the "lessons of October." And the severe critics are silent or equivocal. The Spanish government of the "People's Front" stifles the socialist revolution and shoots revolutionists. The Anarchists participate in this government, or, when they are driven out, continue to support the executioners. And their foreign allies and lawyers occupy themselves meanwhile with a defense...of the Kronstadt mutiny against the harsh Bolsheviks. A shameful travesty!

—Leon Trotsky, "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt" (January 1938)

Ramona Africa Suit Against Philadelphia for MOVE Bombing

On April 9, a trial finally began in federal court in Philadelphia over the civil suit for damages filed *nine years ago* by MOVE member Ramona Africa against the city of Philadelphia (and the police and fire chiefs at the time) over

Wilson/Washington Post

Ramona Africa

the bombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue commune on Mother's Day, 13 May 1985. Ramona Africa is the sole adult survivor of the firebombing of the MOVE home. The deliberate incineration of eleven people, including five children by Philly cops—with the aid of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and FBI—was given the go-ahead by former black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. Sixty houses burned in the West Philadelphia black neighborhood that day, leaving hundreds homeless. The civil suit will refocus public attention on the bombing of MOVE at a time when Philadelphia police are reeling from revelations of deep corruption and brutality.

While Ramona Africa spent over

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 9.

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Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, April 16: *How the Soviet Workers State was Strangled*; April 23: *We Need an International, Revolutionary, Workers Party*; Boston College, Devlin Hall, Room 221
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next classes, April 18: *Defend Abortion Clinics! Smash Anti-Abortion Terrorists! Marxism and the Struggle Against Women's Oppression*; May 9: *The Struggle for Worker's Power: Lessons of the Paris Commune and the Bolshevik Revolution*;
University of Chicago,
106 Cobb Hall
For more information: (312) 454-4930

CHICAGO

Spartacist League Forum

Saturday, 7p.m., April 27: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are A Dead End! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; University of Chicago, Ida Noyes, West Lounge, 2nd Floor
For more information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

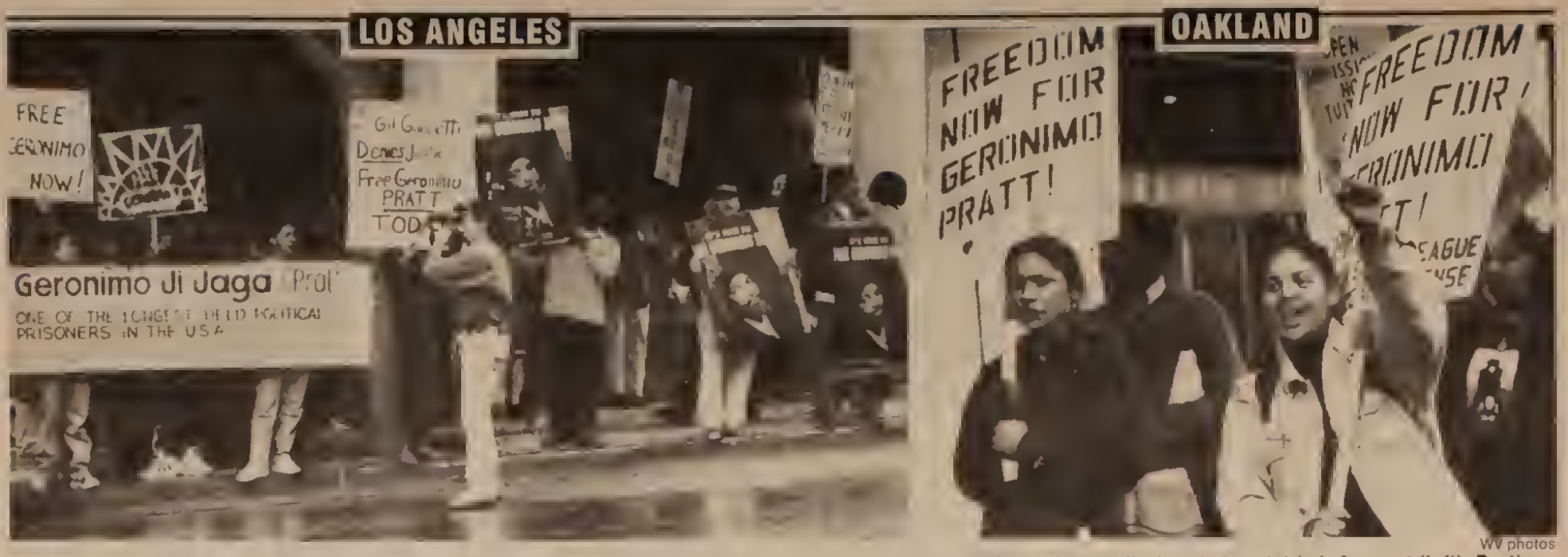
Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, April 13: *The Permanent Revolution*; April 27: *The Popular Front: Roadblock to Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Mondays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, April 15: *Race and Class in Capitalist America*; April 22: *The Fight for Women's Rights*; University of Maryland, College Park, Hornbake Library, Non-Print Media Section, Room P
For more information: (202) 872-8240



WV photos

Demonstrations on March 28 to support imprisoned former Black Panther leader: Geronimo Defense Committee called protest outside L.A. court (left), Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League organized united-front rally in Oakland.

D.A. Attempts to Obstruct Geronimo's Right to Appeal

Protests Demand: Freedom for Geronimo Now!

All Out for Next Court Date, April 17!

Government forces have once again sought to deny Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) an opportunity to reverse the frame-up that has kept this former leader of the Black Panther Party in prison for a quarter of a century. There is no doubt of his innocence. It is because of his refusal to renounce his political views that the Los Angeles district attorney's office—which orchestrated the LAPD and FBI's attempts to "neutralize" Geronimo as part of their "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to destroy the Panthers—wants to keep him behind bars. Geronimo told FOX TV in an interview last week, "I feel proud that I stood up and fought for my people, and I'm going to continue to do that."

On March 28, Geronimo appeared in court on his own behalf for the first time in eleven years in the latest phase of his decades-long fight to overturn his conviction. Geronimo's supporters packed the Los Angeles courtroom to show solidarity with this black militant, framed up for a 1968 murder that the government knows he did not commit: the FBI's own wiretaps (which have since "disappeared") showed that at the time of the murder, Geronimo was at a Panther meeting 400 miles away. Recently, a detailed account of the state's frame-up of Geronimo was featured in a cover article in the magazine section of the London *Independent* (11 March).

Both outside the courthouse and in Oakland, demonstrators demanded freedom for Geronimo and an end to the COINTELPRO frame-up. Dozens of Black Panthers and other radicals were killed in FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's bloody COINTELPRO campaign, while others like Geronimo were framed up and sent to rot in prison.

At the hearing, Judge Michael Cowell set a date of April 17 for argument on the District Attorney's motion that Geronimo's petition to overturn his conviction be dismissed or transferred to the California Supreme Court. The judge acknowledged that Geronimo has raised "some very substantial issues" and that his petition "has a lot of merit," but stated that the D.A.'s "late challenge" to the jurisdiction issue—filed only the day before—must he resolved first.

On February 26, Geronimo's attorneys, Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon, filed for a writ of *habeas corpus* aiming to overturn Geronimo's conviction, on the basis of substantial new evidence of his innocence. This includes information revealing the likely real killers in the case, testimony that FBI wiretap transcripts prove that Geronimo was in Oakland at the time of the Santa Monica killing, and evidence that the state's prosecutor knowingly hid the fact that the main witness against Geronimo was an FBI informant. Under court order to respond by March 27, D.A. Gil Garcetti's office requested a three-month extension to respond to evidence that they have already been "investigating" for almost *three years*.

Angered by the D.A.'s hypocritical claim of diligently pursuing this investigation, Cochran responded, "We are not going to sit here and listen to people who have had this case for three years talk about truth and justice." Hanlon added that the D.A. "only wants to hide the evidence.... In the guise of claiming to put the case forward, they are actually delaying it further."

Geronimo's attorneys also insisted that the Superior Court is the proper place to hear this case and pointed out that the Supreme Court does not hear new evidence. The D.A.'s jurisdictional maneuver is a blatant attempt to keep Geronimo locked away; they know full well that the Supreme Court, the majority appointed by pro-death penalty, anti-immigrant governor Wilson, is not likely to permit any court to hear further documentation of the government's racist conspiracy to destroy the Panthers, in which Geronimo was framed up.

The judge denied Geronimo's request for bail and ordered that he remain in the Los Angeles County jail until the April 17 hearing. Continuing the prison authorities' longstanding policy of punitive treatment, local jailers had attempted to deny Geronimo access to his legal team and refused visits from his family. In response to protests from Geronimo's attorneys, the judge directed the sheriff to accord Geronimo the same rights as any other prisoner. Despite this order, Geronimo is still being subjected to exceptional harassment in prison.

AP

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

Outside the L.A. court on March 28, a multiracial group of 200 militantly demonstrated their support for Geronimo. Thursday's rally concluded a week of activities called by the Geronimo Defense Committee to publicize his case. Trade unionists from the National Association of Letter Carriers and SEIU 660, and from AFSCME Local 444 who came down from the San Francisco Bay Area, joined with students from UCLA, UC Santa Cruz and Oakland's Laney College, as well as representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, Spartacist League, Refuse & Resist and other leftist and black organizations. The hearing was attended by Geronimo's family and longtime supporters. Also present was Jeanne Hamilton, a juror at Geronimo's 1972 trial who has asserted that the jury was hoodwinked by the D.A., most notably by having the FBI's involvement in the case hidden from them.

An outpouring of protest on Geronimo's behalf followed the filing of new papers last month. Particularly striking is the support this former leader of the Black Panthers has received from California trade unions. New letters have been sent to the District Attorney's office by unions representing tens of thousands of workers, including two American Postal Workers (APWU) locals, AFSCME Local 444 and the Alameda Central Labor Council. The ILWU International wrote to L.A. district attorney Garcetti, "Justice demands that, at least minimally, Mr. Pratt is entitled to a new trial. Ideally, however, that he has been denied due process of law and incarcerated for over two decades as a result is more than sufficient reason for his immediate release."

SEIU Local 1877 in San Jose added

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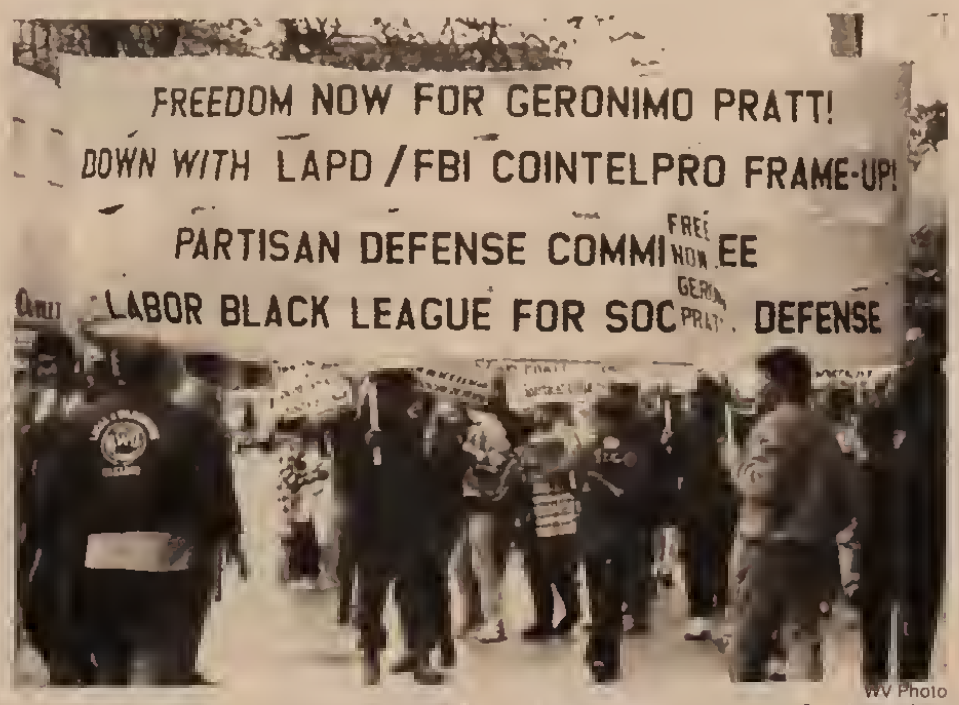

WV Photo

Banner at March 28 Oakland protest. Deadly FBI/COINTELPRO campaign targeted Black Panther activists for "neutralization."

Defend David Hunter! Drop the Charges!

Anti-Klan Fighter Rams KKK Storefront

ATLANTA—Since it opened in early March, the "Redneck Shop" in Laurens, South Carolina has been met with outrage by opponents of racism in the area. Billing itself as the "World's Only Klan Museum," the "shop" is in reality a nest of racist terrorists. On March 16, 300 people marched in an integrated protest against this provocation. A week later, David Hunter of West Columbia, South Carolina took matters into his own hands, repeatedly ramming his van into the KKK shop of horrors, scattering Confederate flags and pictures of Klan leaders to the wind. Hunter was arrested while from atop his van he was dislodging the letters "KKK" from the store's marquee.

The Redneck Shop sells Confederate flags, stickers and T-shirts, lamps with ceramic bases shaped like a hooded Klansman, and knives with "KKK" etched on the blades. There are pictures of cross-burnings and a "display" of open coffins with black mannequins with ropes around their necks! This fascist enterprise is the work of one John Howard, a leading South Carolina Klansman. Located on Laurens' main square, near two black churches, the shop is an incitement to KKK lynchings and arson.

For his admirable stand against the racist marauders, Hunter faces two felony counts of malicious damage to property which could result in *20 years'* imprisonment. At a March 25 bond hearing, Hunter, a white 43-year-old carpetlayer, mounted a powerful defense of his actions. He told the Laurens County court, "I think it's better to do this than, six months from now, to have to look at the face of an anguished black woman on television whose son has been hung from a tree and tortured." Protest leaders and friends helped Hunter make his $20,000 bail. He will reappear in court on May 20. We demand: Drop the charges against this courageous anti-racist fighter!

In a phone interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Hunter told of receiving letters from black people commending him for his action. Family members are vigorously supporting him, saying his deed "will become family legend." Hunter acknowledges a debt to his mother, who was an early activist for civil rights, joining the NAACP in 1949 and marching on Washington in the '60s. Hunter was fired after his arrest, but has since been rehired. A former employer provided him with a truck because, Hunter said, "Bessie, my freedom-fighting Ford, is still locked up." Hunter's act particularly resonates in South Carolina, where the Confederate battle flag of slavery flying over the state capitol has prompted a series of large, mainly black protests.

Dave Ekren/Greenville News

Thomas S England

Laurens, South Carolina: 300 people joined in integrated protest against KKK "Redneck Shop" on March 16. One week later, David Hunter rammed his van into the racist terrorist "shop."

The backdrop to Hunter's actions is a recent rise in incidents of racist terror across the South. Last December, a black couple in Fayetteville, North Carolina was killed by white-supremacist soldiers from Fort Bragg. A recently released Army report attempting to whitewash the extent of Klan and Nazi sympathies within the armed forces nevertheless admits that "there have long been suspicions of ties between soldiers at Fort Bragg and white supremacist groups." The report notes that Green Berets were convicted in 1991 for stockpiling stolen weapons for a race war, while a 1986 study found that Fort Bragg authorities had lost track of 32,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition, 1,500 grenades and 3,600 pounds of explosives!

Meanwhile, in the last three years, fires have damaged or destroyed at least 25 black churches in the South—19 of these in the last 14 months alone. Even though burning crosses were left at some of the sites, and some of the churches were for years openly targeted by the Klan, a spokesman for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) said that there is "no evidence to indicate there is a conspiracy against black churches" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 3 March). In fact, the BATF and other agencies of the capitalist state are closely intertwined with the racist terrorists in white sheets: at least 12 BATF agents assigned to the church bombing investigations were participants in the vile, racist "Good Ol' Boys Roundups" in Tennessee.

The Treasury Department has just issued new "rules" forbidding BATF agents and other Treasury officers from engaging in "off-duty manifestations of racial and other forms of bias." *On* duty, Justice and Treasury agents have worked hand in glove with the Klan, from Birmingham church bombings in the 1960s to the murder of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. With the government itself reinstituting prison chain gangs—a practice associated with the era of Jim Crow segregation—examples continue to mount giving the lie to the myth of the "New South." Last month, a Baptist church in Georgia attempted to disinter an infant whose father was black from a "whites only" cemetery. Only because of a national outpouring of indignation over this ghoulish act of racism did the church agree to drop its plan to exhume the infant, although church officials continue to bar the interracial couple from joining the congregation.

One thing that has changed in recent years is the development of an industrial belt along Interstates 26 and 85, lured by low-wage labor in the historically "open shop" South. Laurens itself is less than an hour from Spartanburg, one of the new centers of industrial production. The growth of these facilities is strengthening the raw numbers of the multiracial working class, which is the Achilles' heel of the racist capitalist system. The struggle to unionize these Southern plants will have to take on the task of dispersing the KKK, since the Klan has always been in the front lines of the union-busting forces.

A concerted effort by the labor movement to organize the South would deal a huge blow to the Klan's nests in the area. By the same token, key to reviving the trade unions as a whole is to mobilize labor in the struggle against racial oppression. Examples of this kind of class-struggle action were the series of labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee beginning in 1980 which stopped Klan/Nazi/skinhead provocations in cities throughout the country. These actions point to the type of leadership that must be forged: a multiracial revolutionary workers party championing the cause of labor, minorities and all the oppressed against the racist capitalist rulers and their fascist dogs of war.

* * *

David Hunter is up against the racist "justice" system—he needs your support! The Partisan Defense Committee has made a contribution to his legal defense. Messages of solidarity may be sent to: David Hunter, P.O. Box 11803, Columbia, SC 29211. ■

WV Photo

January 1994 protest in Atlanta against flying Confederate flag of slavery over Super Bowl.

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Protest Brazilian Police Assault on Volta Redonda Union

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?

"Authority is never without hate."
—Euripides

In the large nation-state of Brazil, the lion's share of South America, the question of the function of the police is at the heart of the labor struggle for the power to better the life of working people.

In Volta Redonda, an industrial center near Rio de Janeiro, that question has emerged as a central one in the middle of an internal power struggle among leading municipal workers.

On March 13, 1996, a meeting of the Municipal Workers Union was invaded by the globally infamous and murderous Military Police, who, heavily armed, attempted to "settle" a workers dispute with shotguns. People at the scene reported their surprise response came only moments after a premeditated physical assault on MWU president Geraldo Ribeiro, a militant trade unionist, by MWU secretary Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes' key operative, known as "Motorzinho."

What is dangerous and unprecedented here, is the calling in of the cops: Who did it?; and, why?

What is clear, from all reports, is union president Ribeiro didn't call them, and upon their arrival, informed them that everything was under control. Later, some workers heard plainclothes police say Arthur (union secretary) owed them 10 reals ($11 U.S.) apiece, but feared they might not be paid, as they were "late" (late for what, one wonders?).

At any rate, the invitation of police, and more ominously, *this* police force, into the heart of an internal union dispute, is a truly dire development. *This* force, the Military Police, is known as a death squad, who have practiced their murderous expertise on the black, brown and poor slum children of the *favelas* and streets of Rio. They (like the Philadelphia police) are experts in babykilling.

Central to the Luta Metalúrgica (LM—Metalworkers Struggle) and Municipal Workers Union conflict is a question that now has global implications—what is the role of the police? Are they simply workers, like glass blowers, garbage collectors, or clerks? Or are they agents of the wealthy and propertied classes—those who rule?

It is tempting to go with the former question, for do they not work, like others, for pay?

Only when one looks at the nature of that work, from the standpoint of history and current events, does the latter point score.

Throughout history, police have protected the *status quo*, even when that "status" has been evil and repressive. During the civil rights era, it was the police who beat, bloodied and arrested those who fought—peacefully!—for civil rights. Federal police followed, phone-tapped, sabotaged and, in the words of the FBI, "neutralized" those who today are honored veterans of that struggle, like Reverend Martin Luther King (Jr. & Sr.!), nationalist Malcolm X, and Black Panther founder Dr. Huey P. Newton. Police aided white-supremacists in many of their racist campaigns.

Similarly, police in Brazil have been engineers of repression, from the crushing of popular and labor unions in the past, to the ruthless, shopkeeper-contracted slaughter of Brazilian street children. If the *status quo* is unjust, inequitable and repressive, how can anyone protect it?

It is in this context that one must truly "see" the introduction of the nefarious Military Police into the affairs of a union for the bad omen that it is, and once seeing this, condemn and protest it forcefully.

Presidente Ribeiro and his Luta Metalúrgica (Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil) ally, Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo," are calling for protests against police presence and provocations in union affairs.

Protests should be directed to: Marcello Alencar, Governor, Rio de Janeiro State, Palácio Guanabara, Rua Pinheiro Machado s/n, Laranjeiras, CEP 22238-900, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Fax No. (55-21) 553-6090.

Solidarity statements can be sent to: Geraldo Ribeiro, Rua União No. 147, Bairro Santo Agostinho, CEP 27290-000, Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil.

The central principle: police hands off the unions!

31 March 1996

©1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM 8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Geronimo...

(continued from page 3)

its support to that of other SEIU locals in California. SEIU Local 399's "Justice for Janitors" campaign, which has successfully organized largely Hispanic and Asian workers in Los Angeles, led a militant protest for Geronimo in front of Garcetti's office in 1994.

In Oakland, where many have long been active in Geronimo's defense, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense called a March 28 demonstration to coincide with the L.A. hearing. The rally was endorsed by several trade unions, including the Oakland APWU, Teamsters Local 921 and SEIU Local 616, as well as by a number of prominent individuals such as Miguel Angel, a professor of Chicano/Latino studies at Laney College; Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*; and Congressman Ron Dellums. Dellums also wrote to Garcetti to urge him to "withdraw any opposition" to overturning Geronimo's conviction.

Chanting "Free Geronimo, this is the hour, labor and blacks have got the power!" protesters marched to the Oakland Federal Building. Bay Area unionists and college and high-school students heard speakers from the Oakland Education Association, the Bay Area Typographical Union, AFSCME Local 444 and SEIU Local 1877, as well as local activists and friends of Geronimo. To build for the Oakland rally, the Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout at San Francisco State University on March 26, bringing Geronimo's cause to a new generation of youth.

Speaking for the Labor Black League at the Oakland protest, Don Alexander provided a perspective for struggle: "Geronimo Pratt and the Panthers were enemies of this sick, racist capitalist system, and that's why he's been imprisoned for 25 years—for his political beliefs. Our fundamental objective is to bury capitalism and the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. Militant integrated class struggle led by a revolutionary party is the key to liberation."

The March 28 hearing was Geronimo's first legal break in over a decade. But the vicious tactics of the D.A., discriminatory treatment at the hands of his jailers and the *14th* parole denial two weeks ago—coupled with a four-year wait until the next parole hearing—all show that we cannot expect justice from the capitalist courts. As in the case of death row prisoner and former Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, the key to winning freedom for these political prisoners is the mobilization of the multiracial workers movement, in the U.S. and internationally, together with all opponents of racist state repression. Geronimo has himself spoken out powerfully from prison in support of Mumia's struggle against racist injustice.

As Geronimo said in 1987, "I intend to keep on struggling—not only for my own release—but for the release of all the political prisoners and prisoners of the war of injustice incarcerated in the dungeons of the U.S. All around the world, human beings fight against injustice and for their people and their nations—in Azania, in Ireland, in El Salvador, in Chile. And all around the world governments lock up and criminalize people who resist oppression, racism and COINTELPRO-type repression. No matter what they do to me, I will always affirm the right to resist, the right to struggle for freedom."

This new legal defense effort must serve as a springboard for mass labor-centered mobilizations to demand freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!

For more information about Geronimo's case and future protest actions, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107, telephone (510) 839-0852; or at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, telephone (212) 406-4252.

Send contributions for Geronimo's legal defense to Prison Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

Mail or fax letters demanding freedom for Geronimo to Gil Garcetti, L.A. County District Attorney, Criminal Courts Building, Room 18-709, 210 West Temple, Los Angeles, CA 90012, fax (213) 688-2913. ■

WV Photo

Bay Area trade unionists turned out for March 28 protest outside L.A. courthouse.

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Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Part 4

Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Pre-World War I Era

by Joseph Seymour

Parts One to Three of this series (published in Workers Vanguard *Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Part Five will discuss the revolutionary syndicalists.*

Both the Marxist and anarchist movements originated in the mid-19th century when the emergence of industrial capitalism was radically altering the social, economic, political and national structure of continental Europe. The overwhelming majority of wage laborers were still artisans working in small shops, many with realistic aspirations to become petty proprietors. The five French representatives to the founding conference of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in 1864 were a cabinet maker, a bookbinder, an engraver, a maker of musical instruments and a machinist in a lace factory.

At the political level, the new bourgeois order in much of Europe was still encrusted in monarchical regimes derived from the feudal past. Bakunin's first anarchist followers were former Italian radical nationalists who had recently fought arms in hand against Habsburg Austria and the local Italian principalities such as the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. When a Marxist-led workers party was first formed in Germany in the late 1860s, King (soon to be Kaiser) Wilhelm I and his minister Otto von Bismarck ruled the country with an iron hand. Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and their comrades did not know from one day to the next whether they would be thrown into prison.

Over the next decades industrial capitalism, propelled by its enormous leap in productivity, spread throughout West and Central Europe. Cities like Berlin, Vienna and Milan, which had numbered fewer than 100,000 inhabitants during the Revolutions of 1848, grew into large metropolises with extensive working-class districts. A rapidly growing factory proletariat became the social basis for mass trade unions and workers parties. Parliamentary bodies with large socialist fractions claiming to speak for the working class became a key element in the European bourgeois political order. These developments necessarily had a profound effect on *both* the Marxist and anarchist movements. What scientific socialism and anarchism meant to leftist militants in the period of the First International (1864-72) was quite different from the way these terms would come to be understood by the time of the Second International (1889-1914).

Anarchism originated in Latin Europe as a radical protest movement of impoverished artisans and downtrodden rural laborers (the latter in southern Italy and Spain) against the devastating effects of nascent industrial capitalism on these social classes. However, with the development of a large factory proletariat in this region, a section of the anarchist movement and various dissident socialists developed a distinct political doctrine and movement called syndicalism. By the turn of the century, syndicalism had become the dominant current in the trade-union movement in France and Spain and an important tendency in the Italian trade unions. An indigenous American version of syndicalism, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), also emerged in the decade before the First World War.

The 1906 Charter of Amiens of the French Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor—CGT), which was regarded as a basic declaration of syndicalist principles, stated: "The trade union, which is today a fighting organization, will in the future be an organization for production and distribution, and the basis of social reorganization." The latter-day British anarchist George Woodcock defined the syndicalist program as "the industrial manifestation of anarchism," ascribing to economic collectives the role in future society which Proudhon had attributed to individual producers (or cooperatives) and Bakunin to autonomous communes:

> "The syndicate, on the other hand, is based on the organization of the workers by industry at the place of work. The workers of each factory or depot or farm are an autonomous unit, who govern their own affairs and who make all the decisions as to the work they will do. These units are joined federally in a syndicate which serves to coordinate the actions of the workers in each industry. The federal organization has no authority over the workers in any branch, and cannot impose a veto on action like a trade union executive."
>
> —George Woodcock, *Railways and Society* (1943), excerpted in Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* (1977)

The doctrine and movement expressed in the French CGT's Charter of Amiens is often called "anarcho-syndicalism" in both leftist and bourgeois literature. This term has validity in the sense that syndicalism was influenced by the anarchist movement and shared a number of its basic ideological premises. Many, though by no means all, syndicalists considered themselves anarchists. Nonetheless, anarchism and syndicalism were different and, to a certain degree, *rival* movements. Errico Malatesta, one of the original Italian Bakuninists, saw "syndicalism becoming a new doctrine" and "threatening the very existence of anarchism." From the other side, Pierre Monatte, a leading French syndicalist, commented sharply in 1907: "As to the anarchists, their revolutionism has taken superb retreat in the ivory tower of philosophic speculation."

From Marx's Communism to Kautsky's Social Democracy

Just as the French CGT of Monatte and Léon Jouhaux was very different from Bakunin's International Alliance for Socialist Democracy, so the German Social Democracy of Bebel and Karl Kautsky in the early years of this century was very different from the movement inspired and led by Marx and Engels in the 1870s. During Marx's lifetime, no one identified him with parliamentary reformism. Becoming for the first time a well-known public figure in the aftermath of the 1871 Paris Commune, he was branded by European governments and the bourgeois press as the "red terrorist Doctor." But in opposition to the adventurism of Bakunin's Italian and Spanish followers, Marx did insist that the working class had to *prepare* for a successful revolution through struggles for democratic rights, economic gains and social reforms.

As against the anarchists, Marx argued that, where possible, revolutionary socialists should utilize parliamentary elections and representation to agitate for their program. An excellent example of this was the conduct of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel in the Reichstag of the North German Confederation during the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War. They refused to vote for war credits and subsequently defended the Paris Commune and led the opposition to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by the newly formed German Second Reich. For their defiance of Kaiser Wilhelm's state, the Marxist leaders of the nascent German workers movement were indicted and imprisoned for high treason.

As against the followers of Proudhon and Bakunin, Marx maintained that the workers movement should demand and support measures by capitalist governments beneficial to their interests, such as abolition of child labor. Marx and Engels never put forward the notion that *socialism* could be brought about through incremental reforms of the capitalist economy, and no one would have thought at the time of attributing such a conception to them. Of course, all kinds of positions were later put forward as "Marxism" by reformists habituated to the prosperity and apparent stability of West European bourgeois society.

In projecting a Europe-wide socialist revolution, Marx and Engels thought in terms of *years*, not decades. For example, in the late 1870s the Russian autocracy was shaken by the emergence of a revolutionary populist movement mobilizing a large section of educated youth. There was a widespread expectation throughout Europe that Russia was on the verge of a radical democratic revolution, fueled by a mass peasant revolt, analogous to the Great French Revolution of 1789. Marx and Engels believed that the overthrow of tsarist autocracy—the gendarme of European reaction—could be the beginning of a Europe-wide socialist revolution. The 1882 preface to a new Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*—Marx and Engels' last joint work before the former's death the following year—stated that the Russian Revolution might become "the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West."

However, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by revolutionary populists

Radio Times Hulton

Assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 by Russian populist Narodniks.

in 1881 was followed by the reactionary restabilization of Russian absolutism for the rest of the decade. This in turn strengthened the bourgeois order in the Europe of the Second German Reich, Third French Republic and late Victorian England. Under these conditions, the prospect of proletarian revolution became increasingly abstract and projected ever further into the future for many socialists, including those who considered themselves adherents of Marxist doctrines.

This development was reflected by the change in the conventional designation of the Marxist movement from Communist to Social Democratic. Late 19th century Social Democracy was characterized by the concept of a *minimum* program of democratic rights and social and economic reforms sharply separated in time from the *maximum* program, i.e., the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. The foremost exponent of this theoretical schema was Karl Kautsky, the recognized spokesman for "orthodox" Marxism following Engels' death in 1895. As Trotsky later wrote in an obituary when Kautsky died in 1938:

> "The revolutionary side of Marxism had changed into an indefinite, in any case, a distant perspective. The struggle for reforms and propaganda was on the order of the day. Kautsky occupied himself with commenting upon and justifying the policy of reform from the point of view of the revolutionary perspective. It was taken for granted that with the change of the objective conditions, Kautsky would know how to arm the party with other methods. That was not the case. The appearance of an epoch of great crises and of great shocks revealed the fundamentally reformist character of the [German] Social Democracy and of its theoretician Kautsky."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "Karl Kautsky" in *Writings (1938-39)*

The terms of debate between anarchists and those claiming to stand in the Marxist tradition were quite different in the earlier period. Bakunin had denounced German Communists for aspiring to a revolutionary dictatorship; his successors denounced German Social Democrats for parliamentary reformism. The French revolutionary syndicalist Pierre Monatte dismissed the "orthodox" Marxist leader Jules Guesde (who was, ironically, a former Bakuninist) for espousing a "revolutionism" that was "no more than verbal or, even worse, electoral and parliamentary."

There was, however, an increasingly important exception to the identification of pre-1914 Social Democracy with parliamentary reformism: the Marxist movement in the Russian empire, including Poland. All Russian radicals—both populists and Marxists—recognized that the *overthrow of the tsarist autocracy* was a necessary precondition for demoeratic freedoms, representative government and social progress. The various populist and Marxist factions in the Russian empire differed sharply over the course of the coming revolution and what would happen afterward, but not that a revolution was eoming.

The 1903 founding program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party —supported by both future Bolsheviks and future Mensheviks—declared "as its immediate political task the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic." Even more significantly, the Russian party was the *only Social Democratic party in the world* to incorporate the "dictatorship of the proletariat" into its official maximum program as necessary "to suppress any resistance on the part of the exploiters." Thus, in the early years of the 20th century Marxism meant something quite different in Russia and Poland than in Germany or France.

A quarter century after Bakunin's death in 1876, the movement he had launched was divided between anarchists and syndicalists. And the anarchists themselves were a heterogeneous lot, ranging from pure propagandists like Kropotkin to terrorist practitioners of the "propaganda of the deed." At the same time, the "Marxist" Social Democratic parties were increasingly rent into right, center and left factions, with the revolutionary Marxists concentrated in the Russian empire and the Balkans. It would take an imperialist world war and a workers revolution in Russia to overcome false lines of division (and clarify real ones) in the left and proletarian movements internationally.

A. Mondadori

Workers leaving Paris factory, 1870. Rapid growth of industrial proletariat in late 19th century created social basis for mass Social Democratic and syndicallst movements in Europe.

Kropotkin: A Left "Social Darwinist"

We have emphasized that the basie premise of classic anarchism was the supposed existence of a natural moral order prescribing social solidarity among all people. This concept found its purest expression in the writings of Peter Kropotkin, the foremost spokesman for anarchism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Kropotkin's best-known work was titled *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, with the first two chapters devoted to "Mutual Aid Among Animals."

Peter Kropotkin was born in 1842 into the upper level of the Russian aristocracy and as a youth was a member of the Corps of Pages directly attached to the tsar. This particular tsarist page was distinguished by his intellectual curiosity and social conscience. When, like all young Russian noblemen, he had to serve as a junior officer in the army, he chose an obscure Cossack regiment in Siberia far removed from the luxurious life of a courtier. The reports he wrote of his travels in this wild region were later puhlished and secured for Kropotkin a scholarly reputation as an expert on the geography of eastern Siberia. Increasingly alienated from the social and political order of the Russian absolutist state, Kropotkin quit the army in his mid-20s and entered St. Petersburg University to study the sciences.

In 1872, Kropotkin visited West Europe for the first time and there encountered the Bakuninist movement in Switzerland. The disaffected young Russian nobleman was immediately won to anarchism, a cause and movement to which he would devote the rest of his life. To understand Kropotkin's anarchism, it is important to distinguish the Swiss Bakuninists, who influenced him, from the Italian and Spanish Bakuninists. The Swiss were educated, skilled craftsmen—mainly watchmakers—who thought the anarchist program offered a means of preserving the traditional artisan community against the predations of industrial capitalism. For them, social revolution was to be hrought ahout primarily through enlightening propaganda. The Italian and Spanish Bakuninist movement consisted largely of declassed intellectuals, rural laborers and lumpen elements for whom anarchism meant insurrectionary violence against their hated rulers in the here and now.

When Kropotkin returned to Russia, he threw himself into the hurgeoning revolutionary populist movement among the young intelligentsia. Like most of his comrades, he was imprisoned but two years later managed to escape abroad with the aid of friends in the upper echelons of the Russian hureaucracy. Kropotkin soon became a leading figure in the anarchist movement in Switzerland and France. As a result of his involvement in a militant strike of silk workers in Lyon, in the early 1880s the French government sentenced him to three years in prison.

Upon his release, Kropotkin—now in his mid-40s—settled in Britain where he would live for the next three decades, writing his major works on anarchism, most of them in English. Despite and partly because of his stature as the leading theoretician of anarchism, Kropotkin gained acceptance into "respectable" British intellectual circles. Thus, he contributed the section on anarchism for the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He frequently attended meetings of the Royal Geographical Society where he conspicuously refused to rise and drink to the health of Queen Victoria. Yet Kropotkin's friendly relations with liberal British intellectuals would over time have an effect on the emigré Russian radical. With the outbreak of World War I, Kropotkin became an ardent champion of His Royal Majesty's government, and its ally tsarist Russia, against Germany.

Kropotkin's immersion in British bourgeois intellectual circles also shaped the development—or rather, evolution—of his own anarchist doctrines. The most "advanced," fashionable school of triumphalist hourgeois ideology in late Victorian England was Social Darwinism. T. H. Huxley, Herbert Spencer and their reactionary cothinkers vulgarized and distorted Darwin's theory of evolution through natural selection to *justify* capitalist competition and imperialist conquest. The "survival of the fittest" was held up as the prime law of evolutionary progress whether among insects, rodents or the human inhahitants of contemporary Europe. The bankruptcy of small, family-owned husinesses or farms was likened to the extinction of species of birds or mammals which had failed to adapt to a changing natural environment. For Huxley and Spencer, a worker who became a foreman—or especially a successful industrialist—was analogous to a strong male tiger besting a weaker rival in fighting to mate with a tigress.

Houghton Miffin Company

Peter Kropotkin

Kropotkin accepted the basic premise of Social Darwinism but gave the doctrine a leftward twist. He, too, believed that human society was governed by immutable laws applicable to all living creatures and that all individual members of mankind should act to further the interests of the *homo sapiens* species. However, Kropotkin maintained that cooperation, not competition between individuals and groups, was the main mechanism for evolutionary progress. Whereas Huxley, Spencer & Co. argued that the lower classes had to accept their lot for the future progress of the human race, Kropotkin appealed to wealthy capitalists to make sacrifices for the general well-being.

In the early 1890s, Kropotkin wrote a series of polemical articles against T.H. Huxley in a scientific journal, which were later published as the book *Mutual Aid* (1902), the main conclusion being:

> "In the animal world we have seen that the vast majority of species live in societies, and that they find in association the best arms for the struggle for life: understood, of course, in its wide Darwinian sense—not as a struggle for the sheer means of existence, but as a struggle against all natural conditions unfavourable to the species. The animal species in which individual struggle has been reduced to its narrowest limits, and the practice of mutual aid has attained the greatest development are invariably the most numerous, the most prosperous and the most open to further progress....
> "In the practice of mutual aid, which we can retrace to the earliest beginnings of evolution, we thus find the positive and undoubted origin of our ethical conceptions; and we can affirm that in the ethical progress of man, mutual support—not mutual struggle, has had the leading part. In its wide extension, even at the present time, we also see the best guarantee of a still loftier evolution of our race."

The views here expressed were by no means peculiar to Kropotkin but were a *central element* of anarchist doctrine at the time. Thus Errico Malatesta's 1891 pamphlet, *Anarchy*, written as a basic exposition of this social and political philosophy, states: "The principle of *each for himself*, which is the war of all against all, arose in the course of history to complicate, to sidetrack and paralyse the war of all against nature for the greatest wellbeing of mankind which can be completely successful only by being based on the principle of *all for one and one for all*" [emphasis in original].

We have emphasized that anarchism as an ideology is intrinsically *class collaborationist* because it posits that all people have common interests and values based on the natural order of things. In *Mutual Aid*, Kropotkin explicitly appeals to wealthy capitalists not to alienate themselves from the rest of the human community:

> "Men who have acquired wealth very often do not find in it the expected satisfaction.... The conscience of human solidarity begins to tell; and, although society life is so arranged as to stifle that feeling by thousands of artful means, it

continued on page 8

Anarchism...

(continued from page 7)

> often gets the upper hand; and then they try to find an outcome for that deeply human need by giving their fortune, or their forces, to something which, in their opinion, will promote general welfare."

Here anarchism degenerates into the promotion of bourgeois philanthropy.

Kropotkin's Social Darwinist version of anarchism would today be a historical curiosity except that in recent years a substantially similar doctrine and movement has emerged in the form of "green" radicalism. From a "green" standpoint, the directors of the World Bank, steel workers in the German Ruhr and landless peasants in India are considered co-equal members of the human race whose behavior should be guided by the future well-being of the human (and other) species.

The ideological affinity between classical anarchism and eco-radicalism is personified by the American academic Murray Bookchin. During the heyday of New Left radicalism in the 1960s-early '70s, he was an exponent of "post-scarcity anarchism," who fashionably appealed to youth "whose lives are frustrated by consumerism, suburbia, the mass media, the family, school, the supermarket and the prevailing system of repressed sexuality." In recent years, Bookchin has become a guru of "green" radicalism espousing a "philosophy of social ecology," which is essentially identical to Kropotkin's "mutual aid" anarchism:

> "I speak of humanity's ability to reason, to foresee, to will and to act insightfully on behalf of directiveness within nature and enhance nature's own development. It is also an insult to nature to separate these subjective attributes from nature, to deal with them as though they did not emerge out of evolutionary development and are not implicitly part of nature in a deeper sense than the 'law of fang and claw' that we so flippantly impute to natural evolution as a metaphor for the 'cruelty' and 'harshness' of that evolutionary process....
>
> "Social ecology, by definition, takes on the responsibility of evoking, elaborating, and giving an ethical content to the natural core of society and humanity."
>
> —Murray Bookchin, *The Philosophy of Social Ecology* (1990)

Since the members of the American FBI, the French riot police and the Salvadoran death squads are also part of humanity, they can presumably be converted to the "philosophy of social ecology" as readily as other members of our species. So ironically, anarchism—which presents itself as uncompromisingly hostile to any and all states—is consistent with notions that the cadres of the capitalist state can be won to the cause of social liberation.

Anarcho-Terrorism: "Propaganda of the Deed"

Elsewhere, anarchists had other forms of consciousness-raising in mind. The original Bakuninist movement in the early 1870s appealed to the impatience of leftist militants who wanted to fight the final battle against the ruling powers then and there. The movement was strongest in Spain and southern Italy, where there existed opportunities for insurrectionary activity not available elsewhere in Europe. Spain was wracked by a series of low-level civil wars between various republican and monarchist factions of the bourgeoisie and landowners. And despite their "anti-political" and "anti-state" stance, the Spanish Bakuninists often ended up in local republican councils together with bourgeois liberals. In Italy, the propertied classes had not yet cohered a strong, centralized state apparatus in the aftermath of the wars of the Risorgimento which unified the country. Italian Bakuninists, prominent among them the young Errico Malatesta, were thus able to engage for a time in rural guerrilla warfare in the peasant villages of Calabria.

With the increasing stabilization of the European bourgeois order in the last decades of the 19th century, Bakuninist insurrectionism gave way to anarcho-terrorism, a desperate ideology consistent with individual violent acts which were supposed to inspire the downtrodden masses. In the 1880s-'90s, anarchists assassinated a president of France, a president of the United States, a king of Italy, a prime minister of Spain, an empress of Austro-Hungary and a number of lesser personages. In 1886, one Charles Gallo threw a bottle of sulfuric acid from the gallery of the Paris Bourse onto a group of stockbrokers and their clerks. He followed this up with three revolver shots without, however, hitting anyone. At his trial Gallo shouted: "Long live revolution! Long live anarchism! Death to the bourgeois judiciary! Bunch of idiots!" He explained to the jury that in throwing acid onto the floor of the stock exchange, he was carrying out "an act of propaganda by the deed for anarchist doctrine" (quoted in James Joll, *The Anarchists* [1964]).

Malatesta's pamphlet *Anarchy* asserts that "in the present state of mankind, when the vast majority of people, oppressed by poverty and stupefied by superstition, stagnate in a state of humiliation, the fate of humanity depends on the action of a relatively small number of individuals." The "propaganda of the deed" was an extreme form of the basic anarchist tenet that the actions of a small number of individuals were necessary to inspire and encourage the spirit of revolt among the stagnant majority. The assassination of a French president or Spanish prime minister was viewed as an exemplary insurrection, supposedly demonstrating the vulnerability of the state to revolutionary violence.

Naturally, the bourgeoisie did not appreciate this at all. The wild-eyed, bomb-throwing anarchist became a stereotypical figure in popular political culture and was used to justify bourgeois repression. The British social-democratic historian G.D.H. Cole has argued: "Such persons tended, in the 1880s and 1890s, to profess Anarchist opinions, though their Anarchism had only a little in common with that of such men as Kropotkin" (*Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, 1850-1890* [1954]). While Kropotkin and Malatesta in their later years did not encourage terrorism, they never repudiated it nor did they denounce its practitioners. With their confusion of the system with its symbols and agents, of the disease with the symptoms, and their belief in flamboyant minority "action," the anarchist propagandists appeal to impressionist political impulses which are far from a thing of the remote past. For instance, elements of the New Left of the 1960s partook deeply of the spirit of symbolic terrorism although practiced more vicariously and even "non-violently."

Verlag Kurt Desch

Amsterdam Congress of the Second (Socialist) International, 1904, passed resolution condemning participation in bourgeois governments. But reformist currents exemplified by German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein (right) continued to grow in influence.

Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.

What exactly did "the propaganda of the deed" mean? How were such deeds supposed to further the anarchist cause? In 1879, the first issue of *Le Révolté*, edited by Kropotkin, called for: "Permanent revolt by word of mouth, in writing, by the dagger, the rifle, dynamite.... Everything is good for us which falls outside legality." For the anarchists, the main enemy was the state, followed by the church. Here it's important to keep in mind that the movement originated and was centered in Latin Europe, where the Roman Catholic church was still the state religion. The anarchists saw their main task as one of overcoming, by any and all means, the masses' traditional respect for authority—government officials, police, judges, priests and bishops.

During the Spanish Revolution and Civil War of the mid-1930s, large numbers of churches were burned and many priests and other clerics were killed (estimates range from several hundred to several thousand). An anarchist youth manifesto exulted: "For the Revolution to be a fact, we must demolish the three pillars of reaction: the church, the army, and capitalism. The church has already been brought to account. The temples have been destroyed by fire and the ecclesiastical crows who were unable to escape have been taken care of by the people" (*Tierra y Libertad* [Barcelona], 13 August 1936). At the same time, there are a number of reports of columns of the anarchist militia stopping the burning of churches. While revolutions, particularly against semi-feudal conditions, are often marked by an explosion of rage at the oppressors, the effect of the attacks on churches in Spain was to outrage Catholic believers and accordingly strengthen the forces of Francoist reaction.

The struggle against religion is not primarily one of dispelling superstitions but of getting rid of a social system which drives people to despair. As the young Marx wrote when he was developing a *materialist* understanding of society:

> "*Religious* distress is at the same time the *expression* of real distress and also the *protest* against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.
>
> "To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions.*" [emphasis in original]
>
> —Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" (1843-44)

We communists seek to eliminate the conditions of impoverishment, oppression and social degradation which cause men and women to kneel before priests and pray to shrines.

The existence of state and church does not derive from nor depend on the subjective attitudes of the masses. These are central institutions in all societies based on the extraction of surplus labor from the direct producers by a property-owning class. We communists seek to educate the working people—through struggle as well as propaganda and agitation—that the state apparatus (the army, police, judiciary, etc.) in capitalist countries is an agency enforcing their exploitation by the bankers, industrialists, landowners, etc. To the extent that the exploited classes understand the real nature of the bourgeois state, what is posed is not the assassination of government officials but proletarian revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Radio Times Hulton

Errico Malatesta, one of the original Italian Bakuninists and lifelong anarchist, was an honorable fighter for the downtrodden.

Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

Republicans! For a Multiracial Class-Struggle Workers Party!"

Down with U.S. "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico!

Alicia Sotero Vásquez decided to make the dangerous and difficult trip to the U.S. when the clothing factory she worked in Michoacán closed, leaving her with no way to support her two young daughters. Her story was echoed by the others traveling in the truck: unemployed farmworkers and tradesmen, hoping to save themselves and their families from starvation by finding low-paying, backbreaking work in the fields and cities of California. Wall Street's NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) rape of Mexico has driven huge layers of the already impoverished Mexican working class to desperation.

The racist assault endured by Sotero and Funes is but one example of the living hell facing anyone in the Southwest who fits the cops' description of an "illegal," which in the L.A. area includes most of the population. The onslaught of *migra* and cop terror was massively intensified by the passage of California Prop 187, which sought to deny welfare, education and health care to undocumented workers and their children. As we wrote at the time, Prop 187 was "the electoral spearhead of a xenophobic offensive against *all* immigrants, inciting a climate of racist hostility particularly against Latinos and Asians" (see "Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" *WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994). Now, in the lead-up to the November presidential ballot, the partner parties of U.S. capitalism are trying to outdo each other in immigrant-bashing.

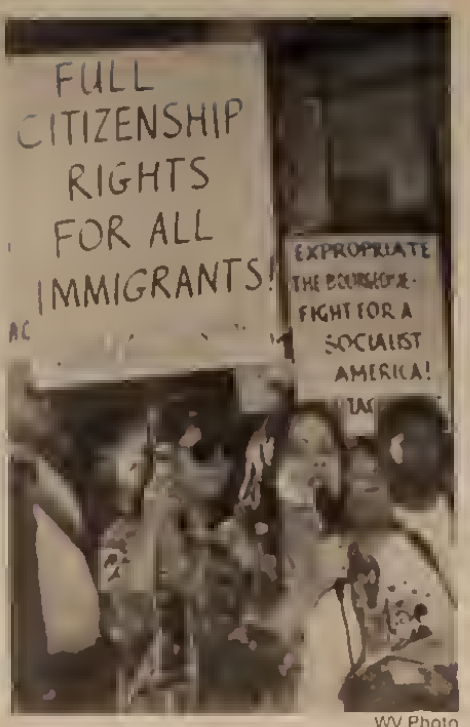
It's no coincidence that this year's Republican national convention is being held in San Diego, an epicenter of the bipartisan anti-Mexican hysteria. While Republican Dole pushes vile "English Only" racism (a measure endorsed by Clinton when he was governor of Arkansas), the Democratic administration has been pouring money and cops and troops into the Southern border region, turning it into a militarized zone bristling with high-tech weaponry (see "Labor: Defend and Organize Immigrant Workers!" *WV* No. 639, 16 February). Under the new policy of arresting repeat border crossers, the prisons have been packed to overflowing with undocumented workers, some of whom have been thrown into military facilities. A prison revolt two weeks ago highlighted the inhumane conditions in which over 200 immigrants were being held in the brig at Miramar Naval Air Station near San Diego.

The courts have struck down key provisions of Prop 187, but as was shown in El Monte, it is being implemented on the ground by local cops and the *migra* and Border Patrol. Last month alone, five Mexicans and Mexican Americans were killed by cops in Los Angeles County. As L.A. activist lawyer Luis Carrillo put it, "Southern California has become the 'Deep South' for Mexicanos and Latinos." The Riverside County Sheriff's Department is especially notorious for racist attacks and harassment of Latinos, routinely stopping teenagers on the streets and holding guns against their groins. In the fall of 1994, Riverside cops carried out a brutal attack with batons and pepper spray against students protesting Prop 187.

Typical of this racist strike force are the two cops who beat up Sotero and Funes. Riverside cop Kurt Franklin has a reputation in the Latino neighborhood he patrols for "roughing up Mexican Americans and harassing the hell out of them," in the words of a Latino community activist. His sidekick Tracy Watson was investigated last July after shooting a "suspected car thief" in Corona (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 April). Now both are enjoying paid leave after their latest near-deadly attack. Not surprisingly, both their lawyers were involved in defending the cops who beat Rodney King to within an inch of his life. Meanwhile, Sotero and Funes, who have filed a $10 million lawsuit against the county, have been subjected to repeated death threats.

Increasingly, Asians have also been targeted for racist cop terror in Southern California. On Valentine's Day, Orange County cops shot dead Korean immigrant Hong Il Kim after a car chase triggered by an illegal turn! His son-in-law spoke at the April 6 demonstration, making a powerful appeal for solidarity between Asian and Latino immigrants. This is particularly notable in the face of a concerted campaign to divide Asian Americans from other minorities over the racist rollback of affirmative action programs in education.

In the same way, the capitalist rulers—aided by various black nationalist demagogues—have sought to set black people against Latino and Asian immigrants by scapegoating them for the astronomical unemployment rates in the ghettos. Against the bourgeoisie's divide-and-rule ploy, Spartacist protesters at the April 6 march carried signs calling "For Labor/Student Mobilizations to Defend Affirmative Action!" and drawing the link to other instances of racist cop terror: "Rodney King Beating, MOVE Massacre, Waco Holocaust—There Is No Justice in Capitalist America!"



WV Photo

Spartacist speaker at April 5 protest in San Francisco.

For Internationalist Workers' Struggle!

Clinton's initiation of a Justice Department investigation has fostered certain illusions: protesters at an April 3 rally in L.A. carried a banner proclaiming, "Thank you Janet Reno!" Yet Reno not only supervised the 1993 massacre of 86 people outside Waco, Texas, but is currently overseeing the ominous military buildup along the Mexican border. A recent study by the University of Houston's Center for Immigration Research revealed that over 300 undocumented immigrants are killed each year by drowning or in highway accidents while trying to cross the border into Texas, and "tighter border controls" will only increase that number (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 March). Meanwhile, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein alibied the Riverside cop assault, disgustingly claiming, "If anything fanned this incident, it was the people who were driving recklessly"!

Liberal groups like the ACLU have sought to mask the anti-immigrant witchhunt which is behind the beating of the Mexican workers. The ACLU and the liberal media, while professing outrage at the cop assault, have ludicrously tried to blame it on the sick joke they call "high speed pursuit syndrome," in which cops are supposedly driven to beat and torture people by the adrenaline rush they get during a car chase. Racist cop syndrome is more like it—the bourgeoisie's thugs in blue are *paid* to terrorize and kill minorities, immigrants and working people to defend capitalist "law and order." And the stepped up attack on immigrants is part of the broader racist offensive by the bourgeoisie particularly targeting the black ghetto poor.

There has been tremendous outrage against the Riverside County beating in Mexico (as well as across Latin America and around the world), coming as it does after the crudely racist Mexican-bashing by fascistic Republican Pat Buchanan. The Mexican government protested the cop beating and the consul general in L.A. intervened to secure the release of the detained immigrants, who have been granted permission to stay for six months while the cop attack is investigated. But this viciously anti-working-class PRI regime which postures as defenders of Mexican immigrants is responsible for imposing—at gunpoint—NAFTA austerity on the workers and peasants. Meanwhile, Mexican military officials are involved in training exercises for "anti-drug operations" with the Pentagon's sinister anti-immigrant "Joint Task Force 6" along the border in Southern California's Imperial Valley (*La Jornada*, 30 March).

What is urgently needed is an internationalist struggle that mobilizes workers on both sides of the border against all their exploiters and oppressors. The treatment meted out to Sotero, Funes and Pedroza as part of the war on immigrants is all too familiar to residents of the ghettos and barrios as well as to striking Teamsters who were maced and beaten on the picket line by Riverside County cops during the 1994 truckers strike. As a Spartacist speaker said at an April 5 protest in San Francisco:

> "The sickening racist beating of Alicia Sotero Vásquez and Enrique Funes Flores gave the whole world a glimpse of daily life for the poor in Clinton's New World Order. This beating was no aberration. It is part of a war that the rulers of this country wage against the poor people of the world. The passage of Proposition 187 was the cue that it's open season on immigrants. The Democrats and Republicans are not divided on this question. If anything they only compete for which wing of the capitalist class can be more savagely racist, more hysterically anti-immigrant, can push racist 'law and order' and the death penalty more effectively.
>
> "*We need our own party*, a party composed of blacks, Latinos, Asians, gays, women, youth, which mobilizes the social power of the working class to fight for the interests of all—for full citizenship rights for all immigrants! One that will mobilize on both sides of the border to defeat NAFTA, the bourgeoisie's rape of Mexico. One that would fight for the interests of blacks, for women's right to abortion, and to defend affirmative action and more—to fight for open admissions for all youth to gain an education. Our aim is to eradicate poverty and racism by destroying capitalism, the barbaric system that breeds it." ■

PDC...

(continued from page 2)

seven years in prison on trumped-up charges of riot and conspiracy, no city official has faced criminal charges for this calculated, cold-blooded murder. A federal judge has *already* granted immunity to Goode and to the current mayor, Ed Rendell, who was district attorney at the time of the bombing and issued the arrest warrants which were used as pretext to begin the assault on the MOVE house.

Ramona Africa told the *New York Times* (2 April), "I was bombed, almost burnt alive, had my family murdered." She went on to explain, "The system charged me with everything they did. But I didn't file this suit for money. We intend to instill in people the motivation to stand up for themselves." From the time of the MOVE bombing, the PDC has sought to sear the memory of this racist atrocity into the consciousness of the working class. We will report on the trial as it proceeds. While Ramona should certainly get every penny requested in the suit, the continued imprisonment of nine MOVE members victimized in the racist cop vendetta against that organization shows that there is no justice in the capitalist courts.

Let Markus Wolf Into the U.S.!

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following letter to the U.S. State Department, protesting its exclusion of the former head of East German intelligence, Markus Wolf, who recently sought to visit his literary agent in the U.S. Wolf is appealing the visa denial.

7 April 1996

U.S. State Department

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the State Department's McCarthyite exclusion of Markus Wolf from the United States.

Your accusation of terrorism against Markus Wolf for his work during the Cold War period as head of the former East German (DDR) intelligence service aims to exclude him on nakedly ideological grounds. For the U.S. State Department, it rankles that Markus Wolf did his job with considerable success. He continually frustrated the West German intelligence service (BND—which was built up on the remnants of Hitler's anti-Soviet spy apparatus), whose principal aim was to undermine the workers state that Wolf was defending.

AP

Markus Wolf

The accusation of terrorism against Markus Wolf is a rewriting of history, and the denial of his visa is punitive. The State Department has lined itself up with the reunited German Fourth Reich, which seeks revenge "justice" through their "legal" witchhunt of Markus Wolf and others who served in responsible positions in the former DDR. The State Department's hypocrisy is further highlighted by its condemnation of the former DDR's border patrols while shootings and death are routinely meted out to immigrants at the U.S./Mexican border by INS and other police agents.

Markus Wolf, the son of a family of Jewish emigrés who sought refuge in the Soviet Union from deportation and death in Hitler's Germany during World War II, once again finds himself persecuted. The denial of a visa to this man is the same type of anti-Communist witchhunting which was historically carried out under the infamous McCarran-Walter Act. Since the ideological exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act have ostensibly been lifted, the State Department has resorted to other means to exclude or deport individuals they do not want. The State Department's "legal" justification for political exclusion may have changed, but the denial of a visa to Markus Wolf proves once more that its practices clearly have not.

We demand that Markus Wolf be permitted to come to the United States and that the State Department cease its anti-Communist vendetta against him now.

For the Partisan Defense Committee,
Janet John

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

significantly improve the conditions of the black African, coloured and Indian toilers, much less meet their needs and heightened aspirations. And as we noted in "Mandela Regime Cracks Down on Black Labor" (*WV* No. 637, 19 January): "The Government of National Unity—ranging from black African union bureaucrats to white bankers—is bound to fracture, and when it does South Africa will be thrown into a period of violent political conflict and turmoil.... If the many-sided tensions and conflicts in South African society are not centered around a class axis, they will be fought along racial, ethnic and tribal lines."

A revolutionary workers party must be built in South Africa to struggle not only for the economic interests of the overwhelmingly black working class, but also to fight against all the many forms of social oppression in the neo-apartheid state: demolition of squatter camps in the townships and the eviction of farm laborers from the land, the deportation of "illegal" immigrants and refugees from neighboring African countries, the degradation of women by, for example, such tribalist patriarchal practices as polygamy and *lobola* (bride price). South Africa conforms in an exceptionally clear way to Trotsky's conception of *permanent revolution*: national liberation, democratic rights and social and economic modernization in backward countries can be achieved only through proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan.

Marinovich/Southlight

Black students integrating primary school in Potgietersrus faced racist mobs and boycott organized by white parents.

Behind the Battle of Potgietersrus

The explosive contradictions of neo-apartheid South Africa are manifest in the sphere of education, from the primary schools of the Northern Transvaal to the University of the Witwatersrand, the so-called "Harvard of South Africa." For decades the educational system was deliberately designed to maintain the whites' monopoly on the technical and administrative skills necessary to operate a modern industrial economy. As a result of the "Bantu education" imposed on them, today an estimated 50 percent of black adults cannot read or write.

In the late 1980s, the government was spending R2,500 annually per capita on schooling for whites, R1,900 for Indians, R1,000 for coloureds and less than R500 for black Africans. And these figures understate the racial inequalities. A key part of South Africa's "public" education system are "Model C" schools which charge a compulsory tuition fee far beyond the financial capacity of almost all blacks. The RDP initially called for ten years of free compulsory education for all children in South Africa. Yet within months, the minister of education reneged on this promise, saying it would take seven or eight years before such schooling was possible.

Meanwhile, student-teacher ratios in many black areas are 80 to 1 compared to 20 to 1 at white schools. A typical school in a black township or rural area has no electricity and no windows, so children freeze in winter and cannot possibly learn under these conditions. A school library or science laboratory is literally unknown. For every 10,000 black children in South Africa's primary schools, *only one* will be eligible to enter university in science or mathematics! Athletic facilities are a soccer ball or two shared among hundreds of kids who usually play on gravel in bare feet because their parents cannot afford to buy them athletic shoes.

At the same time, the ANC/National Party "power sharing" deal has generated a layer of black government officials, junior executives, businessmen, top union leaders, etc. who have jumped on board the "gravy train." In a letter to a local black paper, one Soweto resident lashed out at "black yuppies" who are "scurrying away into the comfort and safety of white suburbia." But even these newly affluent blacks are not finding the white suburbs that comfortable or safe for them. When they try to get their children into all-white Model C schools, they encounter a potentially violent racist reaction exemplified by the Afrikaner hardliners of the Potgietersrus school board. A protest began when the children of the black provincial water director were refused admittance, and Northern Province premier Ramathlodi led a march by 21 black would-be pupils on the school.

The black parents who finally got their children registered at the Potgietersrus school had been turned away for over a year because the administration insisted that the children must speak Afrikaans, the language derived from the Dutch settlers who colonized South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. But in fact this school has always accepted English-speaking *white* children. School board chairman Koos Nel has made little attempt to hide his racism, arguing the introduction of "Afrocentric" culture into Laerskool Potgietersrus would destroy the traditional Afrikaner way of life. The entry of the black pupils in February was met by a white boycott led by Nel and the setting up of an "alternative" school in a local Dutch Reformed church.

When the courts ordered that the children must be admitted, school officials decided that the English-speaking (black) pupils would be physically separated, with classes to be held in a migrant workers hostel! In response, the provincial government dissolved the Potgietersrus school governing body, and on April 3 the Constitutional Court ruled against the segregationists.

The Potgietersrus confrontation is only the tip of the iceberg of racist reaction on the educational front. In the Orange Free State, black students marched to the Trompsburg Secondary School, another all-white Model C school, but were chased away by a mob of white parents. Thirty-five black students and their parents had to threaten a sit-in at a school gate blocked by whites to get their children admitted to the previously all-white Ben Viljoen high school in Mpumalanga. In the Northern Cape, police used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse a demonstration of 500 teachers and students fighting to enter the mostly white Laerskool Warrenton. The demonstrators had marched from the Ikhutseng township to the primary school gates, where police blocked the entrance and opened fire.

Racist opposition to school integration took a different tack in the Northwest Province Hoerskool Vryburg, where officials orchestrated a policy of internal segregation. According to a complaint filed by the local ANC organization black pupils had been "dumped in the school hall and left there for three weeks without education" (*Business Day*, 7 March). Of the 100 black students who registered last year, only eight remain. A similar strategy of segregating black students is being employed at Ben Viljoen high school, where school officials have divided white and black students into separate classes and are refusing to let blacks wear the school uniform.

There have also been a number of student protests against tuition hikes and administration entrance requirements that discriminate by economic and educational means against black and other minority students going beyond a matric (high school) education. In the Free State's Technikon campus in Bloemfontein, 400 students demonstrated on February 21 against the school's admissions policy and 137 were arrested for violating a court order prohibiting students from demonstrating in defense of their comrades arrested earlier in the week. At the KwaZulu/Natal Technikon campus, students marched against tuition hikes, and at the University of Zululand, students staged a one-day boycott of classes against tuition increases.

Omar Badsha

Overcrowded and impoverished black township school in KwaZulu, 1982. To provide quality education for all requires sweeping away the racist capitalist Randlords through socialist revolution.

Free, Quality Education for All!

The Afrikaner right tries to justify racial segregation in "their" schools by arguing that an influx of black students will turn these into English-speaking institutions, thereby wiping out "Afrikaner culture." To begin with, Afrikaans is hardly the exclusive property of the white descendants of the Dutch and French Huguenot settlers. It is also the native language of most of the coloured population and in many rural areas it is the first European-derived language black Africans learn. Of course, for obvious reasons black parents see education in English as the road to a better future for their children. In 1976, compulsory teaching of Afrikaans sparked the Soweto student rebellion.

English could become the dominant language in South Africa, but that remains to be seen. As Marxists, we are irreconcilably opposed to language restrictions or privileges of any sort and we stand for bilingual and, where appropriate, multilingual education. Schoolchildren in South Africa should receive instruction in Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Urdu, Afrikaans, English or whatever languages are necessary to guarantee *free, quality education for all.*

As communists, we support the right of black children to attend any school they choose, and call for enforcing their rights by mobilizing black proletarian power. However, the struggle for black education, overcoming the legacy of apartheid as well as the present neo-apartheid conditions, cannot focus primarily on integrating the existing white school system. The sheer number of black African children dwarfs by orders of magnitude the white student population. There simply do not exist in white areas enough schools, qualified teachers, textbooks and other facilities to meet the needs of the black African masses. Furthermore, unlike in the United States, urban blacks in South Africa do not live in inner-city ghettos but in huge, segregated "townships" like Soweto and Alexandra, which are often located far from the nearest white areas. Even if all white schools had open admissions and no tuition fees, the millions of black township youth could not be transported to and from classes there every day.

What is needed is a fight to eliminate apartheid in the schools. This entails the massive construction of decent schools as well as providing teacher training, textbooks, modern equipment and athletic facilities for the millions of township youth, for the children in squatter camps and in the "former" bantustans, and for the generation of black youth now in their twenties who never had an education. Such a program obviously requires *expropriating the wealth now monopolized by the white capitalist class*, that is, a proletarian socialist revolution. Thus the struggle for black education is first and foremost a struggle *against* the Government of National Unity which binds the black African, coloured and Indian toilers to their exploiters through the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and the reformist SACP.

The struggle against white supremacy in education has been sharply posed not only in Afrikaner primary schools in rural towns but also at the university level. The University of the Western Cape, a traditionally black school, has been shaken by tuition protests by students. In February, students at the Afrikaans-speaking University of Stellenbosch exploded over attempts to "cut costs" by privatizing the cafeteria. Black students' expectations of quality education are being dashed as state subsidies are drastically curtailed to both technical colleges and universities. As the ANC tries to keep the lid on student turmoil nationwide, Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu haughtily lectured students on the need to "rid ourselves of this emergent culture of entitlement" (*New Nation*, 22 March). This recalls the late SACP leader and housing minister Joe Slovo ordering township residents to pay rent and utilities under the watchword of ending the "culture of non-payment."

A flashpoint for student unrest has been the elite English-speaking University of the Witwatersrand, conventionally

called Wits. Under the apartheid police state Wits had a reputation as a bastion of liberalism, with university authorities managing to enroll a few black students. No doubt salving the conscience of these liberal academics, this served the plans of the sector of South Africa's capitalist rulers who saw a future need for a small black elite. With the dismantling of the apartheid laws, large numbers of black African, coloured and Indian students entered Wits and now constitute 40 percent of the student body while the faculty remains 85 percent white.

Wits has been the scene of repeated protests by black radical students and workers ever since the "power sharing" coalition took office in 1994. The campus erupted last year after a black cafeteria worker was dismissed for letting a student through the line without paying. Students stormed and occupied the registrar's office. Most recent was the dispute over a black African scholar, William Makgoba, who was appointed as a deputy vice chancellor. A professional immunologist, Makgoba had previously been head of research at London's Royal Post-Graduate Medical School. Nonetheless, some professors, known as the "gang of 13," accused Makgoba of embellishing his credentials and of not being academically qualified for the job. Makgoba retaliated by scouring the gang's personnel records and accusing them of cheating on their income taxes. For this, he was found guilty of violating "university ethics" and suspended from his office.

These events have predictably polarized the campus, mainly along racial lines. The basic fact is that many white professors and administrators are using "academic standards" in the same way that local white school boards are using "Afrikaner culture"—as an ideological cover to preserve their control over education. Robert Thornton, a white American who teaches at Wits, stated quite rightly: "At the moment, it often appears that the demand for 'standards' is no better than naked racism, or no worse than the efforts of a privileged minority to hang on to what it has" (*Washington Post*, 28 December 1995). As the university headed for a showdown over the issue, Makgoba agreed to a private deal with the administration, leading to bitter recriminations from AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation) and SASCO (South African Students Congress).

As communists, we recognize that the scientific, technical and administrative skills of the white population can be an enormously valuable resource in the socialist reconstruction of southern Africa which alone can provide a decent life for the black masses. We oppose the liberal "non-racialism" of the ANC, which in practice means upholding the privileges of the white elite, as well as the "Africanist" program of the Azanian Students Movement, which calls for removing white teachers from black schools. The logic of this reactionary black nationalist program is to drive the whites out of South Africa. We fight for a *black-centered workers government* in which there will be a place for whites who accept and respect the democratic rule of the black majority.

For Labor Mobilizations Against Racist Reaction!

The recent confrontations in Potgietersrus and other towns are part of a broader mobilization of the white, predominantly Afrikaner, right wing against the ANC, Communist Party and black workers movement. Despite Mandela's policy of "reconciliation" with the white capitalist elite, many whites are by no means reconciled to black majority rule. As the London *Independent* (15 January) observed, "whereas many English-speakers are emigrating, Afrikaners are demonstrating." The resistance to school integration in Potgietersrus has been orchestrated by a united front of the white right—the National Party, Conservative Party, Freedom Front and the openly fascist AWB—which has intimate ties to the white officer corps and senior police commanders at the core of South Africa's state apparatus. Many of these reactionaries call for a "volkstaat," i.e., a separate Afrikaner statelet.

The hostility of the Afrikaner right to the ANC-led regime has intensified in recent months as a result of the indictment and trial of former "defense" minister Magnus Malan for organizing the murder of ANC supporters by the Zulu tribalist Inkatha movement of Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the late 1980s. The Malan trial is actually a token gesture by Mandela & Co. to assuage the black masses' demand that the criminal leaders of the apartheid state be brought to justice. Everyone knows that the real power behind the "third force" was not Malan but his then boss F.W. De Klerk, now deputy president of the Government of National Unity, whose "unity" is increasingly strained.

At the same time, many poor whites—mostly Afrikaners—feel that they have been sold out by their leaders and fear that their privileged position relative to the black masses will be eliminated. This is fertile recruiting ground for fascist/racist forces, but a multiracial communist vanguard could also win many of this layer by appealing to them on a *class* basis, in opposition to the Anglo/Afrikaner masters of industry. It is notable that in recent years some white railway and other workers have joined COSATU, seeking to defend their economic interests within the framework of the predominantly black union movement. A Bolshevik workers party would seek to build on such developments.

T.J. Lemon

Neo-apartheid rule means "gravy train" for tiny layer of black petty bourgeoisie but continued misery for mass of black workers, like Johannesburg nurses seen here during strike last October.

The current situation cries out for action by the labor movement to spike any racist attempt to block integration of the schools. The trade unions have the social power to clear school gates of racist mobs. Some black workers may see the fight over school integration as of concern only for newly affluent blacks who have moved into the white suburbs. While understandable, this view is narrow and shortsighted. *Every* instance of racial discrimination must be fought. Moreover, if fascist thugs can intimidate black students from entering white schools today, they will be encouraged to break strikes and bust up demonstrations of black workers tomorrow. COSATU union bureaucrats have not mobilized their ranks in defense of black schoolchildren because they do not want to disturb the fragile social order of the neo-apartheid arrangement of which they are a key component. Thus the fight against apartheid in the schools is necessarily a fight to split the "tripartite alliance," the nationalist popular front which ties the powerful and combative black union movement to the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC through the reformist Communist Party.

Various smaller, self-proclaimed socialist groups have followed in the wake of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, and have sought to gently push the Mandela government to the left through various pressure campaigns. The Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO), linked to the British SWP of Tony Cliff and the American ISO, voted for the bourgeois-nationalist ANC in the 1994 elections and called in last year's local elections to "Vote ANC to Boot De Klerk." During non-election periods, the SWO says: "ANC Should Make the Rich Pay for the RDP" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 August 1995). This only builds illusions in the bourgeois-nationalist rulers who embraced De Klerk and are in fact ditching their own hollow "Reconstruction and Development Program" to make the impoverished black masses fill the coffers of the capitalists.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) ran a "Workers List Party" (WLP) together with the International Socialist Movement (ISM) in the '94 elections. The International Communist League gave critical support to the WLP candidates, noting that the WLP drew a crude class line but failed to explicitly counterpose itself to the ANC and that its Manifesto was "a standard reformist laundry list of demands." An earlier WOSA pamphlet on "The Education Crisis" called for "an anti-racist, anti-sexist, democratic system of education in a democratic South Africa/Azania." The occasional "anti-capitalist" rhetoric notwithstanding, this is a program for a *bourgeois*-"democratic" South Africa. And the WLP's call "For Right to Work to Be Written into Any New Constitution" only misleads workers into thinking there can be full employment under capitalism.

What is needed is a *Bolshevik workers party* capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. Given the country's massive and stark inequalities, so long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. The fight for a black-centered workers government would necessarily transcend the potentially fratricidal conflicts between different ethnic groups, holding out the prospect of decent jobs, education and housing for all working people—black, coloured, Indian and white—on the basis of socialist planning. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of southern Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the neo-apartheid state. ■

South Africa: Cops Out of the Unions!

As we have insisted, the "power sharing" regime headed by Nelson Mandela is administering the capitalist state of the Randlords and the Johannesburg stock exchange. In putting down labor struggles, evicting squatters and cramming privatization down the throats of the working people, the South African "Government of National Unity" (GNU) is based on the army and police forces of the old apartheid regime. This racist security apparatus is still intact, only lightly embellished by the presence of African National Congress "security" ministers at the top and a few officers from the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) guerrilla group.

Meanwhile, the ANC-allied Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and other labor federations include "unions" of these enforcers of racist "law and order." COSATU leader Sam Shilowa, a South African Communist Party (SACP) member, worked as a security guard and is the former head of a security guards "union." As for groups to the left of the SACP, in line with their policy of tailing after Mandela's ANC, they have raised not a peep of protest against this dangerous inclusion of the armed fist of the class enemy in the workers movement. Worse still, many have eagerly embraced the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), representing black cops.

The notion that cops are "workers in uniform" is pushed hardest by various of the fake-Trotskyist groups circling around the Labour Party in Britain, as well as their offshoots elsewhere. In South Africa, the suicidal illusions in the bourgeois state that this policy reveals are particularly blatant. This puts union organizers in the position of bargaining for higher wages and "better conditions" for the "comrade cops"—the "special bodies of armed men," as Engels put it, who serve to repress the working class and the oppressed.

The International Socialist Movement (ISM), a split from the Cliffite SWO which shares its fundamental political outlook, has been particularly energetic in pushing this fatal policy. The February 1995 *Revolutionary Socialist Worker* enthused, "Popcru Takes on Racism," even while saying further down in the article: "once their pay and conditions complaints are dealt with..., it will be business as usual. And that means acting as the armed wing of the state against the workers." So the ISM admits that it supports a "job action" by these armed thugs of the bourgeoisie whose job is to shoot down striking workers. Meanwhile, the ISM's latest paper (March 1996) hails efforts by the TGWU to organize "private" security guards. Yet black cops and security guards have not ceased for one day being part of the apparatus of capitalist state repression!

Meanwhile, POPCRU has been beset by turmoil over the spoils of office, which reached a boiling point in late February when POPCRU "militants" staged an armed raid to depose the "union" leadership as it was conducting a workshop in a Johannesburg hotel. When the ejected officials threatened an armed counterattack, a COSATU leader brokered a deal. In response, ISM leader Terry Bell, in a column in the Johannesburg *Star* (8 March), lamented that the COSATU-affiliated POPCRU is imploding, and that only prison guards might remain while the police gravitate toward the white-dominated South African Police Union (SAPU). Bell's concern that the cops remain within COSATU is obscene.

Police, prison guards, security guards—they're all the bosses' thugs. We say: Cops out of the labor movement! For socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist state!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash Apartheid in the Schools!

South Africa: Cracks in the Neo-Apartheid Order

For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

When a handful of black students entered the all-white Laerskool Potgietersrus primary school in the Northern Transvaal in late February, they stepped across a racist color bar that had been in existence for the school's 100-year history. They were met by a mob of khaki-clad racists, and the fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) denounced the court decision to allow black students to enter this school as a "sovietization of South Africa." For older American liberals or radicals, the confrontation in South Africa's "Deep North" might seem like a flashback to Little Rock, Arkansas or Montgomery, Alabama in the late 1950s and early '60s. However, while racial oppression is central to both the United States and South Africa, the two countries have fundamentally different ethnic makeups, social structures and levels of economic development.

South Africa is a relatively backward country where the white ruling caste—a small minority of the population—has lived well, very well indeed, through the superexploitation of black toilers in the mines, factories and farms. This was the economic bedrock of the apartheid system of legally enforced racial segregation. During the 1980s the revolt in the black townships and, even more importantly, the development of a powerful and combative black trade-union movement undermined police-state rule as the country became increasingly "ungovernable." So South African capital, encouraged and supported by its senior partners in Wall Street and London, moved to co-opt the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), the historic organization of the black liberation struggle, and the closely allied reformist South African Communist Party (SACP). The result was a "power sharing" deal leading to the establishment in 1994 of a "Government of National Unity" between Nelson Mandela's ANC and the former white ruling National Party of F.W. De Klerk.

Spartacist

ANC-led "power sharing" regime administers racist capitalist rule. September 1995 demonstration by striking municipal workers in Johannesburg (top) was attacked by cops throwing stun grenades.

T.J. Lemon

Mandela & Co. have kept their part of the deal. Due to the pressure of the ANC tops and affiliated union bureaucrats, labor time lost as a result of strikes last year was at the lowest level in almost a decade. At the same time, the social and economic degradation of the black African and coloured (mixed-race) masses continues as before. The official unemployment rate is 33 percent, *the highest level ever recorded*, and it is generally agreed that one-half of all black adults have no regular, full-time job. Bourgeois economists project that of every hundred black youth who leave school this year, *only seven* will find jobs in the so-called formal sector of the economy—government bodies, corporations or other white-owned businesses. And even blacks who have jobs are not doing any better in the "new" South Africa than they did in the old. The most recent government statistics show that black workers in the manufacturing sector earn *less than 30 percent* of the wages paid to the mainly skilled, white workers—the *same wage gap* that existed when the apartheid police state was still intact in the late 1980s!

Last September and October, more than 50,000 South African municipal workers struck against the apartheid wage structure. Strikers' marches through the streets of Johannesburg were met with tear gas and stun grenades. Militant nurses angrily denounced the ANC-led government for its claims that there was no more money for health care, carrying signs criticizing the high-living politicians on the "gravy train." The nurses were betrayed by the ANC-allied Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), while some Communist Party bureaucrats branded the nurses' courageous action a "counterrevolutionary" strike. This vile smear has sparked dissent within the SACP itself. And a strike at the Toyota auto plant in Durban in March has dismayed the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance and the business press, as the fight against racist practices keeps erupting despite the COSATU tops' elaborate "codetermination" models for class collaboration.

Meanwhile, there are signs of tension between the ANC-led regime and white South African capital in the sudden collapse of the country's currency, the rand, in mid-February. A headline in the London *Financial Times* (19 February) stated the obvious: "Rand Victim of Political Uncertainty." One explanation for the currency crisis was concern over Mandela's health. This in itself shows how much the fragile neo-apartheid structure and governing coalition ranging from black Communist Party union leaders to white bankers depends on the personal authority of one 77-year-old man. Another explanation is a campaign by South African and international capitalists to drive down their costs and raise their profits on exports by a brutal devaluation, while intoning about the need to obey the "discipline of the market."

Following the rand's crash, the country's 50 largest companies, represented by the South Africa Foundation, called for an economic "shock treatment" similar to that carried out in many Latin American countries and post-Soviet East Europe: sharply cutting the budget deficit, dismantling all foreign-exchange controls, speeding up the privatization of state-owned enterprises and imposing more "flexible" labor policies. This latter is a code word for layoffs. ANC labor minister Tito Mboweni called this program "a recipe for disaster." "The document they have delivered," he chided the Foundation, "is a request from big business to do something for them, but nothing for the poor." Since when have the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange ever given a damn about the black poor?

In a recent survey of the South African economy, the *Financial Times* (28 March) dismissed Mboweni's protestations as political showboating and pointed out that "the differences between government and business may be narrower than they seem on some issues, and be more about timing than direction." In the latest cabinet reshuffle, Pallo Jordan—a popular "leftist" in the Government of National Unity—was dumped as minister of telecommunications and broadcasting. A new finance minister, Trevor Manuel, has gained the plaudits of the business community. And the government is scrapping the separate ministry for the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), a centerpiece of the ANC's electoral platform which promised—but, of course, hasn't delivered—sweeping economic and social reforms.

The RDP was designed as a sop to COSATU at a time when the collaboration of the union tops was necessary to ensure "stability" under the "power sharing" regime. But today, from the government offices in Pretoria to ANC headquarters in Johannesburg's Shell House, Mandela & Co. feel less dependent on the support of the union movement. While the ANC may occasionally clash with South Africa's business leaders, this former petty-bourgeois black nationalist political movement has become a neo-colonial bourgeois party. The Mandela regime—whether or not in coalition with De Klerk's National Party—*cannot*

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 644

26 April 1996

Israel Out of All Lebanon!

Israeli artillery barrage massacred over 100 men, women and children at UN outpost in Qana, Lebanon. AP

Zionist Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

APRIL 20—Several days after Israel had begun its massive, murderous bombardment of Lebanon, an Israeli army commander gloated, "We have not yet even moved into second gear." That "move" came on April 18, as an Israeli artillery barrage turned a United Nations camp near the southern Lebanese village of Qana into a fiery mass grave for dozens of men, women and children. The small UN observation post had been packed to overflowing with some 850 people from neighboring towns and villages who had come there seeking refuge from the bombing. Instead, they found themselves trapped in a nightmare of death and destruction, as upwards of 100 civilians were killed and over 100 more wounded. Hours earlier, Israeli jets fired missiles at an apartment house near Nabatiye, killing eleven, including six children.

Responding to a wave of international condemnations, Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres cynically expressed "regret" for the civilian casualties, while Likud opposition leader Benjamin Netanyahu talked of a "tragic mistake." *But what happened at Qana was no mistake.* In the guise of "retaliation" against a handful of low-grade, short-range Katyusha rocket attacks by the Islamic fundamentalist Hezbollah guerrillas, Israel has over the past week unleashed a deadly onslaught—grotesquely code-named "Operation Grapes of Wrath"—of jet fighters, missiles, Apache helicopter gunships, tanks and self-propelled artillery against the *civilian population of Lebanon.* The avowed aim of this assault, imitating Hitler's policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, was to terrorize and drive out the population of southern Lebanon: "Hizbollah uses civilians for protection," said an Israeli army officer, "we are removing that shield" (*Financial Times* [London], 15 April).

The Israeli terror operation has been carried out with the full complicity and backing of U.S. imperialism. No "even-handed" calls for peace from the White House this time. It came only weeks after a U.S.-sponsored "anti-terrorism" summit in Sharm el Sheik, at which the assembled imperialist and neocolonial butchers endorsed Israel's bloody repression in the Occupied Territories. Washington gave Peres a green light for the murderous assault on Lebanon—with the aim of bullying its Syrian patron into submission. And when France tried to mediate a cease-fire the day before the Qana massacre, the U.S. told them to butt out.

Threatening to bomb anyone found south of the Litani River, Israel forced over *400,000 people*—one-tenth of Lebanon's entire population—to flee from their homes. To punctuate this ultimatum, on Saturday, April 13, Israeli helicopter gunships slammed a rocket into an ambulance near Tyre, killing six—including a two-month-old infant and three other children. Elderly people or others who could not get away, like the refugees in Qana, were left to face the Israeli terror machine defenseless. But even those who headed north found no refuge from the blistering Israeli terror assault. For the first time since its 1982 invasion, Israel launched aerial attacks on Beirut, targeting not only residential areas but power stations. This was clearly aimed at reversing the economic reconstruction which has begun to revive the Lebanese capital after more than a decade of civil war and Israeli destruction.

The scale of the current onslaught has already surpassed the last Israeli attack in 1993, when close to a half million people were forced from their homes. Indeed, the horrendous slaughter at Qana brought to mind scenes of Sabra and Shatila, Palestinian refugee camps where in 1982 Israel ordered its Lebanese puppet murder squads to perpetrate an infamous massacre which left well over a thousand dead.

The Israeli assault provoked defiance among the Lebanese masses: "We're all Hezbollah here," said a mother of three who had sought refuge in the UN compound in Tyre. It is tragic that Zionist terror and bankrupt petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism have created popular sympathy for such reactionary Islamic fundamentalists. Within Israel, outrage among the Arab population was so widespread that Israeli Arab leaders were forced to vow that they would, for the first time ever, boycott official celebrations for Israel's "Independence Day."

Israel's "Good Neighbor" Policy

In part, "Operation Grapes of Wrath" is a hideously cynical ploy by Peres to get himself re-elected in the face of stiff opposition from his "hardline" Likud rival Netanyahu. Since a series of

continued on page 4

Mad Cows and Capitalist Pigs

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See Page 8

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Leonard Peltier!

In December, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier, who has been unjustly jailed for nearly 20 years and is one of the most prominent political prisoners in America, testified at a parole hearing held at Leavenworth Penitentiary. The frame-up of Peltier has been widely protested internationally and is recounted in the powerful 1992 documentary by Robert Redford, *Incident at Oglala*. After the December hearing, Peltier and his Defense Committee anxiously waited three months for a ruling from the U.S. Parole Commission (USPC) following a favorable recommendation by the presiding parole officer, who noted there were government fabrications and improprieties in the feds' case against Peltier.

On March 18, however, Peltier's hopes were dashed when the national commissioners of the USPC denied him parole. The USPC claimed that Peltier hadn't given a factual account "consistent with the jury's verdict of guilt"! Like former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), also falsely imprisoned for murder, Peltier is a victim of the FBI's notorious Counter-Intelligence Program, COINTELPRO was used against the Communist Party and later extended to radical organizations like AIM and the Panthers, whose leaders were targeted by the FBI for "neutralization" by intimidation, prison or death. Peltier was framed up for the shooting deaths of two FBI agents during the feds' massive siege of the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975.

At that time, Pine Ridge was a war zone. Thugs sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and FBI terrorized "traditionals" and tried to crush AIM activists. AIM was in the government's cross hairs because it was attempting to combat the enforced poverty and continued theft of Native American lands by the federal government and energy companies seeking rich uranium deposits in South Dakota. Between 1973 and 1976, paramilitary squads which were armed, trained and paid by the federal government carried out more than 300 physical assaults resulting in at least 69 murders of tribe members at Pine Ridge!

When the government launched their attack at Pine Ridge with 250 G-men on 26 June 1975, FBI agents Jack Coler and Ron Williams led the assault, but they didn't survive. The government's frame-up machinery went into high gear against Peltier after the 1976 acquittals of fellow AIM activists Dino Butler and Bob Robideau by a Cedar Rapids, Iowa jury who stated that they didn't believe the government witnesses, and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense."

So the feds changed the venue for Peltier's trial and after a series of meetings with the FBI and prosecutors, the trial judge ruled inadmissible any defense evidence of anti-Indian violence. This was to prevent acquittal of Peltier on the grounds of self-defense against the FBI's murderous raid. The prosecution also concealed ballistics evidence that showed Peltier's innocence. Documents later released in response to a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit prove not only that Peltier did not shoot FBI agents Coler and Williams, but that the FBI knew this when they framed him up. Government attorneys have admitted that they don't know who killed the agents.

FBI director Louis Freeh stated in a letter read at the December hearing that Peltier should show remorse for the deaths of the agents. At the same hearing, prosecuting attorney Lynn Crooks argued that "somebody murdered those agents. Even if it wasn't him [Peltier], somebody had to do it." As far as the government is concerned, keeping Peltier put away forever is what's important.

The Partisan Defense Committee protested to the USPC in a letter demanding Leonard Peltier's immediate release. The parole officer who made the favorable recommendation on Peltier has since lost his job within the USPC, and the Commission says it will not consider a "re-examination" until December 2008! To obtain a copy of the FBI files released on Leonard Peltier and for more information, write to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044, or call (913) 842-5774.

Eli Reichman

Leonard Peltier

of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who was active in defending Latino coworkers and fellow unionists under attack by the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Mark Curtis was convicted on 14 September 1988 in a Des Moines court of third-degree sexual abuse and first-degree burglary, based on the state's charge that six months earlier Curtis forced his way onto the porch of a black family's house and attempted to rape 15-year-old Demetria Morris. Yet there is no account by anyone, not even by the police or the young woman, that a rape ever took place; nor was there anything stolen, nor was there a weapon, nor any evidence of physical contact between Curtis and the alleged victim. From day one, Curtis has steadfastly maintained his innocence.

The Partisan Defense Committee has joined with numerous trade unionists, civil rights activists and defenders of democratic rights seeking the immediate release of Curtis. However, Illinois authorities are refusing his request for an out-of-state parole to Chicago where his wife, Kate Kaku, now lives. Curtis has at least three job offers awaiting his arrival in Chicago, where he intends to work and practice politics. However, Illinois authorities denied his parole, claiming that he was not a resident of Illinois, had no family there, and did not have a valid marriage license.

On March 19, Curtis's lawyer was told that although the Illinois Department of Corrections had received a copy of his marriage license, his application was already closed. Curtis must now reapply to the same Illinois authorities who have refused from the outset to cooperate with processing his move to Chicago. Meanwhile, the Iowa parole board cynically uses the Illinois Department of Corrections' refusal to approve his Chicago parole to keep Curtis behind bars.

This is nothing but a continued political witchhunt by Iowa and Illinois parole authorities against an avowed socialist. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter to the Illinois Department of Corrections demanding that his parole request be honored. Letters on behalf of Curtis can be sent to Vivian Sneed, Illinois Department of Corrections, Executive Office Building, 1301 Concordia Court, Springfield, IL 62794-9277, or faxed to (217) 522-9652. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

In Defense of the Irish Easter Uprising

This April marks the 80th anniversary of the Irish Easter Uprising in Dublin which was bloodily suppressed by British imperialism. One of the principal leaders of the uprising, revolutionary socialist James Connolly, who was executed by the British, fought under the banner of an Irish workers republic. Nonetheless, some left socialists such as Karl Radek dismissed the Dublin revolt as a petty-bourgeois nationalist adventure or "putsch" in which the international proletariat had no interest. Lenin strongly denounced this view, insisting that the struggles of oppressed colonial peoples, under the leadership of the working class, were a powerful blow against the capitalist-imperialist system.

The term "putsch," in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself...in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie *and a section of the workers* after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls *such* a rebellion a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon....

The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot be* anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation, *mass* struggle is *impossible*, without it *no* revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately "purge" itself of petty-bourgeois slag....

We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilize *every* popular movement against *every single* disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis.

—V.I. Lenin, *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up* (July 1916)

SWP Member Mark Curtis Fights for Parole

After spending more than seven years in prison on frame-up sexual assault and burglary charges, Mark Curtis was paroled by Iowa prison officials last November. However, five months later he is still in the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison, denied the right to join his wife in Chicago. Curtis is a member

Outrage! Geronimo's Case Dumped

The fight by Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) to expose his frame-up by the LAPD and FBI's COINTELPRO was derailed April 17 by the capitalist system of racist injustice. At the bidding of Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti, Superior Court judge Michael Cowett refused to hear Geronimo's petition to overturn his 1972 conviction. Ignoring the law, Cowett outrageously denounced Geronimo's attorneys for filing in the "wrong" court and transferred his case to the California Supreme Court—a bastion of reaction appointed in their majority by pro-death penalty, anti-immigrant, anti-affirmative action Governor Wilson. The State Supreme Court can now either direct that Geronimo have a hearing or, more likely, dismiss the petition altogether. The Partisan Defense Committee, which has championed Geronimo's cause for more than a decade, joined the Geronimo Defense Committee and others in protest outside the court on April 17. The struggle to free Geronimo must be a fight for mass labor-centered mobilizations in defense of this anti-racist political prisoner.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 23

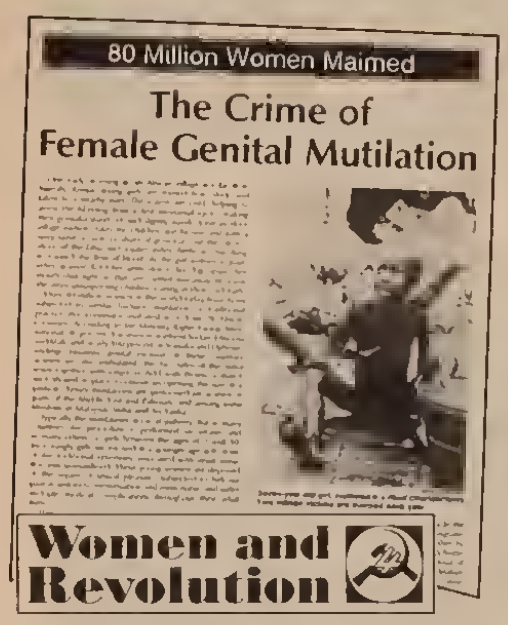
No. 644 **26 April 1996**

Fled Barbaric Mutilation, Jailed by INS

Asylum for Fauziya Kasinga!

This May 2, the Board of Immigration Appeals, the highest tribunal in the U.S. immigration system, will hear an appeal for asylum by a young African woman, Fauziya Kasinga, who has been imprisoned ever since arriving in this country two years ago. She fled a forced marriage and the obligatory female genital mutilation which would have been imposed by tribal elders. Only 17 years old when her aunt promised her to a man with three other wives, Kasinga managed to escape from Togo. But she fell into a living hell in the clutches of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Kasinga was thrown into the INS' infamous privatized jail in Elizabeth, New Jersey, a prison-for-profit run by Esmor Correctional Services; inmates exploded in revolt against unbearable conditions in June 1995. Kasinga was tear-gassed and beaten, shackled in chains at times, denied sanitary napkins



Women and *Revolution* issue No. 41 (Summer/Autumn 1992), available for $1 from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

and put in an isolation cell. Later she and others seeking asylum were sent to prisons in Pennsylvania, where she was strip-searched and locked in a maximum security cell with an American convict. "I keep asking myself, 'What did I do to deserve such punishment? What did I do?'" she said as she sat in York County Prison (*New York Times*, 15 April).

Kasinga was protected from the practice of female genital mutilation by her father, who opposed this heinous barbarity. But when he died, she was threatened with the ritual, a common fate of millions of girls and women, mainly in Africa. According to a global survey of women's health, between 85 and 114 million women alive today have been mutilated (*Scientific American*, August 1994). The most common practice, excision, entails cutting the clitoris, often its removal, and slicing off some or all parts of the labia minora and majora. In some cases, the remaining lips of the vagina are then sewn up, leaving only a tiny opening. Urination and menstruation are excruciating; infection is guaranteed; the women are deprived of the organs of sexual pleasure and suffer multiple medical complications throughout their lives.

But when Kasinga presented her case in court, Philadelphia immigration judge Donald V. Ferlise dismissed her plea as lacking "consistency," "rationality" and "persuasiveness," declaring, "This alien is not credible"! Kasinga was then shackled, handcuffed and led from the courtroom. So much for the humanitarian pretensions of "democratic" U.S. imperialism! The racist bigots of the INS, busy murdering and beating Mexicans at the border and locking up Chinese refugees as they get off the ship, are utterly hostile to the human rights of black African women. The only political refugees welcomed in this country have been anti-communist scum like the Cuban *gusanos*. We demand immediate asylum for Fauziya Kasinga!

As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* (No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992), in "The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation":

> "There are standards in the evolution of human culture. Americans fought a civil war over the 'quaint cultural tradition' of its Southern states; while the Confederacy argued that it had a right to self-determination, few today condone the practice of slavery. Similarly, female genital mutilation is not a relative cultural trait but a violent act of savagery. Those who have over the years covered the systematic mutilation of young girls in a shroud of silence because it is 'an African tradition' are in fact promoting a kind of racism and are sacrificing women on the altar of liberal guilt....
> "The question of female genital mutilation is intrinsically bound up with the social oppression of women. Emancipation is a material act; without a fight for social liberation, the masses must remain ground down by poverty and subjugated by imperialist exploitation. In order to uproot prefeudal autocracy and imperialist domination, the working class must play the central role and fight for a social transformation through proletarian revolution. This requires a party which can wage such an international struggle, a party led by Marxist revolutionaries who alone today apply the universal values of freedom and equality of Enlightenment humanism."

We print below a protest sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to the INS demanding immediate asylum for Fauziya Kasinga. We urge our readers to send letters to Doris Meissner, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 "I" Street N.W., Room 7100, Washington, D.C. 20536, or fax (202) 514-3296; and to J. Scott Blackman, District Director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1600 Callowhill Street, Philadelphia, PA 19130. You can write to Fauziya Kasinga directly at: York County Prison, 3401 Concord Road, York, PA 17402.

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22 April 1996

Doris Meissner
Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Meissner,

We strongly protest the imprisonment of Fauziya Kasinga. This courageous young woman has suffered horribly in American prisons for over two years, though she has committed no crime. Fauziya Kasinga fled her native Togo in 1994 when she was 17 years old, only hours after being forced into an arranged marriage; as she has said, tribal elders were coming "to scrape my woman parts off"—that is, to impose the barbaric practice of female genital mutilation on the teenager.

Kasinga was seized at Newark International Airport and thrown into the INS' Esmor detention center, where conditions were so unbearable that prisoners revolted in June 1995. Today Kasinga is in York County Prison, Pennsylvania. We demand that she be immediately freed.

We support Fauziya Kasinga's request for asylum, which will be heard May 2 by the Board of Immigration Appeals. Female genital mutilation, a cruel and dangerous maiming causing untold suffering and crippling disease, is a means to maintain control over women. The INS Resource Information Center itself in 1994 published an "alert" on female genital mutilation, warning it has "serious, often fatal consequences" and that resistance "can have dire consequences" including being considered someone "who deserves to be killed." This barbaric practice, widespread throughout Africa and increasing in European countries like France and Britain, is an act of deadly violence against women.

We hail Fauziya Kasinga's courage in resisting her forced marriage and the violent and hideous cutting away of her sexual organs. Grant her asylum now!

Richard Genova
for the Partisan Defense Committee

Faik/NY Times

Fauziya Kasinga

Elaine Simon

Fauziya was one of many prisoners who were brutally beaten at privately run immigration prison in New Jersey during rampage by guards last June.

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Spartacist Events

CHICAGO

Spartacist League Forum
Saturday, 7 p.m., April 27: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are A Dead End! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; University of Chicago, Ida Noyes, West Lounge, 2nd Floor

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next classes, May 9: *The Struggle for Workers Power: Lessons of the Paris Commune and the Bolshevik Revolution*; May 23: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall
For more information: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist League Forum
Friday, 7 p.m., April 26: *Clinton/Dole Push for Racist "Law and Order," For a Multiracial Workers Party to Fight for All the Oppressed!*; Hunter College, Rm. 511, Hunter West (68th St. & Lexington Ave.)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next class, April 27: *The Popular Front: Roadblock to Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Saturday, 2 p.m., May 4: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End, Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom: Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism!*
University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Student Union, Room 2136

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Mondays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, April 29: *For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party! For International Socialism!*; University of Maryland, College Park, Hornbake Library, Non-Print Media Section, Room P
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Vile Fascist Provocation at Auschwitz

In a revolting and sinister provocation, some 80 Polish skinheads marched through the former Nazi death camp of Auschwitz on April 6, spewing anti-Semitic filth and giving Hitler salutes. Organized by Boleslaw Tejkowski's "Polish National Party," the fascist thugs strutted through the camp gate—with its infamous inscription "*Arbeit macht frei*" ("Work will make you free")—ranting, "Jews out of the government!" Under the benevolent protection of the police, the Polish Nazis continued their vile desecration at the adjoining Birkenau murder factory where millions of Jews, Roma (Gypsies), Russians, Poles and others were exterminated in Hitler's gas chambers.

That a gang of latter-day Polish Nazis could use the symbol of the Nazi Holocaust as a platform for anti-Semitic incitement is a sharp expression of the capitalist counterrevolution which has brought untold misery to Poland's working people and an orgy of chauvinist and racist agitation against Roma and Jews. Lech Walesa's Solidarność came to power pushing Polish clerical-nationalism, which is synonymous with anti-Semitism. Walesa's failed bid for re-election as president last fall was marked by virulently anti-Communist and anti-Semitic diatribes by right-wing politicians and the Catholic hierarchy.

The fascist race-hate rally was expressly timed to precede a commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust which drew some 5,000 Jewish youth to Auschwitz on April 16. Echoing Walesa's outburst last year—at the time of the 50th anniversary of the Red Army's liberation of Auschwitz—that the Jews had usurped the camp's memory for their own purposes, Tejkowski railed that Auschwitz is "holy Polish earth." "Holy," indeed! The skinhead march was organized to demand that the government allow construction of a shopping center (!)—halted after an international outery—to continue across from the camp site. This grotesque project followed an earlier provocation by Carmelite nuns who had erected a huge crucifix and a convent at the camp a few years ago, seeking to bury the anti-Semitic character of the Holocaust. When the nuns were finally evicted, the joint German-Polish investment firm "Maja," which is behind the shopping center, took over the building they had occupied and hung anti-Semitic banners from the windows (*Junge Welt* [Berlin], 9 April).

The skinhead provocation took place less than four months after ex-Stalinist Aleksander Kwasniewski of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) replaced Walesa as president. Kwasniewski and the Polish Social Democracy (SdRP) which he previously headed are now more than ever responsible for the capitalist social and political decay that breeds the fascists: mass unemployment, starvation wages, attacks on women's rights and escalating racism. The former Stalinist bureaucracy from which the SdRP emerged played no small part in fostering Polish nationalism, also portraying Auschwitz solely as a symbol of Polish suffering, and paving the way for capitalist restoration. And Polish "far left" groups like Ofensywa (affiliated to the British Militant Labour), the fake-Trotskyist supporters of the late Ernest Mandel organized around the paper *Dalej*, and Solidarność Socjalistyczna (associates of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.) share a sordid history of hailing Walesa's anti-Semitic outfit and capitulating to chauvinist reaction today.

Uniquely among the Polish left, the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) stands on a record of opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution. At the same time, warning that the role of the Social Democrats is to administer IMF austerity while pushing nationalist and racist policies, our comrades insisted that there was no choice for working people in the electoral contest between Kwasniewski and Walesa last December. Striving to be a Leninist "tribune of the people," the SGP combats anti-Semitism and anti-Roma racism—fighting for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop the fascists—and calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Above all, the SGP fights to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party, based on the heroic internationalist traditions of the Polish workers movement exemplified by the Jewish Communist leader Rosa Luxemburg, to lead the struggle for socialist revolution.

In a joint statement of the SGP, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and Spartacist/Moscow distributed at the January 1995 commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz (see "Fifty Years Ago: The Red Army Liberated Auschwitz!" *WV* No. 615, 27 January 1995), our comrades declared: "Rosa Luxemburg emphasized that humanity stands before the alternatives: socialism or barbarism. Auschwitz epitomized capitalist barbarism. We stand, like this great revolutionary fighter, for the unity of the proletariats of Poland, Germany and all the lands of the former Soviet Union."

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in February, which eliminated Peres' hefty lead in the opinion polls, the supposedly "dovish" Peres—who was the architect of Israel's military establishment—has carried out a campaign of anti-Arab terror which rivals that of his most rabid predecessors. The Occupied Territories remain "sealed off" by a starvation blockade and subjected to vicious repression, implemented not only by Israeli troops but by Yasir Arafat's puppet Palestinian Authority. Behind the sham of "autonomy"—over the Gaza Strip and a half-dozen isolated ghettos in the West Bank—the job of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is to act as enforcer of the Zionist occupation.

But beyond immediate electoral considerations, the massive terror-bombing

WV Map

Israel occupies "security zone" in southern Lebanon, and Zionist terror bombing has now driven out 400,000 people from region south of the Litani River.

of Lebanon is part and parcel of Israel's strategic drive to be *the* regional "superpower" in the Near East. In league with their senior partners in Washington, the Zionist rulers seek to impose a "New Order" in the Near East. This is the real meaning of the so-called "peace process" orchestrated by U.S. imperialism. The real target in Lebanon was not the ragtag Hezbollah guerrilla force but Syria, which is the effective power with 35,000 troops stationed there. This was underscored by Israel's deliberate bombing of a Syrian anti-aircraft battery in Beirut.

As Israeli civil libertarian and Holocaust survivor Israel Shahak stressed in a telephone interview with *Workers Vanguard* yesterday, "The Israeli aim is to make Lebanon openly and publicly a vassal state." As part of this, the Zionist rulers are demanding that their "South Lebanon Army" puppet militia—which has been disintegrating recently, with widespread defections and outright mutinies—be incorporated into the Lebanese army while continuing to act as direct cops for Israel in its "security zone" in southern Lebanon. "Israel wants hegemony over the Arab Middle East," said Shahak. And to do that the Zionist garrison state has to throw its bloody military weight around. Peres sometimes echoes the phony rhetoric of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "good neighbor policy" toward U.S. imperialism's Latin American neocolonies in the 1930s, while wielding Teddy Roosevelt's "big stick."

A key step in this strategic design to achieve Israeli domination as U.S. imperialism's top cop in the region came with the signing of a military pact with Turkey in February, allowing Israeli war planes to fly over Turkish air space—in "Syria's backyard," as the Israeli press has pointed out. In reporting on this new "military partnership," the *Washington Post* (16 April) notes that "it points to two emerging camps in the region: those that support the Israeli-Arab peace process—including Israel, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, the Palestinian administration and the United Arab Emirates—and those that do not, such as Iran, Syria and Iraq." Under the new pact, Israeli planes will have use of the U.S.-controlled Adana air base in southwestern Turkey. It has also been reported on Turkish TV that Israeli planes have been bombing training bases of the Kurdish PKK in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

This burgeoning Pax Americana in the Near East is conditioned by the collapse and counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which served as a military and diplomatic patron for Third World nationalist regimes like Syria and Iraq. Already at the time of the U.S.-led

Reuters

Israeli troops arrest Palestinians in West Bank as part of recent wave of mass repression.

Persian Gulf slaughter in 1991, Syrian strongman Hafez el-Assad indicated his readiness to enlist in Washington's "New World Order" by lining up against Iraq, as did Iran (which has been a tacit American ally both in Afghanistan and more recently in Bosnia). Following the 1993 Israel-PLO accord, Syria agreed to U.S.-sponsored peace talks with Israel. Balking at Assad's demand for a complete return of the Golan Heights area seized by Israel in 1967, Peres pulled out of the talks a couple of months ago. But the Zionist rulers would be more than happy to make a deal with the Syrian dictator on their terms, recognizing Assad's talents for brutal repression, as when he slaughtered 20,000 people to quell the 1982 uprising in the central Syrian city of Hama.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

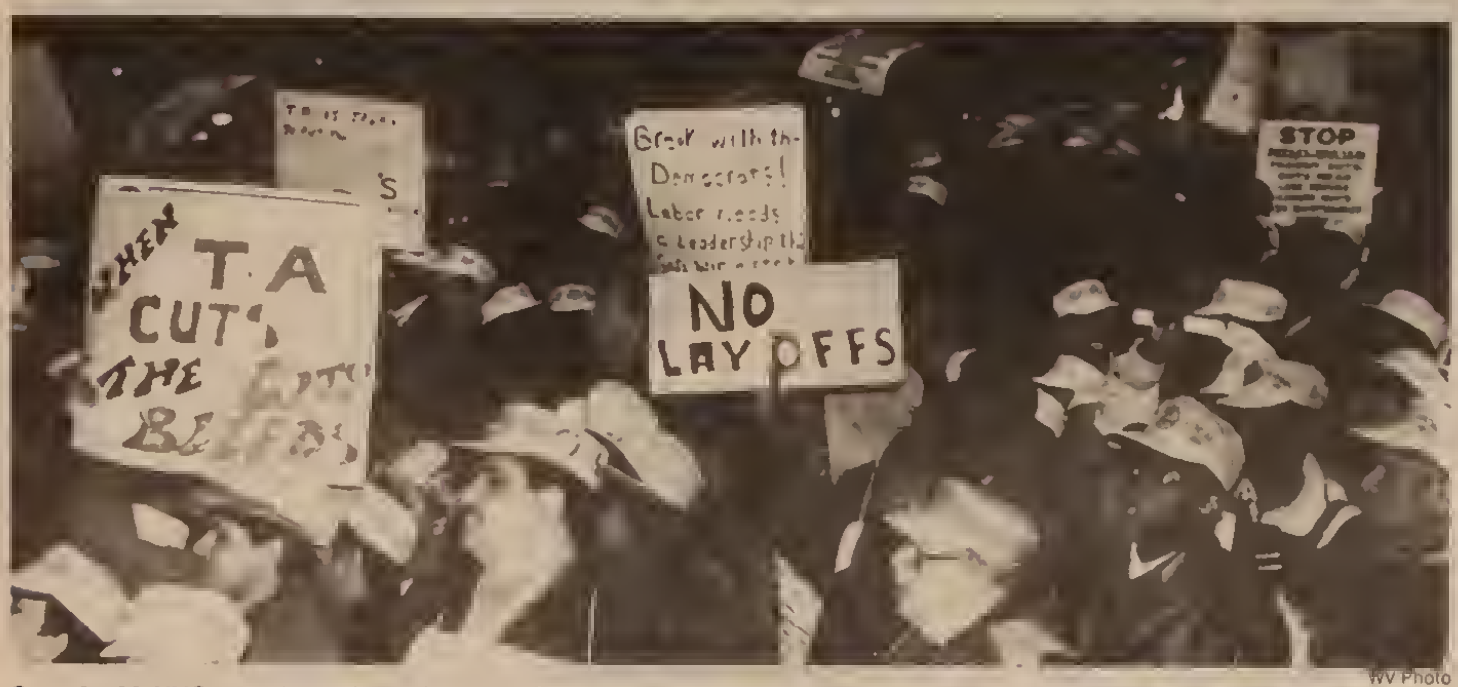
For the past two decades, tiny Lebanon—once the financial capital of the Near East—has been ravaged by repeated Israeli onslaughts and internecine ethnic and sectarian bloodletting. Even more so than Israel, where two peoples contest the same territory, Lebanon is a patchwork of numerous ethnic and religious communities. But in 1975, Lebanon was the site of a working-class uprising which could have been a beacon for workers and peasants throughout the region. This possibility was cut off, however, as the PLO nationalists and their "progressive" Muslim allies channeled the plebeian upsurge into an ethnic civil war with the Christian Maronite minority.

Nationalism seeks to obscure the fundamental divide in bourgeois society, the class line between the toiling masses and their exploiters. In this region with its deeply interpenetrated populations, nationalism serves to derail struggle for genuine national and social emancipation, above all for the subjugated Palestinian people. The rounds of fratricidal slaughter and cynical "peace" agreements—written with the blood of the working people—underscore the need for socialist revolution to sweep away all the Zionist butchers, military strongmen and feudalist sheiks and imams in the region. The key task is the construction of internationalist, Leninist vanguard parties that defend the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, through a socialist federation of the Near East.

Israel out of all Lebanon! All Zionist troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories! ■

Powerhouse of NYC Labor Shackled by Union Tops

Transit Workers: Fight Mass Layoffs!



WV Photo

Over 2,500 NYC transit workers demonstrated outside TA headquarters in downtown Brooklyn, March 20.

NEW YORK CITY—If Wall Street and its politicians get their way, the body count of this city's jobs massacre is about to soar higher. Last week, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani announced that another 12,000 municipal jobs would be slashed in the next fiscal year. Hospital workers, who have been subjected to one wave of layoffs after another as part of a ruthless drive to privatize or strangle the public health system, now face as many as 8,000 job losses. Schoolteachers are also threatened with cuts. After defying the AFT (American Federation of Teachers) tops and voting down Giuliani's wage-freeze contract offer last December, the teachers now face a "take it or leave it" ultimatum from City Hall and the union misleaders.

Now the Transit Authority (TA) has launched an unprecedented drive to lay off 1,500 subway and bus workers this year and get rid of 800 token booth clerks overall in the next two years. Though dirty and dangerous, work in the subway tunnels, maintenance shops, bus depots and train stations was once coveted for its job security, if nothing else. No more. Since 1989, the TA has eliminated *5,000 jobs* through attrition. These criminal cuts have made the subways and buses more dangerous than they already were for workers and riders alike. And now the TA wants to introduce "one person train operation," eliminating subway conductors, which would lead to even more deaths on the rails.

Every time the bankers and financiers scream for their interest payments and tax breaks, it comes out of the hides of working people and minorities. The schools are being run into the ground; welfare, health care and other social services are being decimated; the public museums, botanical gardens and zoos that once offered working-class families some access to leisure and cultural activities now charge extortionate admission fees. The latest 20 percent increase in transit fares—to $1.50—has taken a huge bite out of the pockets of those least able to afford it. Meanwhile, rampant cop terror in the ghettos and barrios is aimed at intimidating and terrorizing an ever more desperate population.

What's needed is a fight to *reverse the layoffs and cuts*, and that means mobilizing union power against the entire capitalist establishment of New York. The 32,000-strong, multiracial Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is perhaps the strongest municipal union in the country, the result of bitter battles waged in the past. It could stand at the head of all New York City labor, with the support of millions of other working people and minorities, in a struggle against these deadly cuts. Public transit is still the lifeblood of this capital of finance, and the TWU has the power to bring it grinding to a halt through solid strike action.

To wage a fight against the layoffs and budget cuts, labor will have to defy the state's Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees, and refuse to bow to strikebreaking court injunctions. Unleashing the TWU's power demands a completely new kind of leadership—one that goes beyond the narrow business unionism that accepts the capitalists' demands for "fiscal responsibility." Mobilizing the labor movement in struggle means fighting for a *workers party*, breaking the shackles that bind the unions to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital with their racist divide-and-rule ploys. What's needed is a *class-struggle* leadership that takes as its starting point the felt needs and interests of all working people and the oppressed and advances a program of transitional demands posing a fight against this whole system of capitalist exploitation.

Bureaucratic In-Fighting and Backstabbing

In recent months, hundreds of TA bus mechanics, cleaners, stockroom clerks and skilled tradesmen have been forced to change job titles and accept *different jobs at lower pay*, while being made to run the gauntlet of physicals, drug and alcohol tests and licensing procedures. Without a peep of opposition, the Local 100 bureaucracy has allowed the TA to lay off scores of provisionals and low-seniority workers and turned a blind eye to speedup, horrendous overtime and deadly working conditions. "Contracting out" and "privatization" of cleaning and maintenance work proceed apace, undermining the power of the TWU as an industrial union representing all workers in transit. Meanwhile, the TA wants to hire part-timers—no doubt at lower pay and with limited or no benefits—as bus operators, the single largest job title.

No wonder over 2,500 mechanics, cleaners, clerks, bus operators, motormen and conductors turned out for a March 20 union rally outside TA headquarters in downtown Brooklyn. But the union tops limited the rally to a blow-off-steam affair largely aimed at promoting the "new" local leadership—and their Democratic Party "friends." Newly installed union president Willie James went on about "unity, activism and respect," but the respect seemed mostly intended for the TA's new "downsizing" president, Lawrence Reuter, whom James welcomed.

James said absolutely *nothing* about organizing a union fight against the layoffs, devoting all his fighting words to lambasting his critics inside the union as "jackleg preachers." By late last year, the union brass was so discredited that TWU International president (and former Local 100 chief) Sonny Hall felt compelled to do some damage control. In January, Hall booted out Damaso Seda as president and had him replaced by James, the local's first black president. In their cynical maneuver to quell internal dissent, the union tops finally made a bow to the fact that the local's membership is predominantly black and minority. Arnold Cherry, another black official, was made vice president of the troublesome Car Maintenance Division. A past member of the "Rank-and-File Caucus" (which helped sell out the 1980 strike!), Cherry touts his ties to the shopfloor. Now he is touring the shops to stump for the Democrats, grotesquely holding up the racist police "union" as a model for how to pressure Albany through a solid voting bloc.

But the main "opposition" to the Hall/Seda/James gang, New Directions, is itself an integral part of the Local 100 bureaucracy, holding one-third of the seats on the Executive Board and controlling several key union divisions. What's the difference between the "old guard" and New Directions? Just about zilch. Braintrusted by some burned-out "leftists," New Directions has repeatedly dragged the union and its officials into the capitalist courts. In 1990, New Directions hailed a "strike" by the sadistic Rikers Island prison guards. But when it came to the strike earlier this year by the heavily immigrant and minority building workers of SEIU Local 32B-32J, New Directions refused to call for the TWU to honor the janitors' picket lines. One prominent New Directions member proclaims that she *regularly crossed the picket lines*!

A "leadership" that spits on picket lines, runs to the bosses' courts and cozies up to the racist cops is definitely *not* going to lead a fight that mobilizes the city's heavily minority working people. A thorough housecleaning in Local 100 is long overdue, but that's a job for the workers. The precondition for union democracy is *complete independence from the bosses' state*. The membership needs the right to elect and recall all union officials, who should be paid no more than the top pay of the workers they represent. As part of their job, officials should collect union dues, directly facing the workers they represent on the shopfloor—abolish the dues check-off, which gives management control over union funds!

At bottom, both wings of the TWU bureaucracy share a perspective of *opposing* class struggle in favor of pressuring the racist Democrats to act as "friends of labor." That was a keynote of the March 20 rally. Sharing the stage with Willie James were other NYC union big shots like the craven Stanley Hill, head of AFSCME District Council 37 and Giuliani's chief labor henchman in pushing through the latest sellout city contract. They all joined in pushing to "get out the vote in November" for Clinton's Democrats. Clinton got the ball rolling for Republican governor Pataki and Mayor Giuliani to slash NYC's transit budget to the bone by signing the 44 percent cut in federal transit aid last year.

But while the platform speakers at the March 20 rally called on transit workers

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Down With "Anti-Subversive" Law in Japan

Since the poison-gas attack in the Tokyo subways by the bizarre Buddhist Aum Shinrikyo cult last spring, the Japanese ruling class has used its arsenal of state repression against Aum to set a precedent for going after the workers movement and the left.

That the heightened state repression would be used particularly against labor unions was clearly demonstrated when police raided the militant Minato Godo local, part of the Osaka region of the National Metal and Machine Workers Union. During the predawn hours of February 20, four hundred cops swooped down on 41 offices and homes of Minato Godo members. This local supported a one-day strike by workers at an Osaka hospital, joining in and defending their picket line. For this exemplary act of labor solidarity, eight members of Minato Godo were jailed for 16 days, and three are facing a court hearing. State "investigations" into the union continue.

At two mass meetings in March, the Metal Workers union brought out hundreds of supporters of the jailed union militants. The authorities also attempted (unsuccessfully) to link the Osaka union to a left-wing group, Chukaku-ha, two of whose members are currently being prosecuted under the 44-year-old, Cold War "anti-subversives" law and which has been active in agitation against this police-state legislation.

We reprint below an edited version of a 22 February leaflet put out by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan, denouncing the draconian "Anti-Subversive Activities Law" and linking the struggle for democratic rights to the fight for socialist revolution.

* * *

The Japanese bourgeois state is using the justified social outrage against the widely despised Aum Shinrikyo cult to establish a dangerous precedent in applying the Anti-Subversive Activities Law. This law permits the government to restrict all activities or dissolve organizations considered to be terrorist and subversive. The real target of this dangerous assault on basic democratic rights is not Aum, but those whom the bourgeoisie deems to be a threat to their rule, particularly labor unions, leftists, minorities, and those who fight in defense of the oppressed.

The Spartacist Group Japan, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, stands for mass militant protests against the state's determination to use this draconian law. The indefensible and indiscriminate terrorism unleashed by Aum—including the murder of subway workers who rushed to aid those stricken by sarin gas—pales in comparison to the crimes committed by the Japanese bourgeoisie. The capitalist rulers and their state—who have military, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, police, prisons and laws at their disposal—have far more blood on their hands and are vastly more dangerous than any crazed cult. They are the real terrorists.

The role of the imperialist government is to establish Japan's role in the New World Disorder following the collapse of the USSR, fatally undermined by decades of Stalinist nationalism and bureaucratic rule. The Hashimoto popular-front government, with the support of the Social Democratic Party, lost no time in sending the imperialist military—the butchers of Nanjing during Japan's bloody occupation of China in the 1930s, the rapists of hundreds of thousands of "comfort women" during World War II, and the organizers of the infamous Unit 731, which engaged in Nazi-like medical "experiments"—to the Golan Heights, the third overseas deployment since Japanese troops were sent to Cambodia as UN "peacekeepers" in 1992. Japanese imperialism is laying the basis to become an international military policeman to expand and protect its economic interests in a new "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," Japan's euphemistic name for its military/economic empire during the '30s.

To accomplish this, at home the ruling class needs to impose a policy of economic austerity and reinforce the oppressive structure needed for the maintenance of bourgeois law and order. The capitalist state rests on the violent exploitation and repression of the working class, repression recently beefed up by the recruitment of 2,000 new cops, the nationwide expansion of SWAT teams and the murder of 15 death row prisoners since March 1993. Just as we have played a leading role in the campaign of international protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to win freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—eloquent black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther, whom the racist American capitalist state is trying to execute—in Japan we fight against the feudalistic, barbaric death penalty which represents an epitome of state repression.

As the economy continues to stagnate, the bourgeoisie is trying to further divide Japanese workers, Korean residents and minorities against one another, and to scapegoat immigrant laborers. In spring 1993, when the government and immigration bureau forcibly removed Iranian workers from Yoyogi Park, the Spartacist Group Japan warned: "The new Hosokawa government, aided by the Socialist Party, is one of protectionism and austerity and these attacks on foreign workers are only a prelude to the coming attacks on the Japanese working class" (*Spartacist* No. 15, September 1993).

The frequent attacks against Korean residents reflect deep-rooted racism and chauvinism. In April 1994, Osaka police escalated such attacks by raiding eight locations, including the Osaka branch of Chosen Soren, a Korean rights organization sympathetic to North Korea. Victimization of minorities is an easy recourse for a repressive regime facing social crisis: Koreans were the target of massive state-sanctioned pogroms after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. Today, Koreans are denied citizenship if they refuse to renounce their nationality, and are barred entry into the "imperial" universities and employment in the *zaibatsu* companies (giant conglomerates derived from leading families of feudal Japan) and most government jobs.

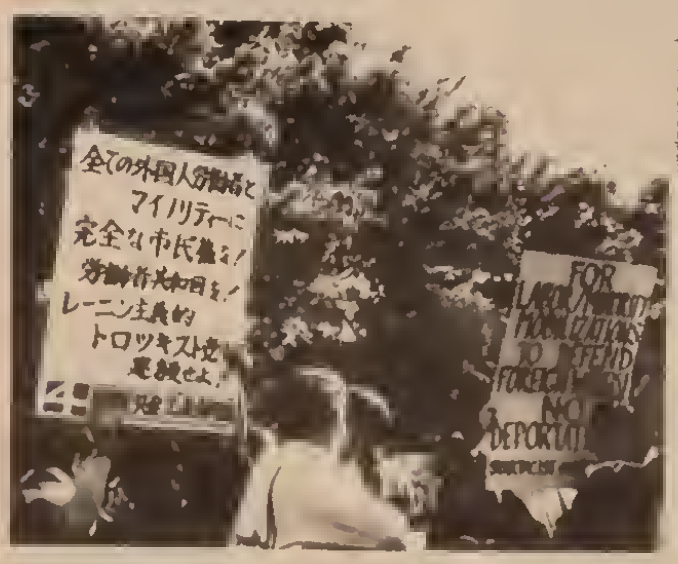
As a tribune of the people, the SGJ fights for full citizenship rights for all workers who live here and for their organization into class-struggle unions together with Japanese workers. We defend the democratic rights of Chosen Soren and all other organizations which seek to defend oppressed minorities in this racist country.

The anti-democratic move to legitimize the Anti-Subversive Activities Law is part of a broad ruling-class assault on the oppressed, in which high-handed repression combines with arrogant social viciousness: victims of capitalism are treated as non-people to be punished for being poor. In January, homeless people living along the Shinjuku underground passage were forcibly removed by the police for the construction of an "electric sidewalk" (for which no one sees the necessity) and dragged off to a temporary shelter which is more like a prison. This was ordered by Aoshima, whose election as governor of Tokyo was supported by the Communist Party and many leftist organizations.

We say: the homeless, including those in Kobe still without decent shelter, should seize the imperial palace and the posh, warm homes of the *jusen* (real estate) thieves. To fight back against the government offensive requires new working-class leadership which does not accept the limits of capitalism, which champions the needs of all the oppressed whom capitalism sets against each other.

Financial Times

Tokyo riot police brutalize anti-militarist protesters, June 1992.



Spartacist Japan

At 1993 demonstration against roundup of Iranian immigrants in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park, Spartacist Group Japan demands "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!"

The Capitalist State: Armed Bodies of Men Defending Bourgeois Property

The government is the ruling class in power. Their whole system is based on consuming the lives of the working people for profit, on suppressing and killing those who resist exploitation, on fanning the flames of racism. Built into this system is the fundamental need and appetite for wars up to and including bloody world conflagration.

The Anti-Subversive Activities Law was enacted in July 1952, following the signing of the U.S.-Japan security treaty—an anti-Soviet alliance—amidst great social struggle both internationally and domestically. When the second Yoshida government first attempted in March of that year to institute the Anti-Subversive Activities Law and establish the new thought police, the Public Security Investigation Agency, massive workers' resistance, including strikes, broke out. In April, over one million workers demonstrated. On May Day 1952, police killed two demonstrators and injured more than 2,000. By the end of July, 1,232 workers had been arrested, including many Korean workers who

continued on page 9

Kyodo Photo Service

As Japanese ruling class was pushing through Anti-Subversive Activities Law in 1952, police attacked massive May Day demonstration, killing two and injuring more than 2,000.

International Support for Brazil Union

Partisan Defense Committee Statement

20 March 1996

Paulo César Baltazar
Mayor of the City of Volta Redonda
R.J., Brazil

Dear Mayor Baltazar,

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the invasion of the 13 March union meeting of the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) by Military Police in Volta Redonda. This assault by police armed with pistols and 12-gauge shotguns is a deadly dangerous threat not only to the militant Municipal Workers Union but to the entire labor movement.

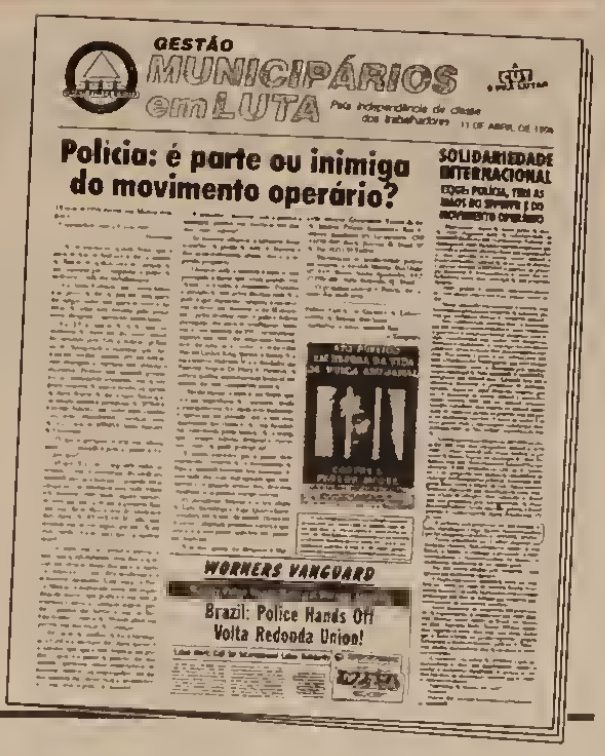
In 1988, the army massacred striking workers in Volta Redonda who were occupying Latin America's largest steel plant. The massacre of landless peasants by the Military Police together with the army in the state of Rondônia last August; the systematic murder of thousands of black street children by these same police and the municipal guardas in the state of Rio de Janeiro; the "disappearance" of black trade unionist Joel Rufino and the murder of other leftists—these show the real face of "democracy" in Brazil: naked, bloody state terror. Now, a group of cops in Belo Horizonte have claimed responsibility for the murder of three street children, ominously warning that "the blood ritual will not stop" until the police get higher pay!

With the government of Brazil making plans to eliminate job protection for public employees, the Military Police invasion of the SFPMVR meeting is part of an effort to destroy the combative Municipal Workers Union. In particular, it is an obvious attempt to intimidate militant unionists who are known as fighters in defense of the workers, for their opposition to the racist, strikebreaking cops and to any inclusion of the police in the union movement. This police provocation is a potentially lethal escalation of an orchestrated campaign of harassment and slander by the Popular Front government of Volta Redonda and the local press against union president Geraldo Ribeiro, his supporters on the Municipários em Luta slate in the leadership of the union and Luta Metalúrgica which is well known for its hard-fought defense of steel workers against the massive layoffs and for its working-class opposition to any political alliances with the capitalist exploiters.

Last August 10, in collaboration with the Partisan Defense Committee, Luta Metalúrgica initiated a 200-strong rally in Volta Redonda calling for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the eloquent American black journalist and political prisoner who has been sentenced to death for his outspoken defense of the poor and the oppressed against the racist American rulers. This rally was co-sponsored by the Municipal Workers Union which is today under attack. Just as they took up the defense of Jamal, who is the victim of a monstrous police frame-up, we of the Partisan Defense Committee urgently take up the defense of these unionists against the sinister military and other police forces. Down with the dangerous police provocations against union militants in Volta Redonda! Police hands off the unions!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein for the PDC

Police Hands Off the Unions!


GESTÃO
MUNICIPÁRIOS em LUTA
Pela independência de classe dos trabalhadores
Polícia: é parte ou inimiga do movimento operário?
SOLIDARIEDADE INTERNACIONAL
WORKERS VANGUARD
Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!

Newspaper of Municipal Workers Union militants in Volta Redonda carried international statements protesting invasion of union meeting by Military Police. Front page featured article by U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

An urgent appeal for international labor solidarity was issued last month by Luta Metalúrgica (LM—Metal Workers Struggle) in the Brazilian industrial center of Volta Redonda, near Rio de Janeiro (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 642, 29 March). The call protested the sinister invasion of a March 13 meeting of the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) by the notorious Military Police.

There has been an outpouring of international support by trade unions, human rights organizations and individuals in response to LM's call. The leadership of the Municipal Workers, headed by SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro, published a four-page supplement of its newspaper *Gestão Municipários em Luta* (reproduced above) containing a selection of protest statements from around the world. It featured the article by American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, "Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?" published in the last issue of *WV*.

In Brazil, the São Paulo Bank and Finance Workers Union raised the issue in its newspaper, *Folha Bancária*. Protests were made by the Partido de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (PTS International Office—Brazil) and the Partido Operário Revolucionário (POR). The head of the history department at the University of São Paulo, Professor Raquél Glezer, also sent a statement. Maria do Carmo Lopes Paes, a member of the executive board of the SFPMVR and founder of the National Movement of Street Children in Volta Redonda, stressed the deadly danger represented by the police:

> "We know about the innumerable acts of violence carried out by the Municipal Guard, Military Police, Civil Police and paramilitary forces...against strike movements by public workers in particular and in general against the movement of the oppressed and exploited, which certainly includes the street children."

From the United States, Local 808 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in New York sent a solidarity statement. Leroy Collier, President of Branch 2200 of the National Association of Letter Carriers in Pasadena, wrote:

> "The 13 March assault on the workers of SFPMVR is just one strike to cow those who would speak out for their rights. Worker unions belong to the workers; the military police and the military arm of the government have no place in these organizations!"

The Toronto local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers sent a protest, as did Local 391 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees in Vancouver.

In Britain, the Scottish Region of the Fire Brigades Union sent a message of support, as did Jimmy Nolan, Chairman of the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards Committee in Liverpool. Since last September, the Merseyside dockers have been engaged in a bitter fight against union-busting.

From Japan came a declaration from the Minato Godo local, a member of the Osaka regional branch of the National Metal Machinery Workers Union. In February, Japanese police raided 41 offices and homes of members of this militant local. In South Africa, statements were received from the Turning Wheel Workers Union, and from the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), which wrote:

> "The fact that the present ANC-led Government of National Unity in South Africa has also started bowing to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, through a voluntary Structural Adjustment Programme which targets workers and their organisations, has further sensitised workers to police actions like those which the Luta Metalúrgica refers to as 'the breaking of strikes and the carrying out of brutal racist attacks, which are the everyday reality of capitalist "law and order" in Brazil'."

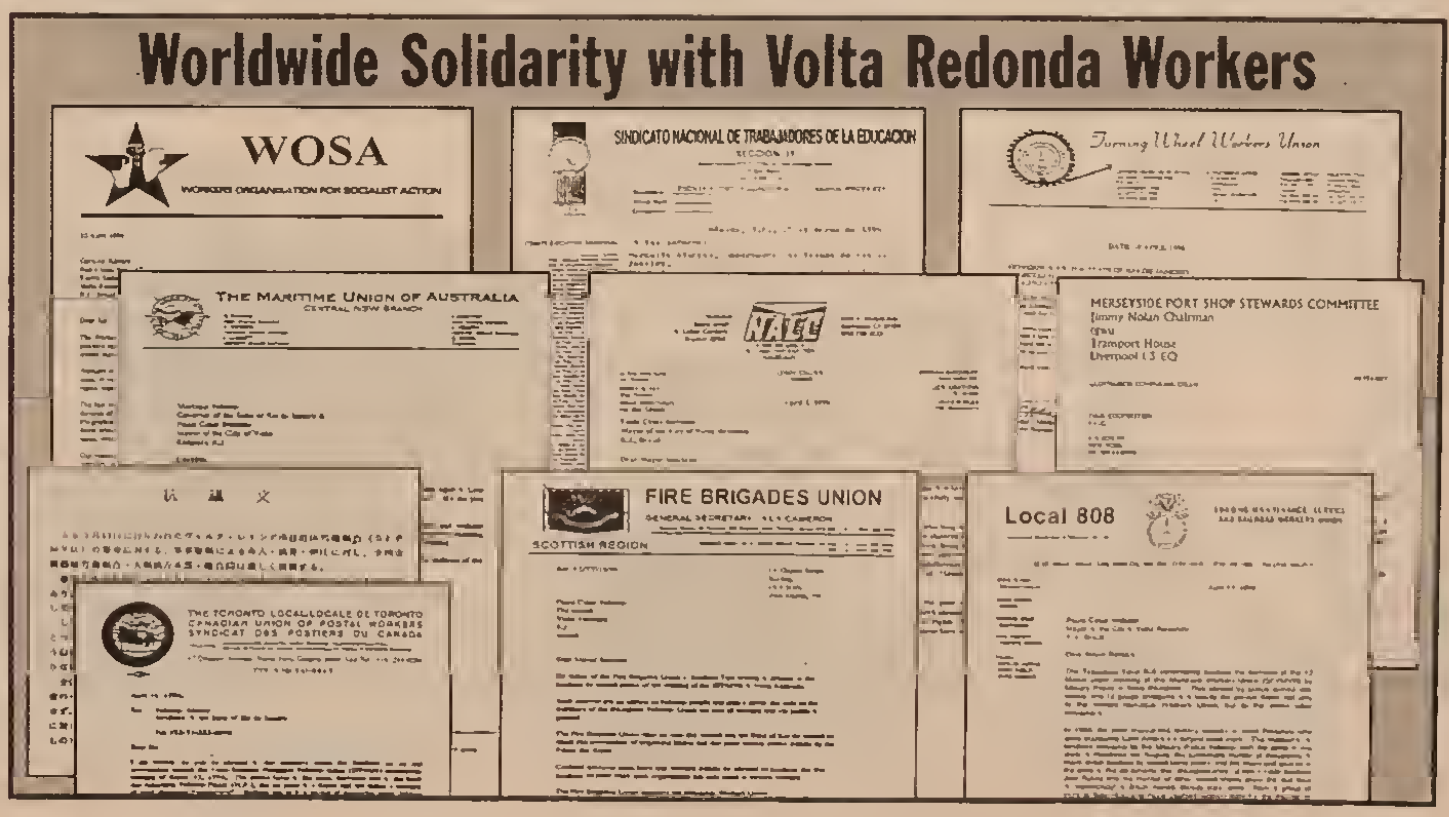
From Australia, statements were received from the Central New South Wales and the Victoria state branches of the Maritime Union of Australia, as well as from the New South Wales Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance. From Mexico came messages from the SNTE (National Education Workers Union) Section 9 and the Costureras "19 de Septiembre" (Seamstresses Union), as well as from Mario Magallón Anaya of the Center for Latin American Studies at the National University and from Max Rojas Proenza, Director of the Leon Trotsky Museum.

Statements have also been received from American historian Howard Zinn and from Serge Klarsfeld, president of the Sons and Daughters of the Jewish Deportees of France. From Germany, statements were received from painter Willi Sitte, writer Erik Neutsch and Almuth Beck of the PDS fraction in the Thüringen state legislature. The Israeli defender of Palestinian rights, Holocaust survivor Israel Shahak, emphasized that "in the right-wing wave which now sweeps the world, the most important thing to do is to protect the independence of workers' unions."

And from Mexico City, Esteban Volkov, grandson of Leon Trotsky, wrote:

> "I join my voice to the energetic protests against police and military interference in the legitimate trade-union assemblies and struggles of labor sectors in Volta Redonda, Brazil. This interference violates the most elementary workers' rights under any regime which claims to respect human rights, and belongs to the sinister pages of fascism. The working-class sector, creator of the wealth, must have the full right to carry out its union life without intimidation and repression by the state apparatus." ■

Worldwide Solidarity with Volta Redonda Workers


WOSA
WORKERS ORGANISATION FOR SOCIALIST ACTION
SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION
Turning Wheel Workers Union
THE MARITIME UNION OF AUSTRALIA
CENTRAL NEW SOUTH WALES BRANCH
N.S.W.E.U.
MERSEYSIDE PORT SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEE
Jimmy Nolan Chairman
THE TORONTO LOCAL/LOCALE DE TORONTO
CANADIAN UNION OF POSTAL WORKERS
SYNDICAT DES POSTIERS DU CANADA
FIRE BRIGADES UNION
SCOTTISH REGION
Local 808

Mad Cows and Capitalist Pigs

D Jackson

Cattle infected with "mad cow disease" were killed and burned in Cornwall, 1988.

WORKERS HAMMER

This article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 150, April-May 1996, published by the Spartacist League/Britain.*

After insisting for months that the human animal *cannot* get "mad cow disease," the government finally admitted what most people had long suspected. Tory health secretary Stephen Dorrell announced on 20 March that ten patients, with an average age of 27, had been identified as suffering from a new, aggressive form of the lethal Creutzfeld-Jakob Disease (CJD), and that the most likely explanation was consumption of meat products from cattle infected by Bovine Spongiform Encephalitis (BSE).

Yet still the government expected the population to believe that beef was safe and to carry on eating it. When sales plummeted in the supermarkets, Dorrell fumed, "It isn't the cows that are mad, it's the people."

The biggest concern for the Tory government, apart from its own imminent demise, was the panic among City of London [financial district] fatcats and in the multi-million-pound agribusiness, whose vast profits were vanishing overnight. One billion pounds was wiped off the value of shares in the food and agriculture business, while the meat trade went through the floor. McDonald's, followed by other fast food outlets, stopped selling burgers until they could import the meat. The European Union slapped a blanket ban on British beef to protect its markets, incensing much of the tabloid press and the xenophobic "Eurosceptics" who howled that poor Britain was being "humiliated" by Europe.

The government's role in the BSE scandal amounts to sheer criminal neglect of public health, in the interest of naked capitalist greed. Even the staid *British Medical Journal* referred to the government's policy as "playing Russian roulette with no information on the odds." The whole sordid affair perfectly symbolises rotting capitalism, and not just British, witness the HIV-tainted blood transfusion scandals internationally.

Enfeebled economically, the bourgeoisie is reckless, vindictive and often downright crazy. The ethos is "take the money and run"; therefore, much of the basic infrastructure is being destroyed or sold off and the social fabric of society vandalised. Medical science has always been bound and constrained by class society, but it is being increasingly perverted by a system in an advanced stage of decay.

The City of London, based on bloated profits from utterly parasitic financial dealing, has been fattened as the "golden goose" of the very rich. The rest of the population can go to hell...and if that means being poisoned by infected food, so be it. Meanwhile, Tony Blair's Labour Party insists that they can serve the City just as well as the Tories.

We recall the Chartist [1840s revolutionary workers movement] slogan "Perish the privileged orders!" It will take a socialist revolution, which sweeps away the rotting edifice of capitalism, to lay the basis for a society in which everyone can have a job, come home to decent housing, eat food which has not been wilfully contaminated, and get good medical treatment when they are ill.

BSE and Public "Health"

The existence of BSE has been known for ten years, yet the government allowed it to flourish in cattle with only minimal efforts to eradicate it. Very little is known (and much is disputed) about the connection between BSE in cattle and CJD in humans, but there is a consistency in the pathology of both diseases, which are thought to be caused by an altered protein or "prion." Unlike diseases caused by bacteria and viruses, which trigger a response by the victim's immune system, spongiform encephalopathies remain undetected by the immune system. The end result of CJD is insanity and certain, horrible death. The disease has a long incubation period and until recently no test was available which could diagnose it while the patient was alive. *Even the most basic public health hygiene measures would require massive funding for research and, at least, a serious attempt to stop feeding BSE-infected meat to the population!*

A recent World Health Organisation conference on BSE concluded that "there is 'minimal' risk of 'mad cow disease' being passed to humans—as long as strict abattoir [slaughterhouse] procedures are followed" (*Independent*, 4 April). This is small consolation since abattoirs in Britain are a *known* source of infection, a direct result of Thatcherite "free market" policies. BSE is thought to have originated from sheep infected by scrapie [virus disease], whose carcasses were made into meal and fed to cows. Despite warnings dating back to 1980, the government permitted cost-cutting changes where carcasses are processed at scandalously low temperatures, 100 degrees Celsius, which is insufficient even to kill common bacteria. Enforcement of hygiene regulations is negligible; government instructions (issued in 1988) to remove brains and spinal cords from carcasses are hardly enforced at all and the Meat Hygiene Service has been decimated by redundancies [layoffs].

The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (which has rightly been dubbed the "MAFFia") has routinely ignored EU [European Union —formerly Common Market] rules aimed at preventing the spread of BSE and other animal diseases to the rest of Europe. Scientific researchers who warned of the dangers of BSE were trashed and discredited by government officials. Richard Lacey, a prominent microbiologist who has warned for years that BSE represents a danger to humans, was vilified by MAFF as "politically suspect." Harash Narang, an internationally renowned expert on encephalopathies, was denied research funding by MAFF while working on a same day test for BSE in live cattle (current MAFF tests take several weeks, by which time the meat has entered the food supply).

Narang conducted random tests late last year and found that nearly one in three cattle going into the human food supply was infected with BSE. MAFF denied him further funding and he was subjected to a terror campaign. According to a *Guardian* (23 March) report, "His car tyres were slashed five times, his brakes tampered with and his Newcastle flat broken into and research papers messed up."

Capitalism, Disease and Class Privilege

The BSE scandal goes to the rapacious heart of historical and current British capitalism. The limited and uneven character of the British bourgeois-democratic revolution left intact the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches. This flowed in large part from the close ties between the merchants and bankers of the City and the landed gentry who were integrated into the rising British bourgeoisie. Today more than 50 per cent of Britain's land is owned by 1 per cent of the population. The top ten individual landowners include the Prince of Wales and seven hereditary members of the House of Lords. Six of these, each with over 100,000 acres, are Scottish aristocrats, the beneficiaries of the brutal Highland Clearances in the early 19th century.

The Corn Laws of 1815, which imposed high bread prices, were intended to protect the landlord classes. They were only repealed in 1846 when the industrialists' desire for cheaper food and lower wages was supplemented by ruling class fear of the revolutionary working-class Chartist movement. The Irish potato famine of the late 1840s was not a "natural disaster" but the direct result of British rule, which ensured that profitable food exports (like grain) continued even while hundreds of thousands died of starvation and disease and millions were forced to emigrate. Writing on the famine, Irish revolutionary James Connolly recalled the popular saying "Providence sent the potato blight; but England made the famine," adding: "England made the famine by a rigid application of the economic principles that lie at the base of capitalist society" (*Labour in Irish History*, 1910).

In *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in 1845, Engels observed that "The workers get what is too bad for the property-holding class." Meat which workers could afford to buy was "taken from old, often diseased, cattle, or such as have died a natural death" and "very often past using." He added: "Dealers and manufacturers adulterate all kinds of provisions in an atrocious manner, and without the slightest regard to the health of the consumers." This aptly describes the conditions which, 150 years on, led to the BSE scandal; another illustration of the real meaning

Glin Castle, County Limerick

Der Spiegel

British imperialism consigned hundreds of thousands of Irish to death by starvation during 1840s potato famine. Cartoon depicts potatoes being exported from Ireland to England at the time. Right: Eighteenth-century illustration glorifies British beef.

of the Tories' "Victorian values."

The handling of the beef scandal reeks of the same blatant class prejudice. It was thought for some time that the more expensive cuts—steak and the "Roast Beef of Old England"—were safe, but that low-grade meat was not. BSE is more prevalent in older cattle, especially dairy herds which, when they are too old to produce milk, are sold off for production of mince, sausages and "processed meat." Beef herds were considered safer, providing better quality meat because they are mainly grass-fed and are killed younger.

But the populace was kept in the dark. The *Economist* (30 March) belatedly admitted what many had thought all along: "Consumers are worried whether beef is safe to eat. Steak almost certainly is.... The danger lies in eating pies, burgers and sausages which might have bits of infectious brain or spinal cord in them." The mother of 29-year-old Anna Pearson, who died from CJD, said: "Anna lived in halls of residence as a student in London and you can imagine the sort of food students eat—burgers from cheap places, from the rubbish end of the food market" (*Guardian*, 30 March). When the French masses demanded bread, Marie Antoinette infamously suggested, "Let them eat cake." The attitude of the British government today is not so much "let them eat beef" but "let them eat offal"!

A Mad System in a Mad World Order

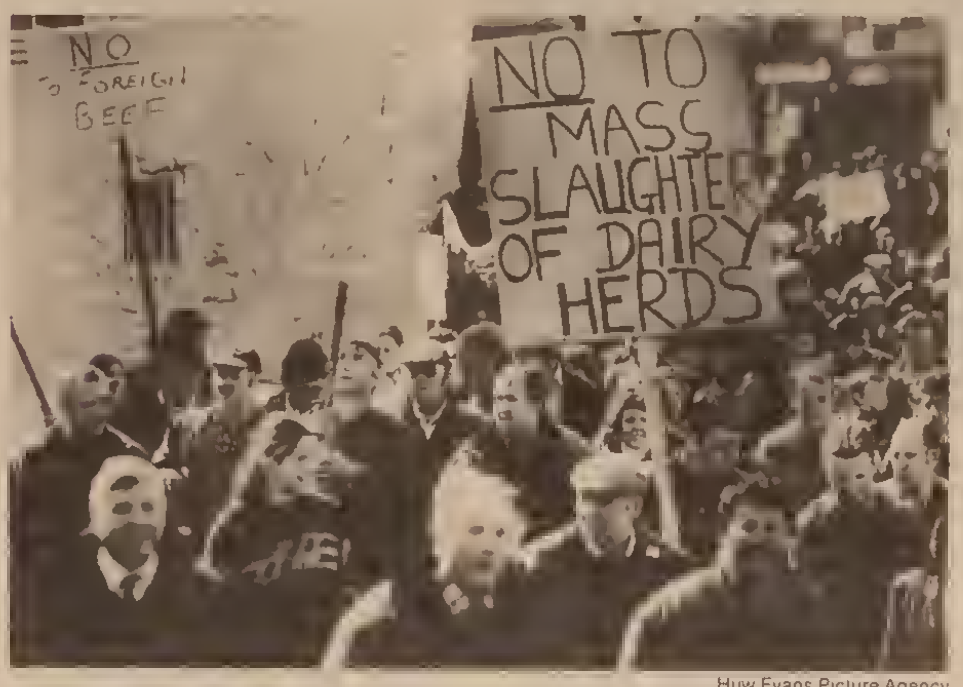
The politics of the "free market," now openly embraced by Labour, mean savage cuts and the grinding down of social services, pensions, health care and education. But "*laissez-faire*" does not apply to wealthy farmers, who will get to keep their Range Rovers, while farm labourers and meat processing workers lose their jobs.

As in other advanced capitalist countries, agribusiness is coddled and protected, with the rich landowners valued as a conservative bulwark and electoral vote bank. Often farmers are paid not to produce food, while hundreds of millions go hungry and starve to death in Africa, parts of Asia and Latin America. The government guarantees a minimum price for beef and the whole European Union is protected by tariffs and quotas to keep out cheaper agricultural goods like New Zealand butter, Argentine beef and Algerian wine. Imperialist tea marketing houses make super-profits while tea pluckers in Sri Lanka, India and Kenya toil in horrendous conditions on the plantations.

The "New World Order" was proclaimed by U.S. imperialism as a direct result of the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR—a colossal defeat for the world proletariat. In Britain, as elsewhere, the capitalist rulers are on the offensive and no longer feel it necessary to fend off the "threat of Communism" by means of reforms, health services and welfare provision, which were designed to buy off working-class resistance. Savage attacks on the unions and social programmes, pioneered by Thatcher, have ripped through the living conditions and basic rights of the working class.

With the end of the second Cold War, the post-World War II anti-Soviet alliance has come unglued, laying bare the permanent rivalry between the major imperialist powers—the U.S., Germany and Japan. Britain is very much a second-rate power and the bourgeoisie is deeply divided, chafing against German domination in Europe while anxious to maintain the "special relationship" between the City of London and Wall Street. In order to compete in the "New World Order," the rate of exploitation for British workers has been jacked up to the point where they now work the longest hours in Europe. When the European Court ruled that Britain must enforce a 48-hour work week limit, the bosses were furious about continental "interference." Anyone in this country lucky enough to have a job is expected to work around 60 hours, then go home to a dinner of infected meat!

A few years ago the British government was in the forefront of opposing EU compensation to German farmers hit by swine fever among pigs. Now Major and agriculture minister Douglas Hogg go hat-in-hand to the EU, whom they earlier blamed for causing panic over BSE, to beg for the cash to kill off some cattle (which the government still insists are safe!). Their real aim is to get the export ban lifted and thus to restore "confidence" (read profitability) in British beef. While it is necessary to isolate the BSE-infected meat, and understandable that consumers—German, French and British alike—are not overly anxious to eat it, all capitalist governments operate in the pursuit of profit. Protectionist calls to "buy British" (or French or German) will be used in the service of trade wars. Rather than getting caught up in inter-imperialist rivalries through supporting reactionary protectionist demands, the working class must fight against their own capitalist rulers as part of the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.



Huw Evans Picture Agency

Farmers hit by beef crisis protest in Wales.

The wreckage of the National Health Service is just one measure of the decrepit state of British capitalism. Blair's Labour Party will do nothing to redress the social crimes of the Tories and is committed to slashing public spending and keeping the trade unions in shackles. At the beginning of the beef scandal, Blair showed his loyalty to British beef (i.e., the beef market) by fatuously declaring, "I will not stop eating beef." It would be absurd to think that a Labour government would attempt to reinstitute the kind of services and regulations on health, safety and hygiene which capitalist governments once provided.

Today diseases like tuberculosis—truly a disease of poverty—which were once presumed to be a disease of the past in Britain and elsewhere, are back with a vengeance, and are being allowed to reach epidemic proportions among the world's poor. The explosive spread of preventable diseases such as TB in the "New World Disorder" only underlines the need for socialist revolution, which will lay the basis for a society where all the necessary resources can be allocated to conquering diseases, old and new.

Medical science is far from having all the answers to BSE or AIDS for example, but it has made it possible to control many diseases which were scourges in the past. Quality health care for all is within the bounds of material possibility, but not under capitalism. At the level of ideas, the need of the system's apologists to justify the exploitation and brutal oppression of the masses leaves increasingly little room for a rational approach to anything, including science and medicine. In conditions of social decay, bigotry, superstition and fear are allowed to flourish. Research on AIDS has been deliberately underfunded, in line with the prejudices of reactionary capitalist governments that it's a "disease of gays, blacks, drug pushers, etc."

The ruling class which suppressed all evidence about BSE is interested in the discoveries of science only from the standpoint of capitalist profit. In the long-gone days of capitalism's progressive era, scientific advancements were the crowning achievement of an Enlightenment fighting against religious superstition. It will take worldwide planning based on scientific knowledge to establish *free, quality health care for all*, in a society where the wealth of resources on the planet are harnessed in the service of the people, not profit. When workers rule the world, nobody will starve, the only limits on human health will be scientific, and these will be constantly enlarged by thoughtful, energetic research. ■

Japan...

(continued from page 6)

had participated in struggles against the Anti-Subversive Activities Law. Leftist organizations and Chosen Soren have been persecuted under this law; 34 people have been arrested and three have been convicted.

This law serves the same purpose as the Maintenance of the Public Order Act of 1925 (to which the death penalty was added in 1928), enacted to suppress class struggle spurred by the 1917 Russian Revolution. This revolution provided inspiration to laborers and the oppressed, having a tremendous impact on workers' struggles and shocking the bourgeoisie worldwide. In Asia in 1919, movements seeking national independence and democracy were launched on March 1 in Korea and on May 4 in China.

The 1949 victory of the Chinese Revolution and the outbreak of the Korean War also terrified the imperialists. In Japan, the postwar strike wave culminated in a prerevolutionary situation on the eve of a general strike called for 1 February 1947, which was sold out and called off by the Communist Party. Despite this betrayal and the reactionary policies of the "people's front" governments of Katayama and Ashida, strikes continued across the country. The "red purge," which started in 1950, was aimed at smashing this militancy and destroying the influence of the CP and militants in the trade-union movement.

For a Workers Republic in Japan!

As in the prewar period, amid increased interimperialist rivalry Japanese imperialism is striving to remilitarize both abroad and at home. The use of the Anti-Subversive Activities Law, part of an array of repressive legislation which the capitalist state has at its disposal, is aimed at strengthening the state's powers.

We look to the working class, the only class that has the social power to overthrow these arrogant feudalistic capitalist overlords. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership that understands that the interests of the proletariat are directly counterposed to the interests of the bosses. The existing misleaders of the working class accept the framework of capitalism and the lie that workers and their exploiters share a common "national interest," expressed so succinctly in Rengo union federation chairman Ashida's disgusting statement supporting the state's use of the Anti-Subversive Activities Law. They bow before the *zaibatsu* chiefs and refuse to defend what gains have been won, much less fight for more. They tell workers that their enemies are not the bosses, but workers in other countries. They are a roadblock which must be swept away by hard class struggle, led by a revolutionary leadership which is willing to challenge the system itself and welcomes as comrades in battle "foreign" workers here and working people in all lands.

The Spartacist Group Japan, together with our comrades around the world organized as the International Communist League, fights to restore to the working class its consciousness—eroded by decades of Stalinist and social-democratic reformism and lies—of its historic interests and role: to put an end once and for all to capitalist exploitation and oppression, and construct a new, socialist, international society of freedom, material plenty and peace. We fight for class-struggle unions which defend the most vulnerable sectors of the proletariat—minority workers, women, youth—as the only means to create a workers movement which is united and strong enough to fight for its members and win some victories. This means some hard class struggles which will point toward the necessity for the working class to seize state power.

To really oppose the rulers' drive toward a militarized society, working people and youth who rightly hate and fear war must understand that imperialist capitalism by its very nature is driven to undertake new overseas adventures, and that the "trade wars" of today are the prelude to shooting wars tomorrow. This system offers us a "future" of economic contraction and unemployment, intensified racism and chauvinism, repression and war. In order to sweep away this capitalist system and the residues of feudalism that still exist—such as discrimination against *burakumin* (descendants of feudal-era outcasts) and oppression of women, reinforced by the emperor system—and to smash racist chauvinism against immigrant workers and Koreans, a revolutionary movement, a Leninist vanguard party, must be built to link together all forms of resistance to immiseration and oppression, in order to open the road to a real future for ourselves and our children. Join us in this fight. ■

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Young Spartacus

Hands Off Student Protesters! Victory to Yale Strikers!

NEW HAVEN—Thirty-one members of the Student Labor Action Coalition at Yale face charges stemming from April 8 arrests for their sit-in in solidarity with Local 35 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union (H.E.R.E.). The strike of 1,100 dining hall and maintenance workers began March 27, continuing a struggle that began in February when clerical workers in sister Local 34 walked out.

Young Spartacus

April 3 strike support rally at Yale.

The union has shut down the dining halls to fight Yale's plans for unlimited subcontracting, which would gut the union and guarantee plummeting wages. This year, as in years past, the fight of Yale's unions has been a bellwether for campus workers' struggles nationwide. The students were targeted and rounded up solely based on their elementary stand in support of the union against the greedy corporate bosses who run Yale. We demand: Drop all charges!

As a New York Spartacus Youth Club statement issued April 19 said:

> "This outrageous action is an attack on ALL supporters of the striking maintenance workers; an injury to one is an injury to all! The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to mobilize and ally students with the power of the organized labor movement. We fight for open admissions and free tuition. We say, 'Picket lines mean don't cross!' Students must boycott their classes and shut down the campus!...
> "Campus-wide labor action to shut down the entire university, supported by the students and professors would have these Ivy League robber barons shaking in their Brooks Brothers suits!"

Mobilizing labor throughout the region could pave the way to victory. Barnard College clerical workers in New York City, organized in UAW Local 2110, who are in a standoff in negotiations, joined forces with Yale workers in a March picket line outside the Yale Club. The Barnard workers strike continues to draw broad support. A rally of Yale workers on April 3 included New England unionists—SEIU Local 1199, CWA telecommunications workers, UAW Region 9, H.E.R.E. Local 217 and others. Richard Trumka, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, pointed out that Yale has hired the same rent-a-thug scabherding outfit that went after striking miners in West Virginia three years ago. The Black Student Alliance at Yale announced its support for Local 35, stating in part: "We believe that Yale's relationship with its labor unions is reflective of its lack of serious commitment to improving the socioeconomic conditions of New Haven, particularly those faced by people of color."

Spartacus Youth Club members attending the April 3 rally carried signs calling for "Victory to the Yale Strikers! One Out, All Out!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" We call for united support action by students, teachers and staff to build mass pickets that *nobody* crosses. Shut down Yale!

Transit...

(continued from page 5)

to kneel before the Democrats, some TWU militants had a different perspective, carrying signs reading: "Take the Wealth Out of the Bosses' Hands! Down With the Downsizers!" and "Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Build a Workers Party!" Workers need their own political party, one that champions the cause of blacks, women, immigrants and all the oppressed as part of the fight for a workers government that will expropriate the capitalists and organize production for need, not for profit.

For Free Mass Transit! For Union Control of Safety!

A serious strike by transit workers could galvanize widespread support among the city's hard-pressed population. But that means having a strategy to win and a leadership to implement it. The TWU should launch a campaign to demand *free mass transit*: Rip out the turnstiles! Token booth clerks should be retrained for other jobs in union-run schools at full pay.

As budget cuts deepen, transport safety has gone to hell. Yet the TA's guaranteed response to every accident, from a cleaner slipping on a greasy floor to a deadly train collision, is to blame the workers and haul them off for drug and alcohol tests. Management has also used drug testing to victimize and witchhunt elected union officers, such as in the Track Division. A few months ago, two bus drivers were fired after not being able to give large enough urine samples! Hall & Co. actually helped the TA impose drug and alcohol testing, and New Directions' advice is: "Drink lots of water!" We say: Down with the drug/alcohol testing witchhunt! For elected union safety committees empowered to shut down unsafe work on the spot!

The TA uses bigotry of every stripe to divide the workforce and weaken union power. The TA has never even installed separate locker rooms and bathrooms for women workers in many facilities! Meanwhile, the system of "hardship picks"—allowing women and single parents, as well as union officers, to bypass the seniority rules in choosing jobs—undermines seniority, fostering favoritism and bureaucratic abuse. To deal with the many-sided oppression of women workers, what's needed is a union fight for *free 24-hour childcare* and for paid maternity/paternity leave.

The seniority system is also threatened by the hiring of "provisional" workers, who are first on the chopping block and most vulnerable to company harassment and victimization. Moreover, the 1994 contract (which the membership still hasn't seen) locks these workers into a substandard wage scale. This "two tier" setup is a threat to *all* transit workers. As one of the signs carried by militants on March 20 demanded: "Make All Provisionals Permanent!" The TWU should fight for full pay and full system-wide seniority from day one on the job—the current title and departmental seniority setup works to discourage advancement by less-skilled and lower-seniority workers. To combat discrimination, what's needed is a union hiring hall and union-run recruitment and training programs—paid for out of the TA's coffers—to assist minorities, women and youth to get the jobs and skills that they've been barred from systematically. This has to be part of a broader fight for *jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay*. For full, automatic cost-of-living increases!

Clinton, Dole and the rest of the union-hating, capitalist budget axwielders despise New York City because of its integrated working-class population, which is heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant. Union power and the struggle against racial oppression go hand in hand—that is the understanding that the Labor Black League (LBL), affiliated to the Spartacist League, fights for. When a racist cop vendetta sent transit worker James Frazier to prison last year after the police shot out his left eye, the LBL joined with TWU militants to mobilize for his defense.

Mobilizing labor/black power to defend the interests of working people and minorities requires, first and foremost, a political fight within the unions to sweep out the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who sacrifice jobs, wages and union rights for the good of the bosses' "national interest"—i.e., profits. A class-struggle leadership must be forged in the fight to mobilize the working class at the head of all the oppressed, to beat back the racist union-busters on the road to sweeping away the whole capitalist system of homelessness, misery and cop terror. To win these battles, small and large, workers need their own revolutionary party. The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues are dedicated to building this party and winning this fight. ■

Handschuh/NY Daily News

Fatal June 1995 subway crash on Williamsburg Bridge caused by faulty brakes and signals. Killer budget cuts threaten workers and riders.

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Democrats...

(continued from page 12)

and Democrats in." Johnson's Labor Council last year made some noises about a "labor party," but this is a cheap ploy to get the Democrats to pay a little more attention to the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. And now it is election year. As it was, the April 14 rally was notable for the minor presence of labor contingents. On the one hand, local union bureaucrats did not want to associate themselves too closely with abortion rights or affirmative action. On the other hand, the bourgeois feminists of NOW are in no way identified with the cause of labor against capital. Rank-and-file workers in the Bay Area saw little reason to come out and join with the yuppie cheerleaders for "Bill and Hillary."

In a gross outrage, the haughty bourgeois feminist NOW leaders physically barred from the platform at the assembly point a Latina woman with AIDS. Jenny Guembes asked to speak with the backing of ACT UP, a militant organization fighting on behalf of people with AIDS. Patricia Ireland snarled afterward: "We have more than met our commitment and we are not going to give in to intimidation tactics." NOW gooned this woman and her toddler away from the platform as she pleaded for "just 30 seconds"!

Left Cheerleaders for "Bill and Hillary"

This was no local event. A list of groups endorsing the SF demonstration, many of them national in character, took up 14 single-spaced pages and ranged from the National Black Police Association to Catholics for Free Choice. Also signing on the dotted line to *formally endorse* this Clinton rally were the Committees of Correspondence and Democratic Socialists of America, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women, International Socialist Organization, Socialist Action, Solidarity, Workers World, even the "it's right to rebel" Refuse & Resist and the Revolutionary Communist Party's Revolution Books.

Not formally endorsing but enthusiastically building and participating were the pseudo-Trotskyist centrists of the Revolutionary Workers League and Workers Voice. Workers Voice in their leaflet announced they were "proud" to march as part of an immigrants rights contingent—in a march dedicated to re-electing the man who militarized the border, *resulting directly in the beatings and death of Latino immigrants!*

Coming on the heels of the notorious videotaped beatings of Mexican immigrants by sheriff's deputies in Riverside County, and the killing of eight immigrants hounded to their death by their *migra* pursuers, this rally was particularly grotesque. At an April 5 demonstration in San Francisco protesting the Riverside beatings, a Spartacus Youth Club speaker told the truth:

> "It was Bill Clinton who doubled the Border Patrol since taking office, and, with the assistance of Janet Reno, the butcher of Waco, they've sent the National Guard to the border.... It could not be more clear that the Democratic Party is the party of war and racism. You've been hearing the so-called 'socialists' tell you to go to the demonstration to 'fight the right' on April 14, which would just channel the real anger that exists in this society back into votes for the Democrats.... Go to the demo and you'll see what I'm saying is right—it's just a pep rally to get Clinton re-elected!"

This brought hostility from the fake lefts, as the Revolutionary Workers League defended April 14, but nods and applause from many Latino immigrants.

Despite its liberal character, the April 14 march attracted a number of youth who have a subjective desire to fight against racism and sexual oppression, and who were receptive to our exposure of the Democrats and their racist immigration policies. As a result our salesmen sold over 400 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and other Spartacist literature. A number expressed interest in further discussion and work with the Spartacus Youth Club in San Francisco. (For information about an upcoming class on basic Marxism and other events, call 415-777-9367.)

One typical leaflet published before the march by the RWL's little family of front groups followed face-saving snipes at the Democrats with the call: "ALL OUT TO THE APRIL 14 'FIGHT THE RIGHT' MARCH!" Another such leaflet proclaimed that "NOW and the other liberal organizations," by calling the April 14 march, "give the green light" for "independent militant action." With this appeal for "militancy," the RWL sought to mobilize anti-racist youth for a Clinton election rally. This does a disservice to any youth it brought, while helping NOW pass off as good coin its use of the affirmative action issue to mobilize for the Democrats.

The efforts by NOW, the labor bureaucracy and pseudo-socialists to pass off the Democrats as a "lesser evil" are intended to obscure the fact that the fundamental division in capitalist society is between the working class, which must sell its labor power to the capitalists to survive, and the filthy rich capitalist class that exploits the worker for profit. The interests of these two main classes are *irreconcilable*. A party that represents the interests of the capitalist rulers cannot at the same time express the counterposed needs of those whom they exploit and oppress. The Democrats and Republicans are two wings of the "property party" of U.S. capitalism: they differ only by their appeal to different constituencies.

The alliance of the labor bureaucrats, black misleaders and reformists with the Democratic Party is the historic American form of the *popular front*. This originated in the mid-1930s when the Stalinist Communist Party—then the dominant organization of the American left, with a substantial following in the labor movement and black communities—supported Franklin D. Roosevelt under the slogan "defeat the right." While devoting its considerable resources to re-electing FDR, the CP held back from formally endorsing the Democratic Party and even ran its own presidential candidate as a left cover.

Today, especially with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the remnants of the reformist left in this country have been reduced to a fringe of the Democratic Party and scarcely even pay lip service to the political independence of the working class. By striving to subordinate all struggle politically to the racist, capitalist Democrats, they stand *directly counterposed* to any serious struggle against capitalist oppression.

There is a lot of anger and fear in this country as living standards are being ground down while the prison population has tripled, with a majority being black and Hispanic. Meanwhile racist killer cops are given a blank check to terrorize blacks, Latinos and the poor by Democratic as well as Republican mayors of the big cities (such as SF Teamster Mark Garcia, killed by cops in the Mission District earlier this month). Full social equality for blacks; decent free public education and quality health care for all; full citizenship rights for all immigrants; free abortion on demand—these pressing needs can only be addressed by fighting to sweep away the whole rotten system of production for profit.

The power to defeat and overthrow the racist capitalist rulers lies with the integrated working class. During the Los Angeles uprising over the racist verdict freeing the cops who beat Rodney King, L.A.'s powerful integrated unions could have shut down the city and its port and transformed that outburst of angry outrage by the dispossessed into a direct challenge to capitalist rule. The pro-Democratic Party union misleaders made sure this didn't happen.

It was the diversion of the fight against Proposition 187 into channels acceptable to the bourgeoisie through the medium of the Democratic Party and labor traitors which paved the way for the racist attacks on immigrants and affirmative action. And now anger over the Riverside County beatings and the anti-affirmative-action ballot initiative is being diverted (with help from self-proclaimed "socialists"!) once again into an electoral campaign for the Democrats.

When Willie Brown, Jesse Jackson and Patricia Ireland led the march off, the fake lefts loyally trooped after; only the Spartacist League, and (to their credit) a group of ACT UP supporters, refused to join the crawl for Clinton. The Spartacist League banner raised over our literature table at the April 14 assembly point declared forthrightly: "Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Unchain Labor/Black Power! For a Workers Party to Fight for a Socialist Revolution!" If you want to build a party which can lead that revolution to victory, join us! ■

Massacre...

(continued from page 12)

landowners, while an estimated 12 million peasants own no land at all. The minister of agriculture (who resigned the day after the massacre) is a member of a rightist landowners party, PPB. The big *fazendeiros* (estate owners) have traditionally maintained private armies of thugs to terrorize the rural population. In recent years, this dirty work has fallen increasingly to the Military Police and army, who also sow terror in the huge *favelas* (shantytowns) surrounding the major cities. The cold-blooded cop murders of Brazilian street children in Candelária and Vigário Geral have become infamous worldwide. As the peasant struggle for land has increased, the numbers killed by the "forces of order" in the rural areas have escalated. Last August, the country was shaken by the MP/army massacre of peasants in the Amazonian state of Rondônia, in which eleven were officially reported dead.

The MST occupied a huge estate in the municipality of Curionópolis in the southern part of Pará in February, demanding title to the unused lands. Officials of the agrarian reform agency had promised that expropriation proceedings would begin by April 17. When nothing happened, the peasants occupied the nearby highway in protest. After negotiations in which the peasants agreed to reopen the highway, state officials promised to meet with them and to send transportation. Instead, the MPs were dispatched. The state governor, a member of Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso's "social-democratic" bourgeois party, claimed the peasants were armed and met the police with violence. But not a single MP was killed, or even reported injured, nor a single weapon seized from the peasants. This was summary execution, pure and simple.

A coroner in the town of Curionópolis reported that at least ten of the 19 bodies examined were shot in the head or the neck; several faces were completely destroyed, indicating large-calibre bullets; many had powder burns, indicating they were shot at pointblank range. Another seven victims were killed with their own tools, hoes and knives. An eyewitness reported that the leader of the peasants, Oziel Pereira, was dragged off by the MPs, who savagely beat him. Then, while one lifted him by the hair, another shot him in the head (*Estado de São Paulo*, 19 April). As the demonstrators fled, the police chased them into the brush where several of the women and children were killed.

Official Brazil is expressing "shock." President Cardoso declared that the massacre was "unacceptable." Several leading newspapers published headlines with the single word "*Vergonha*" (shame). But the feigned "shame" of this rapacious bourgeoisie, which lives off the superprofits squeezed from the desperately impoverished working people, is cynical hypocrisy, concerned only to "restore confidence" in the country and ensure the flow of foreign investment. The tiny, corruption-riddled Brazilian bourgeoisie can dominate this nation of 160 million only through such bloody terror. For more than 20 years, from 1964 to 1985, they did so through an open military dictatorship. Today they rule through a pseudo-"democracy" implementing brutal "neo-liberal" economic "reforms" aimed at devastating the working class and destroying its power to resist.

But despite the brutal military and police repression, the struggle of the landless rural peasants and agricultural workers is spreading. So far in 1996, the MST has invaded 168 estates, setting up camps including almost 40,000 peasants. Several are under immediate threat of military/police attack. One of those is the camp of more than 1,000 people in the state of Rondônia named after Zumbi dos Palmares, the "black Spartacus" of Brazil, legendary leader of a "republic" of escaped slaves who was killed by the colonial army 300 years ago last November. Numerous MST militants have been jailed in recent months, including Diolinda Alves de Souza, one of the leaders of a land occupation in the state of São Paulo, who became the symbol of International Women's Day in Brazil. (As a result of mass protests, she was released after a month and a half in prison.)

The fight against murderous police and army terror must be led by the working class, the force with the social power to sweep away the killing machine of the bourgeois state. But the leadership of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT) of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, and of the closely allied CUT labor federation, have systematically subordinated the workers to the state of their exploiters and oppressors. In 1989 and again in 1994, Lula ran for president at the head of a PT-led popular front, the Frente Brasil Popular, binding the masses to a treacherous "alliance" with minor bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Following the massacre at Eldorado dos Carajás, PT leader José Dirceu and CUT leader Vicente Paulo da Silva rushed to the area to participate in a funeral march, while calling for a congressional "investigation."

What's needed instead is to *mobilize the powerful organized working class in mass protests and strike action in defense of the peasants and all other victims of police/army attack*. The misery of the landless rural workers will not be eliminated by a mythical agrarian reform but through *agrarian revolution*, with the proletariat leading the exploited peasantry against the landowners, capitalists and their state. Workers revolution in Brazil, the powerhouse of South America, would send shock waves throughout the hemisphere and the world. But it would be immediately besieged by U.S. imperialism, which sponsored the 1964 coup and has maintained a "special relationship" with the Brazilian military for decades. What is needed is an internationalist program of spreading proletarian revolution throughout Latin America and into the imperialist heartland of the United States.

American workers have a special responsibility to protest the atrocities of the murderous governments and armies of U.S. imperialism's neocolonies. We join with our Brazilian fraternal comrades of LM/LQB in fighting to build Bolshevik workers parties, as part of the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to lead the socialist revolution which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and open the road to social emancipation and a decent life for all the oppressed. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Fight the Right"?

Don't Crawl for Clinton! Fight for a Workers Party!

SAN FRANCISCO—The April 14 "Fight the Right" march and rally in San Francisco, organized by the National Organization for Women (NOW) ostensibly to defend affirmative action, was in fact a blatant electoralist rally to get out the vote for Clinton and the Democrats in November. Equally striking was the fact that this flag-waving Democratic Party mobilization was shamelessly endorsed and actively supported by virtually every opportunist left organization in the country. And this is not a new, sudden and unexpected development. Quite the contrary.

With the end of the Vietnam War, in the late 1970s the whole spectrum of the reformist left lined up behind Democratic president Jimmy Carter's "human rights crusade" which marked the beginning of Cold War II against the Soviet Union. In 1992, various reformists ended up supporting Bill Clinton—rather shamefacedly—even though he was on the right wing of the Democratic Party and went out of his way to distance himself from the unions and humiliate black leaders.

The victory of the Republican right, led by Newt Gingrich, in the 1994 Congressional elections sowed panic in the left as well as the rad-lib milieu, black Democratic officials and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Hence the San Francisco "March for Bill and Hillary" saw open and unabashed support by the self-styled "socialists" and "communists" to the racist, immigrant-bashing, capitalist Democratic Party.

S.F. Pep Rally for the Democrats

Gasaway/SF Bay Guardian

San Francisco, April 14: NOW and reformist leftists in "March for Bill and Hillary."

Originally planning the march for Washington, D.C., NOW shifted its efforts to California to capitalize on opposition to the grotesquely misnamed, racist, anti-affirmative-action "California Civil Rights Initiative" (CCRI), and "because of California's importance in the presidential election" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 March). NOW's strategy was to make affirmative action a feminist issue (downplaying racial discrimination) and on that basis to organize young women statewide to become new voters for the Democrats.

A San Francisco "activists" meeting in February tried to give the mobilization efforts a "rainbow coalition" veneer by featuring Jesse Jackson. But a wide spectrum of black opinion dislikes NOW because of the outrageous remarks of NOW L.A. chapter head Tammy Bruce after the trial of O.J. Simpson: namely, that he should have been jailed for spousal abuse, thus invoking the historic racist image of black men as a menace to white women. Even though NOW president Patricia Ireland criticized Bruce's remarks, very few blacks (or other minorities) turned out, and the march was very white, very liberal and very young.

April 14 was organized by and for the Democratic Party, from the top down, from beginning to end. Prominent at the assembly point in the yuppie Marina district enclave was the Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club, defending this wealthy lawyer's honor as First Lady while the band played "My Country 'tis of Thee." San Francisco's black Democratic mayor Willie Brown organized the city's Muni transit system to bus participants directly to the rally site. Brown set the tone from the podium: "This march must take us continuously on the trip through November 5, 1996, when we will retire Bob Dole." He was followed by no less than five members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Jesse Jackson, the leading black shill for the racist Democrats, intoned: "Down with Dole! Up with Clinton!... Keep hope alive!"

San Francisco Labor Council head Walter Johnson echoed Brown's pitch to be "out on the playing field" in November, "moving Republicans out

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Peasants Massacred in Brazil

On Thursday, April 17 one of the worst massacres in recent Brazilian history took place near the town of Eldorado dos Carajás in the Amazonian state of Pará. As some 1,500 landless peasants waited by the roadside to be picked up by buses which had been promised to take them to a meeting with the agrarian reform institute, a corps of 200 Military Police arrived. The MPs immediately opened fire with rifles and machine guns. Official sources report 23 peasants killed and 45 injured, many seriously, but organizers of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) put the number of dead at 30 or more. A priest who arrived on the scene estimates the death toll could be double that. Witnesses reported seeing women and children killed, but their bodies were not among those transferred to a morgue. A TV reporter's videotape of the killing was confiscated. According to the Mexico City daily *La Jornada* (21 April), some 200 peasants have disappeared, including 15 children.

International protests are urgently needed to denounce this mass assassination! In this issue (see page 7), we report on a campaign of international labor solidarity with the Municipal Workers Union in the Brazilian steel city of Volta Redonda, whose union meeting was invaded by Military Police carrying shotguns and pistols. Numerous protest statements have been received from around the world in response to an appeal by our fraternal comrades of Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB—Metal Workers Struggle/ Fourth Internationalist League of Brazil).

Brazil has one of the highest rates of social inequality in the world. Over 44 percent of all agricultural land belongs to less than 1 percent of the

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AP

Bodies of poor peasants gunned down by Military Police in the northern Brazilian state of Pará.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 645

10 May 1996

Clinton, Pope Bless Popular Front Election Victory

Left Face of Capitalist Austerity in Italy

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

The April 21 Italian parliamentary elections were won by a coalition dominated by the social-democratic Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), one of the successors to the Communist Party (PCI). This marks the end of 50 years of exclusion of the "left" from national government, a Cold War prohibition engineered by Washington and the Vatican, and sustained by an elaborate system of organized corruption. The center-left Olive Tree (Ulivo) alliance defeated the right-wing "Pole of Freedom" coalition, winning control of the Senate and a strong plurality in the Chamber of Deputies. In addition, the reformist Rifondazione Comunista, another remnant of the PCI, while not formally part of the Ulivo coalition, ran in tandem with it and won enough seats to secure a center-left parliamentary majority. We print below an adapted version of an article published by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (Spartaco *No. 48, May 1996*).

MILANO—With the victory of the Olive Tree alliance in the April 21 elections, the heirs of the Italian Communist Party are participating in an Italian government for the first time since 1947. Financial markets around the world celebrated the election results, for good reason. The day after the Ulivo victory, the Italian lira rose against all other currencies and the stock market gained almost 5 percent. The London *Financial Times*, as well as many other papers of the world of high finance, expressed their satisfaction at the prospects opened up by the electoral results.

The world capitalist markets are jubilant because they are confident that the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), with its organic links to the combative Italian trade unions, can shove austerity measures down the workers' throats. The massive strike wave last year showed that the right-wing government of then prime minister Silvio Berlusconi was in no position to impose cuts in the workers' standard of living. But the capitalist bosses, West European bankers and Washington hope that the workers will take it from the PDS, with the Rifondazione Comunista "loyal opposition" sugarcoating the bitter pill the workers are supposed to swallow.

Baldelli/Contrasto

La Repubblica

"Olive Tree" center-left alliance celebrates election victory (top). Reformist left has supported racist repression against immigrants.

What is shaping up is a betrayal of the class interests of the workers by their reformist leaders, camouflaged by the flying of red flags, recalling what happened at the end of the (World War II anti-fascist) *Resistenza*, when the PCI persuaded its base, which had power in its grasp in many parts of the country, to turn in their arms. That led to the consolidation of bourgeois rule, the ejection of the PCI from the government, and the anti-working-class repression of the 1950s.

The new government is coming to power on the basis of its promises to attack the living standards of the population. The working people and the oppressed were the designated victims of both electoral coalitions' programs. "Privatization," "liberalization," "presidentialism"—these were the code words of both the right-wing "Pole of Freedom" and the center-left Olive Tree alliance. They mean boosting profits by increasing the exploitation of the workers and strengthening the power of the state in order to guarantee that the inevitable resistance will be smashed with an iron fist.

The alliance headed by the PDS will now try to implement this program. The Ulivo program, which was distributed throughout Italy as a leaflet, proclaims: "The state must withdraw from the economic sectors in which it is present today. It must give them back to the private banks and the factories.... Competition is valuable." In order to realize this, Ulivo leader Romano Prodi proposes "strengthening the powers of the head of state and the prime minister."

The Olive Tree of Prodi and PDS leader Massimo D'Alema fully adopted as its own the campaign for "morality" demanded by the bourgeoisie and orchestrated by the Vatican. Prodi supported the initiative by the Movement for Life, which not only "condemns" abortion but insists that "Full rights must be recognized for every human from its conception." This is a totally reactionary proposal which, if implemented, would eliminate any possibility of abortion and open the door for the repressive forces of the state to intervene in practically all aspects of the lives of pregnant women under the pretext of "protecting the fetus."

The personal composition of the "left" coalition is unequivocal. There are the recycled ruins of the Christian Democracy, ex-Republican Party corpses, prominent bosses. Prodi, a longtime Christian Democrat, was chosen to lead Ulivo in

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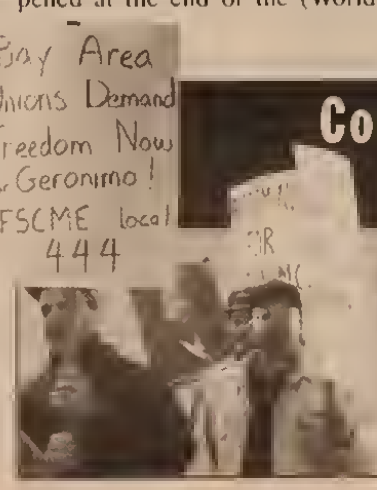

Court Dumps Habeas Corpus Case of Former Black Panther Leader

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!

See Page 4

Jean-Luc Gaillard

Le Bolchévik

1958–1996

Our comrade Jean-Luc Gaillard died on April 27. He was 38 years old. For years he fought Kaposi's sarcoma, a disease linked to the AIDS virus which finally took his life.

The death of this remarkable comrade and friend is a tragic loss. We extend our sympathies to his family and to his companion. Our thoughts are with them as we share in their immense sorrow.

Jean-Luc was a revolutionary cadre, one who was especially loved and respected in the International Communist League and in its French section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France. He joined in 1979; for a number of years he was in charge of the circulation department. Several years ago, he was elected to the Central Committee of the LTF.

Jean-Luc made a point of visiting other sections of the ICL, including attending a national conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. in 1994. Despite his frailty and the dreadful suffering that his disease inflicted on him, he participated in the work and internal debates of our international party with all his will, intelligence and experience up until the end.

Condolences from members of another left group in France spoke of his eagerness to listen to them, understand the scope of their differences and to discuss politics in a professional manner.

On May 1st, the comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste organized a ceremony in Jean-Luc's memory at the Wall of the Communards in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. A memorial will be held in Paris in June and an obituary in the next issue of the LTF's newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*, will review his life and his fight for the liberating ideals of communism.

There is no finer homage that we can render to Jean-Luc than to carry on with the struggle to which he devoted his life, the construction of the internationalist revolutionary workers party.

The following letter was sent by comrades of the Prometheus Research Library, the archival facility of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, who had worked closely with Jean-Luc over the years.

PROMETHEUS RESEARCH LIBRARY

29 April 1996
Paris

Dear Comrades and Friends of Jean-Luc,

We send our deepest regards to you as you gather together in loving memory of Comrade Jean-Luc. It is fitting that you stand together on May Day in Père Lachaise to honor our comrade.

Comrade Jean-Luc became an associate of the party library in recognition of the fine work he had done over the years to assist the library's archival work, in particular in obtaining new books. It was also apparent to us, during a visit to Paris, that he cared about the library in the office and concerned himself with its upkeep. Such assistance and concern were indicative of Jean-Luc's appreciation of the importance of history to the communist movement. It is not a dry abstraction, but rather a vital tool for us in our goal to change society. He will be sorely missed.

We salute Jean-Luc, who never wavered from the path to building a better world for the proletariat and oppressed of the world. We stand with you comrades in carrying forward the banner of Communism.

Warm Comradely Greetings
From All of Us at the Library

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotsky Against the Popular Front

The recent election of a "center-left" coalition government in Italy, linking the offshoots of the former Communist Party (PDS and Rifondazione Comunista) with ex-Christian Democrats, underlines the strategic importance of the popular front in politically subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. Writing at the outset of the Spanish Civil War, in which the People's Front government served to strangle a workers revolution, Leon Trotsky pointed out that only by sharp struggle against the popular front of bourgeois Cadets, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were the Russian Bolsheviks able to take power in October 1917. Today, as various centrists tail after the class-collaborationist alliance in Italy, the International Communist League is unique in our uncompromising fight to build a Trotskyist party in struggle against all *parties of the bourgeois popular front.*

The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the People's Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the "Communists" and Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments. Under the sign of this People's Front stood the whole mass of the people, including the workers', peasants', and soldiers' councils. To be sure, the Bolsheviks participated in the councils. But they did not make the slightest concession to the People's Front. Their demand was to *break* this People's Front, to destroy the alliance with the Cadets, and to create a genuine workers' and peasants' government.

All the People's Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian People's Front of 1917, which could after all lay claim to a much greater justification for its existence, for it was still a question of the struggle against czarism and the remnants of feudalism.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

Letter

Marx and the Franco-Prussian War

To the Editor:

Joseph Seymour cites the refusal of Liebknecht and Bebel to vote for war credits during the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War as an excellent example of revolutionary socialist conduct (*Workers Vanguard*, 4/12/96).

That may be—but at the time Marx and Engels thought they were wrong to do so. In an August 15, 1870 letter Engels even called them stupid fools for opposing the war.

Kevin Kelley
San Jose, California

WV Replies: The 15 August 1870 letter by Engels cited, but not quoted, by Kevin Kelley does *not* oppose or criticize the vote against war credits by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel in the Reichstag of the North German Federation. Neither in this letter nor in any other document known to us do Marx and Engels comment one way or the other on the vote over war credits. Nor did Engels call Liebknecht and Bebel "stupid fools" for opposing the war.

Marx and Engels did have a difference with Liebknecht and Bebel over the Franco-Prussian War, or rather during its *first phase* before the fall of Louis Napoleon, the German army's occupation of northern France and Bismarck's move to annex Alsace and Lorraine. Kevin Kelley, however, misrepresents, oversimplifies and overstates this episodic difference. During the 1860s, Germany was divided into numerous principalities of which the dominant power was the Kingdom of Prussia. Marx/Engels believed that unification of Germany into a nation-state, even if initially under the hegemony of the Prussian monarchy, was historically progressive as against the status quo. As Engels put it in the aforementioned letter: "If Germany wins, French Bonapartism will at any rate be smashed, the endless row about the establishment of German unity will at last be over, the German workers will be able to organize on a national scale quite different from that prevailing hitherto...." Liebknecht and Bebel, too, supported German unification but only under the political form of a bourgeois-democratic republic whereas Marx/Engels believed that German unification would facilitate the struggle for a democratic republic in the short run and proletarian revolution in the longer run.

In the above letter, Engels summarizes his and Marx's initial position toward the Franco-Prussian War:

"I think our people can:
"1) join the national movement...insofar and as long as it is limited to the defence

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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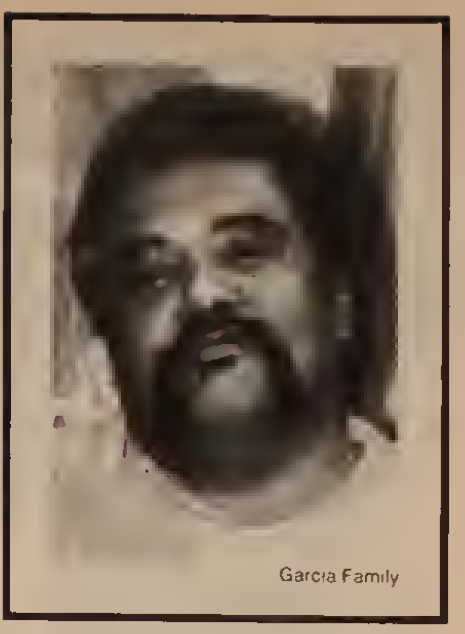
"Custody Death Syndrome" Equals Police Terror

S.F. Teamster Mark Garcia Killed by Racist Cops


Garcia Family

SAN FRANCISCO—Less than a week after the nation was horrified by the videotape of Riverside County sheriff's deputies viciously beating Mexican immigrants to the ground with clubs, 41-year-old Mark Garcia died in the heavily Latino Mission District following a violent arrest by no less than *15* cops. The cops claim Garcia was "pants-less and ranting" in broad daylight, and that one of them was hit in the head by a "crack pipe or bottle," even though their official report admits Garcia was yelling "Help me, help me" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 April). They used pepper spray to "subdue" him, cuffed his hands behind his back and then threw him face-down in a police van and took him to the hospital. While in police custody on the way to the hospital, he suffered cardiac arrest. Garcia was declared dead the next morning.

An integrated crowd of over 100 people attended Mark Garcia's April 19 funeral which was paid for by Teamsters Local 85, of which Mark was a member for 15 years. His brother, Daniel Garcia, also a long-time Teamster, thanked the union brothers and sisters for their help. He talked of Mark going to school for and finally getting his Class A trucker's license, and how proud of this he was. Tucked under his trucking license, Mark Garcia had a note reading, "Life is what I make it." But the system of class oppression killed him first.

Since the nationally televised cop beating of Rodney King threw a spotlight on the racist treatment meted out to minorities by the cops, apologists for police terror have invented a new pseudoscientific term to explain away all the dead victims: according to the *San Francisco Examiner* (10 April), "Garcia fit the victim profile for 'sudden custody death syndrome'." Sure! "Scientific" studies show that if the cops beat the hell out of you after they bust your head, there's a good chance you will die in police custody.

This is only the latest double-talk euphemism for *cop murder*. Back in 1982 they came up with "chokehold syndrome," as former LAPD chief Daryl Gates ranted that black people's arteries were inferior to those of "normal people," to explain why so many died in police chokeholds. After the Rodney King beating, they added "high speed chase syndrome" and "the pink blood effect" as further explanations for "mysterious" deaths in police custody. But there's nothing mysterious about being beaten to death or hanged in cells by racist cops. It's one of the brutal features of living in racist capitalist America.

Pepper spray has replaced the now-banned chokehold. Originally designed to subdue bears in the wild, it acts by constricting the air passages, causing difficulty in breathing. Since 1990, at least 60 in-custody deaths have been linked to pepper spray. According to John Crew of the ACLU, California statistics reveal about one death *a month* of "suspects" who were hit by the spray while being "subdued" by the cops.

Mark Garcia was the latest in a long string of victims of the racist cops, who were given the green light to go on a rampage against minorities by the passage of anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and moves to roll back affirmative action, both pushed by Republican governor Pete Wilson. Clinton's militarization of the Mexican border—called for by California Democratic Senators Feinstein and Boxer—also means terrorizing immigrants through brutal cop beatings and killings.

Last June, Aaron Williams, a 35-year-old black man, died after being arrested by a dozen SF cops. A $10 million lawsuit filed by his family describes how the cops "threw him to the ground, hogtied him, beat and kicked him, sprayed pepper gas in his face, and put a hospital mask over his face that kept the spray from dissipating" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 April).

The labor misleaders who cling to the Democrats, as well as various phony "socialists," pushed illusions that the election last fall of liberal Democrat Willie Brown as San Francisco mayor and "progressive" Terence Hallinan as D.A. would restrain the cops. But what happened to Mark Garcia shows that's a lie. Now liberals like Van Jones of the SF group Policewatch, displaying a touching faith in the capitalist state, have called for more police "accountability." The truth is that the cops cannot be "reformed"—they are accountable only to their racist capitalist masters, for whom they act as armed enforcers.

A political strike by Garcia's Teamster brothers and sisters in protest against this racist cop killing would give the ruling class more pause than all the police review boards and other liberal panaceas put together. The profit system rests on brutal repression—it cannot be reformed, it must be rooted out by workers revolution. For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

"We Stood on the Picket Lines All the Way Through"

Mark Garcia, killed by San Francisco cops on Easter Sunday, was a long-time Teamster from a solid union family. At an April 26 press conference, his family demanded the SFPD release crucial videotape and other information in the "custody death" killing of Mark. These requests have been met by a "blue wall of silence." We print below excerpts from the statement by Daniel Garcia, underlining his brother Mark's union heritage going back to the 1934 SF general strike.

It started with my grandfather. My grandfather was a longshoreman. When they first started with the general strike, he was involved with that. They called in the National Guard to break up the strike. The version of the police is that he was robbed, but the version of the union is that strikebreakers threw him over the bridge and killed him because he was so involved with the labor movement at that time. They thought that he was a threat.

My father has been a union man for a good 10-15 years. My older brother Paul worked out of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters hiring hall. I have my son, Daniel Loyal Garcia Jr., in the Teamsters. So we have three generations in the Teamsters local.

So our family goes in the labor movement way back into the '30s. My brother Mark, he's been in the union for 15 years, he's the one who brought me in. He's been in many movements with me. When it was the national strike of the freight drivers, my brother and I were involved with the picket lines there. We went to CF, we went to Roadway, we went to Yellow, and we showed our support for our brothers and sisters. We stood on the lines from morning to night, for days on end, straight on through until it ended. I slept on the line and I ate on the line and I picketed on the line. My family, my children and a lot of our members' family and children were on the line, too, to show support.

The freight strike reminded me: I'd never met my grandfather, but I have been told stories by my father and other family about the time that they used to stand around the 50-gallon drums and burn wood to try to stay warm. When they called the National Guard out, my grandfather hated the National Guard because of what happened. He said that people had a right to representation, to good wages, to benefits, and to live like they were raised to live.

Racist Chicago Cops Execute Deaf Man

CHICAGO—As his horrified mother and grandmother looked on, Eric Smith, a 22-year-old black man, was gunned down by Forest View, Illinois cops on April 10. Eric had been a medal-winning wrestler, first at the Illinois School for the Deaf and then at Gallaudet University, the famed college for deaf people in Washington, D.C. Eric had been a promising student until last October, when the young man saw D.C. cops shoot a black man, and then was himself chased and badly beaten by the thugs in blue for witnessing their street execution. This terrifying experience caused Eric to suffer bouts of depression, ultimately forcing him to withdraw from Gallaudet.

Smierciak/Chicago Tribune

Eric Smith's grieving cousin displays his photo.

The day of the shooting, Eric, his grandmother and mother were on their way home to Joliet after a counseling session in Chicago when Eric became upset and said he wanted to return to the treatment center. Eric's mother, Wanda Hogue, pulled over to the side of the Stevenson Expressway, the main southwest artery out of Chicago, during rush hour in hope that he would calm down. A family argument ensued, attracting the attention of a passing police cruiser. Immediately and without warning, the cops grabbed Eric and as he struggled to free himself, the cops barked orders which he could not hear. The cops shot Eric three times in the stomach and chest, then twice in the back, killing him.

In the earlier Washington, D.C. incident, videotapes show Eric bleeding and swollen in the police station. Eric, who was 6 feet 1 inch tall and weighed 270 pounds, was training to be a wrestling coach after having won several gold and silver medals in the World Games, the equivalent of the Olympics for deaf people, in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1993. Instead, his depression forced him to come back home to Joliet to seek counseling.

Contrary to the lies pushed by the ruling class, wanton police killings are not the acts of "rogue cops"—they are standard operating procedure in capitalist America. For every incident captured on videotape, like the LAPD's 1992 attack on Rodney King or last month's vile beating of Mexican immigrants by California sheriff's deputies, there are untold numbers of summary executions, false arrests and bloody beatings. And Clinton's push for thousands more cops means escalating the racist war on blacks and other oppressed minorities. In this period of capitalist decay, the U.S. bourgeoisie views many of the black and Hispanic poor as "surplus population." Along with deadly welfare "reforms" there is speedup on death row, while the cops gun down black and Hispanic youth with impunity.

A multiracial workers party is desperately needed to lead the American workers revolution which will avenge the death of Eric Smith and every other victim of murderous police terror by sweeping away the capitalist state and its brutal racist machinery of death. ■

Court Dumps Habeas Corpus Case of Former Black Panther Leader

AP

WV Photo

Los Angeles courthouse demonstration for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), April 17.

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!

We print below a May 4 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former leader of the Black Panther Party and an unbowed fighter against black oppression, has been behind bars in the U.S. for a quarter of a century—just one year short of the time that Nelson Mandela was imprisoned by the South African apartheid state. He has been denied parole *14 times* and will not be considered again until the year 2000. Framed up by the LAPD and the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) for a crime *everybody* knows he did not and could not have committed, Geronimo is a living condemnation of the American capitalist state and the racist "justice" of its courts.

The fight for Geronimo's freedom received a savage blow on April 17 when the Los Angeles Superior Court refused to hear his case to overturn his conviction. This continues the series of grotesque cover-up operations by state and federal courts since his conviction in 1972. The current round of court hearings was the result of a *habeas corpus* petition filed on February 26, Geronimo's fifth attempt at exposing his frame-up for the 1968 murder of a schoolteacher in Santa Monica. The petition detailed two decades of disclosures of government misconduct, orchestrated misidentification and perjured testimony.

Since Geronimo's original trial, COINTELPRO's conspiracy to destroy the Panthers has been exposed; evidence of three sets of FBI wiretaps on Panther offices showing that Geronimo was 400 miles away at the time the murder was uncovered; the victim's husband's identification of another suspect was disclosed; and the man who testified Geronimo had confessed to the crime, one Julius Butler, was revealed as an FBI and LAPD informer with an ax to grind against Geronimo (facts Butler lied about on the stand). *All of this was known at the time by the FBI, the LAPD and the district attorney's office and was hidden from the defense.* Geronimo's petition also provides statements from former Panthers that they were at a meeting with Geronimo in Oakland at the time of the murder, and documents the investigation by lay minister Jim McCloskey which identified the likely real killers as associates of Butler.

Presiding judge Michael A. Cowell had ordered L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti—who has been "investigating" this material for three years—to respond on March 28. Instead, Garcetti first asked for a three-month postponement to "investigate" and then, the day before the hearing, he argued that Geronimo's attorneys had filed in the wrong court. Judge Cowell, assigned to hear the case, acknowledged that Geronimo had raised "some very substantial issues" but gave credence to the D.A.'s "late challenge."

By the next hearing, Cowell had undergone a stark change in attitude. In the 13 April *Los Angeles Times*, an unusual "correction" appeared to a story on the March hearing which supposedly "incorrectly suggested that a Superior Court judge had found merit in arguments to overturn Geronimo Pratt's murder conviction." Four days later, Cowell came into court with his mind made up. Ignoring the law which clearly permits a hearing in Superior Court, he transferred the case to the California Supreme Court and, echoing the arguments D.A. Garcetti had made in response to an inquiry from Geronimo's longtime defender, Congressman Ron Dellums, the judge blamed the delay on Geronimo's attorneys for filing in the wrong jurisdiction.

COINTELPRO's Deadly War Against the Panthers

This is a blatant attempt to once again bury Geronimo's case. The judge and D.A. know that the Supreme Court is not likely to permit any court to hear further documentation on the government's murderous war against the Panthers. Appointed in their majority by California's right-wing governor Pete Wilson, the present Supreme Court was assembled as a conservative law-and-order body with the explicit mission of tearing apart the court's long history of judicial liberalism, most recently under anti-death penalty judge Rose Bird. Since 1990, Pete Wilson's court has upheld 94 percent of death sentences under appeal.

There are not a few in bourgeois circles who built their careers on the government vendetta against the Panthers. Contragate co-conspirator Edwin Meese presided over the war on the Panthers as Governor Ronald Reagan's top cop in California. Richard Held, a COINTELPRO specialist who played a major role in targeting Geronimo in L.A., led the FBI's August 1985 roundup of Puerto Rican militants, and went on to head the FBI in San Francisco. Richard Kalustian, the deputy D.A. who prosecuted Geronimo and paved the way for FBI fink Butler's admission to the California bar, is now a sitting L.A. County Superior Court judge.

American capitalism rests on the brutal oppression of black people, who are integrated into, but forced to the bottom of society as a race-color caste. The hard-fought and only recently won juridical rights of blacks are once again being overrun as the daily reality of joblessness, cuts in education, welfare "reform" and health care destruction take place side by side with summary executions by the cops in the ghettos, a burgeoning black prison population under "three strikes" laws, and legal lynching ordered by the courts. Geronimo is a symbol of black revolt against this oppression. His continued imprisonment is a message from the ruling class: Those who challenge the racist status quo will not be tolerated.

The state's refusal under any circumstances to allow Geronimo a new trial, let alone free him, is testimony to the fear inspired in the racist rulers of this country by the Panthers' rejection of Martin Luther King's passive acceptance of the brutally oppressive capitalist order. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover ordered the "neutralization" of the Panthers for their advocacy of black armed self-defense against the cops who were, *and still are*, gunning down black youth with impunity.

Thirty-eight Panthers were shot in cold blood by the COINTELPRO "operations"; those not killed were framed up and imprisoned for years. Mumia Abu-Jamal's role as a young Panther leader in Philadelphia put him in the cops' cross hairs; today, from Pennsylvania's death row, he is fighting to keep his voice of protest against police brutality and racist oppression from being silenced forever. Geronimo was targeted for death as a "Key Black Extremist,"

AP photos

8 December 1969: 300 LAPD cops assault Black Panther Party headquarters. Later that week thousands of protesters jammed L.A. Hall of Justice demanding freedom for Geronimo and other arrested Panthers.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

D.A.—Insult to Justice

In black, Hispanic and poor communities across the nation the office of District Attorney is not a friend, but an ally of all the negative forces dragging down their lives.

From coast to coast, from New York's Bed-Stuy to Frisco's Hunters Point, the D.A. is a hired agent of white, wealthy power.

It is an agency that insures daily that the poor feed the cavernous maws of this ravenous system, while the wealthy find ways to slip the noose; they are an agency of *status quo* which protects the established, while demonizing and exploiting the poor.

In city after city, they are offices which serve as stepping stones of political power; but the rising is not made on steps, it is made on the skulls, the bones, and the shattered lives and fortunes of those without wealth.

Philadelphia provides an excellent case in point!

Where else can a D.A. empanel an "investigating" grand jury on a case of municipal mass murder, and *recommend no charges* be filed against any of the killers, the aiders and abettors or the conspirators who caused this horror?

This actually happened in the legal aftermath of the MOVE bombing of 1985, where at least eleven men, women and babies were bombed, shot and burned alive in southwest Philadelphia!

Was this not an insult to black life?

Where else can a D.A. look at a case, like that of West Philly's Window-Washing Charlie, where an elderly black man comes to his porch with an unloaded starter pistol to scare away some neighborhood hoods, only to find a phalanx of trigger-happy killer cops instead, *who shoot at him over 100 times*, at least 10 times after he fell, and not call it murder?

Was this not an insult to black life?

Where else can a D.A. sit back and silently allow the brutal street-beating of a member of *her own staff* by a pack of wild, drunken cops and tell him "forget about it" when he dares to try to prosecute this crime in the night?

Victor Ventura, a Puerto Rican prosecutor, had this occur on New Year's 1994, right outside the headquarters of the Fraternal Order of Police; when he asked his supervisor to press charges against the brutes in blue who beat and hospitalized him and a friend, he was told, "Vic—it's an election comin' up and the boss needs the support of the FOP. You understand, doncha?" (Ventura has filed a 25 million dollar civil suit against the D.A. and the city.)

Was this not an insult to Spanish life?

In the exhaustive study *Justice on the Cheap: The Philadelphia Story* (published by Death Penalty Information Center, May 1992) members of the Philadelphia D.A.'s Office testified before the House that they "didn't see" racism practiced in Pennsylvania criminal justice. Several U.S. judges, examining the record of conduct of the then-chief of the homicide unit, found this claim "incredible" and "unworthy of belief" based upon a longstanding practice of that office to systematically and intentionally strip black jurors from trials with black defendants, producing all-white, mostly white juries.

Is this not an insult to Justice?

The acronym "D.A." might as well stand for *District Assassin* given its accomplished history of murdering Justice, especially when it comes to black and Hispanic lives, property and safety.

Aren't they an insult to "justice"?

3 July 1995

©1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

narrowly escaping death in a 1969 raid on the L.A. Panthers.

No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

Many supporters of Geronimo thought that the unambiguous evidence of his innocence, announced by attorneys Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon at a press conference which included significant participation by important witnesses and community activists, would lead in short order to Geronimo's release. We in the Partisan Defense Committee, who have worked for Geronimo's freedom for over a decade, would have surely welcomed such a turn of events. But our understanding of the nature of the state, race and class in America has led us to see that there is no justice in the capitalist courts.

Justice in America is neither blind nor does it carefully weigh the evidence on balanced scales. The courts, like the cops, are part of the state, which is not a neutral body but exists to administer the exploitation of the working class by the handful of rulers who own the wealth of society. Every extension of democratic rights in this country—from the right to strike, to universal suffrage, to the dismantling of Jim Crow in the South—has come about only as a result of struggle *against* the state. The recent attacks on affirmative action programs are ample evidence that these gains are also only partial and reversible.

The ruling class has always attempted to victimize those who struggle for an extension of rights for working people and the oppressed. The Partisan Defense Committee was launched by the Spartacist League in order to defend such class-war prisoners. In so doing, we look to the organized multiracial working class which has the social power both to fight for temporary gains under capitalism and to end capitalist rule altogether. With their nationalist outlook, the Black Panther Party saw the plebeian ghetto masses rather than the working class as the agent of revolutionary change. In fact, workers have a compelling interest in Geronimo's cause. The cops who rush in to break one union strike after another also beat up immigrants with impunity and kill any minority youth who crosses them, later whitewashed as "custody death syndrome."

Beginning with the most vulnerable, the ruling class is taking aim at the organized working class to maximize their competitive edge in the "New World Order." From Congress's "counter-terrorism" bill—whose centerpiece is the curtailment of death row prisoner appeals to the federal courts—to the prohibition of press interviews in an attempt to silence prisoners from protesting frame-up convictions and viciously repressive and dehumanizing prison conditions, the democratic trappings of the bourgeois state are under bipartisan attack. While the legislature debates a national anti-immigrant Prop. 187, undermining the 14th Amendment won through the war against slavery, Clinton has carried out a high-tech militarization of the border with Mexico unequaled in U.S. history.

WV Photo

Attorneys Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon (far right) at April 17 press conference present evidence of Geronimo's innocence.

The bourgeoisie has always tried to exploit racial and ethnic divisions within the working class, hoping to distract the exploited while the capitalists pick their pockets. This is particularly evident in Los Angeles, center of the ongoing frame-up of Geronimo, where the bourgeoisie has worked assiduously to foster racial animosity in the wake of the multiracial rebellion against the Rodney King verdict. In a city which has a gap between rich and poor that ranks third behind Rio de Janeiro and Calcutta, the ruling class relies on racist cop terror to contain any manifestation of social protest. This fact has been understood by the SEIU's "Justice for Janitors," with its heavily immigrant membership, which successfully fought the bosses and their cops to organize their union. In 1994, SEIU locals organized a protest the day before Geronimo's 13th parole hearing, marching into Garcetti's office to present petitions and demand he review the evidence in Geronimo's case.

Integrated unions representing over two million workers have gone on record in support of Geronimo, and a number of key union officials have sent letters of protest to Garcetti in the past months. But the members of these organizations have largely not been mobilized *in action* to combat this racist frame-up. The integrated demonstrations outside the courthouse at the March and April hearings were spirited, but they lacked the necessary social power. On the day of Geronimo's second hearing, the union representing Kaiser Permanente hospital workers called a protest against the hospital closures which are cutting off medical care for the impoverished black and minority population and slashing hundreds of jobs; the union should have marched down Sunset Boulevard to the courthouse to put some muscle behind its support to Geronimo.

The lack of mobilization for Geronimo is of a piece with the unions' abstention from the struggle in defense of democratic rights for blacks and Latinos, immigrants and women. The fault is with the trade-union tops, who won't even call their members into action to protect their own economic interests against the union-busting offensive currently being waged throughout the U.S. The union bureaucracy is wedded to the defense of the bourgeois order through support to the capitalist Democratic Party; their job is to keep the workers in line, and lined up to vote for Clinton in November. The union banners come out only for Democratic election vehicles. In the words of Mumia Abu-Jamal in a 1993 message from death row, the Clinton White House was "born in the blood of executions and bent on out-Republicanizing the Republicans...proving once again that repression is still repression, no matter which party is in power."

The big business of union-busting feeds on racism; if the state can with impunity frame up and keep in prison those like Geronimo, it will all the more readily turn its sights on the workers movement as a whole. An injury to one is an injury to all! Successful workers struggle requires a strategic commitment to smashing black oppression, and that requires a political fight against the present pro-Democratic leadership of the unions. It's time to build a working-class party which mobilizes its forces independent of the capitalist state and takes up the battles of the poor and oppressed in this country. Free Geronimo now!

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy, send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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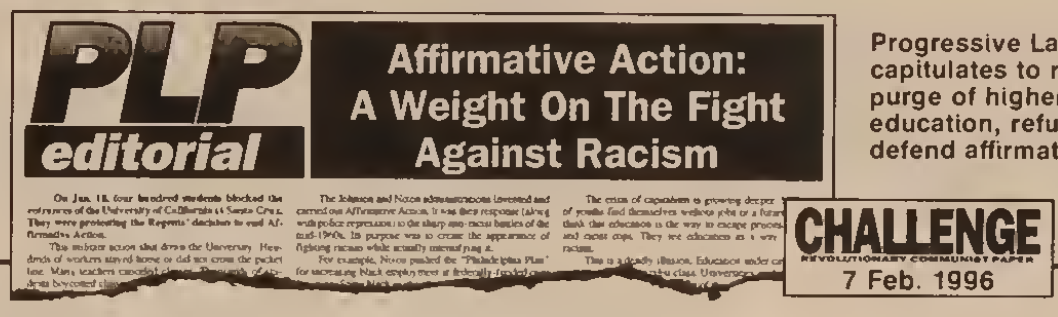
Young Spartacus

On Oakland Teachers Strike and Affirmative Action

How PL Caves In to Racist Bosses


PLP editorial

Affirmative Action: A Weight On The Fight Against Racism

On Jan. 18, four hundred students blocked the entrances of the University of California at Santa Cruz. They were protesting the Regents' decision to end Affirmative Action.

The Johnson and Nixon administrations invented and carried out Affirmative Action. It was their response (along with police repression) to the sharp anti-racist battles of the mid-1960s. Its purpose was to create the appearance of fighting racism while actually interned psing it.

The crisis of capitalism is growing deeper ... of youths find themselves without jobs or a future ... think that education is the way to escape poverty ... and racist cops. They see education as a way ... racism.

CHALLENGE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PAPER
7 Feb. 1996

Progressive Labor capitulates to racist purge of higher education, refusing to defend affirmative action.

OAKLAND—What can you say for a so-called "communist" organization which, in the midst of a crucial class battle—the recent Oakland California teachers strike—refused to call for building picket lines, refrained from condemning scabbing, and opposed the main demand of the strike? And what can you say about a "communist" group which refuses to mobilize against the current racist assault on affirmative action, and even echoes the "reverse discrimination" rhetoric of the racist ideologues, claiming that affirmative action is "divisive"? These reactionary positions *in struggle* are precisely those of the self-styled super "communists" of the Progressive Labor Party (PL).

Throughout its 33-year history, PL has zigzagged between abjectly reformist struggles and sectarian abstention, cloaking both with a veneer of "red" phrasemongering. With its constant gyrations between "reform" and "revolution," PL has spiraled farther and farther from even the pretense of a Marxist, working-class outlook. In 1972's "Road to Revolution III," PL junked Lenin's insistence that communists must fight all manifestations of oppression in class society, including national oppression. In 1982 in "Road to Revolution IV," PL openly repudiated Karl Marx's materialist worldview. Now in the process of internal discussions on yet another "Road to Revolution" document (this one, to be numbered 4½, insists that struggle for any reform under capitalism is *necessarily* counterposed to the struggle for communism), PL has hit a new nadir. As revealed in the Oakland teachers strike and the battle over affirmative action, PL's "fight for communism" rhetoric serves as a crude cover for accommodation to bourgeois reaction.

PL vs. Oakland Teachers Strike

Over the past two decades, the racist rulers of this country have let the public education system go to hell. The recent five-week Oakland Education Association (OEA) strike could have been the take-off point for a broad working-class struggle going outside of the usual capitalist pressure politics. The OEA centered their demands on two key issues—higher wages and smaller class sizes. In the face of increasing hostility from the ruling class, with the mayor and state officials threatening strikebreaking injunctions, the strikers won broad support from poor, minority and working-class parents and students. Yet the OEA leadership led a half-hearted strike, and then betrayed the struggle by settling for a contract with no guaranteed reduction in class sizes. Criminally, the labor bureaucracy of the Alameda Central Labor Council (CLC) organized its members to scab on the strike, *sabotaging* this key battle.

PLers appeared on the teachers' picket lines. But in their eight leaflets issued during the strike, PL *never* called for building, respecting and enforcing the OEA's picket lines—*nor did they condemn* the AFL-CIO scabherding. PL criminally *refused to take a clear side* in favor of victory to the strike, writing in one leaflet, "Instead of asking 'Which side are we on—the OEA or the School Board?', we should be asking, 'Which side are we on—*the working class' or the ruling class'?*'" Instead of? Even with a strike waged by salaried professionals such as teachers—whom Marxists have always encouraged to identify with the working class—the question of *class solidarity* is posed pointblank. This is quite simply the class line, in the real world. Like the miners' song goes: Which side are you on? It is telling that PL could not provide a clear answer to such a simple question of class struggle.

PL instead parroted the CLC bureaucrats' arguments for scabbing—that smaller class sizes and higher wages for teachers meant less wages and possible layoffs for unionized school maintenance and clerical workers. In a leaflet titled "School Workers! Unite to Fight for Equality and Communism!" PL wrote:

> "The teachers union, the Oakland Education Association (OEA), is missing the boat by calling for a 're-allocation of resources.' With the bosses claiming that there is a 'budget crisis,' *the OEA demand to spend more money in the classroom will be used by the Board to attack all school workers who aren't 'in the classroom'.*"

Progressive Labor joined the CLC and the School Board in claiming that any gains for teachers could come only at the expense of other workers. In fact, the OEA leaders sought to reduce the strike to pressuring the School Board to tinker with its budget, while futilely trying to elect their own slate to the impotent Board. Like the OEA tops, PL essentially accepted the limits to the Oakland education budget as defined by racist, capitalist austerity. Presenting no program to win the strike, in a leaflet they declared from the outset, "Capital will win here."

In contrast, the Spartacist League called for mobilizing mass support for the Oakland teachers strike with militant, integrated picket lines and appeals to all other school workers to honor the lines. In the article "Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!" (*WV* No. 640, 1 March) we vigorously condemned the CLC's traitorous scabherding and denounced the OEA tops' sellout. We raised the necessity for class struggle to beat back the capitalist assault on public education, starting with a statewide teachers strike to save California schools. We urged OEA strikers to champion broader social struggle—like the fight to defeat the racist assault on affirmative action—around the demand for *free, quality education for all*. We sought to link the current felt needs of the working class to the need for socialist revolution by posing a *transitional* program. Against the lying prattle of the OEA and CLC misleaders that the capitalist Democratic Party represents some kind of lesser-evil alternative to the naked fist of the Republicans, we raised the necessity for the working class to forge a revolutionary workers party, to lead the class in the struggles necessary to bring down this whole rotten system of exploitation and racist oppression.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club demands free, quality education for all in rally at University of California-Berkeley last October.

PL: Know Nothings of the Left

The logic of PL's ostensible "pro"-OEA propaganda was *anti*-strike. Nothing makes this more clear than PL's haughty disdain for the main demand of strikers—smaller class sizes. One PL leaflet raised the incidental call for "smaller class sizes with no layoffs" *but every other piece of PL propaganda argued against the demand that was at the core of the teachers' struggle.* Here's a typical sample from *Challenge* (13 March):

> "Probably the biggest illusion is that if only class-size wasn't so large, students would succeed. This ignores the fact that the schools exist within capitalism—a profit system that exploits workers using wage slavery, racism, unemployment, war, etc. *Smaller class sizes won't change any of these basic facts.* In fact, the School Board has already signaled that, if the teachers force the issue, it will lay off other school personnel to pay for smaller classes."
>
> "Such are the contradictions of capitalism: *what seems like a good demand is turned into a divisive issue to encourage different groups of workers to attack each other.*"

In fact, almost every major study of education correlates smaller class size with greater learning on the part of students. As we wrote in articles on the strike, the AFL-CIO unions who were scabbing on the teachers strike were "scabbing on the possibility of a better education for their children."

The striving for access to the accumulated knowledge and culture of human civilization, always hoarded by the ruling class, has long been a motor force in the struggle for human emancipation. But PL has always denigrated the struggle for working-class and minority access to education and culture. The draft of "Road to Revolution 4½" (*Progressive Labor Party Communist Bulletin*, February 1996) dots the i's and crosses the t's on the reactionary implications of this position:

> "Within our Party we have discussed schools and education. What line should

Defend Affirmative Action and More! Fight for Open Admissions!

> we be pushing in struggles against budget cuts? Let's be clear. There can be no good schools under capitalism. Capitalist values such as individualism and competition are the hallmarks of capitalist education. You cannot reform these schools to make them good."

Similarly, on the issue of affirmative action, *Challenge* (7 February) argues that shutting the doors of higher education to black and Latino youth really doesn't matter, since "education under capitalism only serves the ruling class." *Challenge* continues:

> "Universities teach racism, sexism, individualism, anti-communism and other anti-working-class ideas. They push the lie that the 'best and brightest' will get ahead. They push the selfish, competitive view that your goal *should* be to 'get ahead' of someone else."

The reality is a lot more complicated. Karl Marx observed that the ruling ideas of any epoch are the ideas of the ruling class. But that doesn't mean that communists shun the accumulated scientific and cultural heritage of humanity. As Marxists, we in the Spartacist League have always insisted that "ignorance never did anyone any good." We want to use the full realm of human understanding available to reforge society in the interests of the working class. Lenin wrote about this in "On Proletarian Culture" (October 1920):

> "Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture."

PL's rantings against education are nothing but an excuse for *accepting* the ruling class' racist gutting of the public education system. An educated populace is one of the greatest fears of the capitalist exploiters. It was not for nothing that slaveowners in the ante-bellum South made death the penalty for any slave caught learning to read and write.

PL Buys "Reverse Discrimination" Lie

Today, a focal point of the drive against higher education for minorities is the attack on affirmative action, especially in California where the cruelly misnamed "Civil Rights Initiative" is on the November ballot. The crusade against affirmative action as supposed "reverse discrimination" against white people has long been the rallying cry of David Duke and the Ku Klux Klan—the fascists who want to wipe out any vestige of the civil rights movement. While the Democrats seek to channel outrage against the reactionary right into 1996 election votes, mainstream politicians in both the Democratic and Republican parties have taken up this cry. Along with the war on "illegal" immigrants and women's rights, the racist assault on affirmative action in education, hiring and contracting has become the cutting edge of the bipartisan ruling-class offensive against *all* social welfare programs.

In the struggles around affirmative action at the University of California, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have raised the slogan "Defend Affirmative Action and More—Fight for Open Admissions!" We seek to wage a social struggle which goes beyond the framework of capitalist pressure politics, mobilizing students, workers and minorities against the racial inequality and class bias which pervades the entire education system. To open up higher education to *everyone* who wants to attend, we fight for no tuition and a state stipend, in order to make education a *right* and not a privilege, as part of the fight for workers revolution to sweep away the capitalist system itself.

WV Photo

Oakland teachers rally at City Hall during recent strike. PL polemicized against teachers' demand for smaller class sizes.

A Radakov

PL sneers at struggle for education. Above: 1920 Bolshevik poster used in literacy campaign: "He who is illiterate is like a blind man."

While we oppose the racist rollback of affirmative action in college admissions and hiring, quotas are not our program. These token measures inherently acquiesce to the racist status quo. Affirmative action programs were first implemented by the federal government in the late 1960s as a sop to defuse the militant social struggles growing out of the liberal-led civil rights movement, particularly in the North. From the get-go, the intention was to create and co-opt a thin layer of the black middle class. But these paltry efforts left intact the historic and deep-seated oppression of the mass of the black population—the ghetto poor, historically the last-hired and first-fired industrial reserve army of the unemployed. Pitting blacks against Latinos, women against men, minorities against whites, affirmative action was calculated by the rulers to force a scramble for disappearing crumbs among those seeking to get their "piece of the pie," and early on it was used as a union-busting scheme. But in seeking to eliminate these programs today, the ruling class is declaring that it never wants to hire another black contractor, that it no longer sees the need to provide even the pretense that the doors of higher education are open to blacks and other minorities.

A *Challenge* (7 February) editorial uses the tokenistic nature of affirmative action to sneer: "Programs to increase black employment and university enrollment have done little more than improve the lives of some workers.... Any movement to defend Affirmative Action brings us no closer to ending racism." When an outraged member wrote in to complain that this editorial was too "one sided," *Challenge* (13 March) responded with a blast clearly echoing the words of the "reverse discrimination" ideologues:

> "Defending affirmative action ultimately excuses capitalism's inequality, a system that means a decent life for the few near the top. Affirmative action is divisive. It concedes capitalism's inability to provide a decent life for tens of millions. Communists shouldn't compromise on the issue of equality."

The response of communists should be to expose the *lie* of "reverse discrimination," posing a fight against the current racist assault by championing educational and job opportunities for everyone. Instead, while making token denunciations of the racists' claims PL chimes right in with the thinly veiled rationales of those who claim that affirmative action is "divisive" and doesn't square with abstract "equality." PL's position is a *direct capitulation to the white racist backlash*. PLers should feel some gut revulsion in knowing that on the affirmative action issue, they echo the fascists.

Acceptance of the most backward social consciousness bred by capitalism, however, has long characterized PL. You'll never find an article in *Challenge* defending gays—in fact PL claims homosexuals are "sick." Nor will you find much about the fight against women's oppression, defense of abortion clinics, etc. To this day, PL retains the reactionary Stalinist position that the family—the main institution responsible for the oppression of women—can somehow help in the fight for communism.

When PL emerged from the Communist Party USA in the early 1960s, it represented a *left* split, eventually embracing the Chinese, Maoist variant of Stalinism as an apparent opposition to the pro-Moscow Stalinists' utter reformism. But PL refused to examine the roots of Stalinism in the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, i.e., to study Trotskyism. Instead they took up the Maoist line that the Soviet Union had become capitalist—"social imperialist." This meant that PL refused to militarily defend the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution against the U.S. imperialist Cold War II onslaught of the 1980s. PL's capitulation to bourgeois anti-Communism on this touchstone question of Marxism only amplified their Stalinist-derived acceptance of capitalist-engendered backward consciousness on almost every important social question as well.

PL Reverts to Utopian Socialism

PL's rantings against education, like much of their "communist" rhetoric, are sheer hypocrisy. Anyone familiar with the *Challenge* letters column will tell you that "A Doctor," "A Teacher" and "A Professor" are frequent contributors. Why is it OK for PL members to get college degrees and become professionals, while black high-school students from South-Central L.A. are told that this is the route to sellout and a capitulation to capitalist ideology? PL sounds like liberal petty-bourgeois social workers, preaching to the masses about what is "good" for them.

In fact, in their own self-conception, PLers have become "communist" preachers. In rejecting first Lenin and

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Library of Congress

Black Civil War soldiers with New England abolitionist schoolteachers. Education is a prized weapon in fight for black freedom.

Spartacist Events

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next class, May 23: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall
For more information: (312) 454-4930

EUGENE

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Saturdays, 4 p.m. Next classes, May 18: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution*; June 1: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party*; University of Oregon, Room 202, Chapman Hall
For more information: (510) 839-0851

LOS ANGELES

Spartacist League Forum
Thursday, 7 p.m., May 16: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are a Dead End—Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom*; Hollywood United Methodist Church, 6817 Franklin Ave. (Highland exit off 101 Freeway)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next class, May 11: *Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Italy...

(continued from page 1)

order to please the Vatican. D'Alema even got the support of Fiat magnate Agnelli and the blessing of Clinton, who intervened in the Italian election campaign by explicitly declaring that the American government did not fear a PDS government in Italy today. The daily *Corriere della Sera* (18 April) reports on the large number of Catholic Action members who were candidates for the Olive Tree. Consistent with this, D'Alema has proposed that the PDS get rid of the hammer and sickle symbol for good.

This anti-worker government will be supported by Rifondazione Comunista, which has promised to vote confidence in it and will support it at all critical moments. RC has a crucial role to play now since Ulivo will need its support on key votes in parliament—on pensions, social security, education, abortion, immigration, etc. RC will try to act as a spigot, turning class struggle on and off for their own parliamentary advantage. But this regime is going to be so

SPARTACO

Newspaper of the
Lega Trotskista d'Italia

hard against the working class that they are going to need RC not so much for their votes in parliament but to pose as a pressure group ostensibly outside the government in order to divert the workers' anger. Meanwhile, those who stand to lose most immediately from this unholy alliance are women, youth and immigrants. They will be the scapegoats for all the gains taken back from the workers. As we wrote before the 1994 elections:

> "Now that the 'republic of the corrupt' is buried, it is time for the second republic of 'clean hands.' But the choice between the right and the left is between *bourgeois* alternatives, *both* of which are enemies of the workers and oppressed.... This *popular front*, a class-collaborationist alliance between the bosses and the reformist workers parties, will not stop the fascists. It preserves the system of racist and capitalist austerity that breeds the vermin in black shirts and demoralizes the working class. Furthermore, it chains the proletariat to its class enemies."

This was fully verified over the past two years, and it is fully valid today. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, opposed any vote for the popular front and the parties in it, including the RC, in the April 21 elections and insists that what is decisive is not the bourgeois elections or parliamentary blocs but the class struggle. The Ulivo government will be *anti-worker, anti-women, and anti-immigrant*. A powerful response by the workers is necessary to defeat the all-sided attack that the bourgeoisie is waging against them. If the working class does not intervene to prevent this government from implementing its program of social regression, the popular front in power, demoralizing the workers and throwing the petty bourgeoisie and backward sections of the proletariat further into the arms of fascist and populist demagogues, will open the way for an aggressive comeback of sinister right-wing forces. But for the workers to be able to win, it is necessary to wage a political fight against the PDS, the RC and the trade-union bureaucracy, and to forge a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. The LTd'I is fighting to build a Bolshevik party that fights for proletarian power and does not take part in bourgeois governments which administer this rotting capitalist society.

Carofei/Sintesi

Mertini/Team

La Repubblica

From left: "Olive Tree" leader Romano Prodi, PDS leader Massimo D'Alema and Fausto Bertinotti of Rifondazione Comunista.

The Popular Front Is Anti-Working-Class...

The attacks on the welfare state, and more generally on the living conditions of the working class and the oppressed throughout Europe, have their origins in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The "New World *Dis*-order" has brought on nationalist wars, racist pogroms against immigrant workers, Rom (Gypsies) and Jews, and the immiseration of the proletariat. Drunk with glee over the "elimination of the communist threat" and under the pressure of increased interimperialist competition, the European bourgeoisies are trying to boost profits by cutting social expenditures and other concessions made to the workers which they no longer consider necessary.

In Italy, the official unemployment rate has reached 12 percent. More than six million people live under the poverty line, and the rate of exploitation has increased by 6 percent in the last three years. Working conditions have gotten so bad that four deaths a day are listed as job "accidents." Outgoing prime minister Lamberto Dini has been trying to eliminate all existing safety standards in the workplace, and if this succeeds the number of deaths on the job will increase. Living conditions are following a scissors pattern: the poor get steadily poorer and the rich get richer. There is a widening gap between North and South, men and women, whites and ethnic minorities.

This process of driving down workers' living conditions began with the first attacks in 1983 by Socialist prime minister Bettino Craxi against the *scala mobile* (cost-of-living escalator), but it sharply accelerated after the eruption of the "Bribe City" ("*tangentopoli*") corruption scandal. The Ciampi (1993-94) and Dini (1995-96) governments, which were supported by the PDS, played a significant role in this. RC contributed by supporting the "progressive" coalition and by twice saving the Dini government. The past two years have offered a clear example of what a popular front is and what it means.

When the rightist media mogul Berlusconi was elected head of the government in 1994, he did not hesitate to launch a frontal assault on the system of retirement pensions. The workers movement reacted immediately to this attack with what were possibly the most imposing demonstrations since the "hot autumn" of 1969. The PDS and RC rode the tiger, using the workers' legitimate anger and struggles as an instrument of mass pressure in order to push for a popular-front government. Under the pressure of millions of workers in the streets, Mr. "One Hundred General Strikes Will Not Stop Me" Berlusconi was forced to resign.

After getting rid of their nemesis, the PDS put together a government (supported by RC at every crucial moment) that was headed by the same Lamberto Dini, former governor of the Bank of Italy, who was the author of the Berlusconi government's pension-gutting decree. A few months after taking office in April 1995, Dini succeeded in passing the same pension cuts that Berlusconi had been unable to carry out. The support of the PDS, RC and the trade-union bureaucrats made the difference. They used what remained of their authority to minimize the reaction by the workers. Thus, the popular front demonstrated for the nth time its true nature, a class-collaborationist coalition which subordinates the working class to the bourgeoisie.

And Anti-Immigrant...

The Dini government, with the support of the PDS, issued a decree on immigration that was much more racist than the previous legislation. Anyone in Italy without documents can now be thrown in prison, as well as being subject to deportation as before. Contrary to all juridical principles, an immigrant who "demonstrates a standard of living that is too high" is presumed to be guilty. Immigrant workers will be tolerated at the state's discretion, and only on the condition that they are superexploited by the local bourgeoisie. Otherwise: Get out or go to jail. The groundwork for this situation has been laid for years by the campaign against immigrant "drug pushers," which the PDS and RC vigorously pursued in Genova in September 1993 and by the racist persecution of immigrants, who are described as "rapists." This was also one of the arguments which speeded up passage of the law "against sexual violence."

Even the so-called "amnesty" for "illegal" immigrants has been shown to be a gruesome maneuver by Dini & Co. Of 250,000 people who have applied to have their situation "regularized," no more than 100,000 are expected to succeed—by the most optimistic projections—since employers are generally unwilling to pay the contributions required by the INPS (national retirement system) and because most of the requests have been tied up in the bureaucracy. The net result is that the police have been able to register 150,000 "illegals" in their records.

Contrary to the PDS and RC who actively participate in or echo the anti-immigrant campaign, we Trotskyists demand that whoever manages to arrive in Italy have the right to stay. We are for the unionization of immigrant workers and full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) has been dressed up as the National Alliance (AN), but the core is still fascist and the *squadre* (terror squads) have not disappeared. They continue their attacks against immigrants, RC and PDS offices, other leftists, and the more vulnerable sections of the working class. It is the duty of the entire workers movement to repulse the fascists by mobilizing the workers and other intended victims of the racist terrorists, including through integrated defense militias. This requires a fight against the racist, class-collaborationist politics of the reformist leadership.

...And Anti-Women

For the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of the family is an indispensable part of the attack on the living standards of the working class. The family will shoulder the weight of the social services that the state no longer wants to pay for. The "household" must be "morally mobilized" in order to justify the oppression of women, who are first to be fired and who have a much harder time getting a job. Additionally, every "deviation" from the model of the family ordained by the Vatican is persecuted.

The Ulivo popular front is perfectly conscious of this need and fully carries it out. Prodi's support for the campaign of the anti-abortion Movement for Life promoting the "rights of the fetus" was heavily covered by the left press. Ulivo has already declared that it will revise Law 194, which partially legalizes abortion in Italy. In reality, due to the so-called "conscientious objectors clause" of Law 194 (another PCI concession to the Vatican on the altar of class collaboration), it has become practically impossible to have an abortion in the South, and extremely difficult in the rest of Italy. The news media continue to be full of cases of illegal abortions, performed by doctors in private apartments without the most minimal hygienic conditions and at exorbitant prices. Now the popular front wants to cut back even the token legislation that exists on paper.

Spartaco

Milano, August 1993—Trotskyists demand charges be dropped against North African victims of police beating, call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families.

Under the supervision of the Dini government, the Movement for Life organized a conference last February in Rome on the "psychological consequences of abortion," while outside cops and paramilitary *carabinieri* beat up abortion rights demonstrators. The Vatican is in the front line of this moralistic anti-abortion campaign, and RC leader Fausto Bertinotti has pitched in. *Corriere della Sera* (20 April) reports: "The head of the neo-communist party closed his electoral campaign by appealing to Pope John Paul II: 'We didn't go looking for the votes of the Catholics.... It is enough for us to listen to Pope Wojtyla condemn the excesses of capitalism and warn against the laws of the market'."

After decades of negotiations aimed at reaching an impossible compromise, the law "against sexual violence" was born under the aegis of the Dini government and with the support of the "progressives." The new law above all serves to intensify the intervention of the state in the private lives of individuals and in family affairs. Under the new law, whenever someone presses charges for "sexual abuse" of a minor, the judge is obliged to take action. Particularly under attack are parents, relatives and anyone who has contact with minors, such as teachers. It is now also obligatory for the accused to take a test for AIDS and other diseases that are sexually transmissible, in violation of the right to privacy that formerly existed.

This law was the result of the common work of 67 deputies from the fascist National Alliance to Berlusconi's Forza Italia, from the Catholics of the Christian Democratic Center to the PDS—a true mini-popular front whose official spokesmen were Anna Finocchiaro of the PDS and the fascist Alessandra Mussolini. When the fascists demonstrated against the immigrants of the San Salvario area in Torino last November under the slogan "Cleanliness and Order," representatives of the PDS participated.

It is becoming increasingly common for judges to take children away from parents who are "guilty" only of being poor—victims of the capitalist system that pushes ever larger sections of the population to the margins of society. In early March, the press reported the case of a mother who was arrested because she developed a photograph of her nude son.

We are resolutely opposed to the intervention of the state in the sexual life of consenting individuals. We are opposed to the attempts of the Vatican to establish norms of "moral correctness" for the family, which the state then forcibly implements. Down with reactionary "age of consent" laws! State and church out of the bedroom!

The family is the focal point of women's oppression. We Trotskyists fight to destroy capitalism and for a genuine workers government, the indispensable precondition for women's liberation. We fight against the popular front that sacrifices women's rights to the defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and against all forms of discrimination against women. For free abortion on demand, including for minors and immigrants! For the complete separation of church and state and the expropriation of the wealth of the Vatican!

Rifondazione Comunista Tails the Popular Front

Rifondazione Comunista declared a "no-contest pact" with the Ulivo coalition for the April 21 elections. RC leader Bertinotti "explained" this vulgar class betrayal by arguing that under the new electoral system, without the pact "RC would risk losing its parliamentary representation." Thus, RC waged an all-out campaign for Ulivo, including calling on workers to vote for the bosses who are firing them. Maura Cossutta asked workers at the Superga factory to vote for De Benedetti, the owner of that factory, who has threatened 300 firings.

La Repubblica

Angry workers battle police in Torino, September 1992, as protests erupt against capitalist austerity measures.

Bertinotti has already guaranteed that RC will vote for the motion of confidence in the government, explaining that "after the formation of the Prodi government it will have to earn the votes of Rifondazione on particular questions." In reality, what Bertinotti is saying is that he will limit himself to an eventual, polite—and in any case parliamentary—opposition to an Ulivo government, and only when it doesn't need RC votes. Whenever the issue is important and the votes (or abstentions) of RC are decisive, Bertinotti and the RC will know how to be "responsible" and save the popular front—naturally, in order to "defeat the right." This has systematically been the case in the past year, from RC's abstention on the austerity bill in late 1994, the last act of the Berlusconi government, up to its abstention on the vote of no confidence for Dini presented by the "Pole of Freedom."

It should be noted that on the latter occasion, the so-called "left" of RC, led by ostensible Trotskyists Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando, who edit the journal *Proposta*, were in the forefront of the fight to save the Dini government. They opposed the RC majority, which initially was prepared to bring down the cabinet. During the recent elections, as in 1994, the *Proposta* group played a valuable role for the RC leadership by doing everything possible—using "leftist" arguments and misrepresenting Lenin—to convince the most reluctant elements that it is necessary to support the popular front. *Proposta* (January 1995) even appealed for a vote for the Vatican's Popular Party (PPI) "in particular situations where it is necessary to defeat a fascist or reactionary candidate."

The party of Bertinotti and Cossutta is currently participating in many local governments with the virulent racists of the Northern League. At a demonstration against the racist decree in Torino last November 19, RC distributed a statement which grotesquely echoed the racist right: "It is therefore necessary for the appropriate authorities to effectively repress criminality of every type, applying Italian laws with the most modern investigative techniques against drug pushers and the prostitution racket."

The policy of capitulation to the popular front practiced by RC and its "left" tails has not been easily digested by the ranks of the party. It is notable that almost every day *Il Manifesto* published articles, interviews and letters of RC members who intended to abstain in the elections. We are not the only ones on the left calling to abstain on April 21, but we are the only ones to openly say that *any* popular-front government will be anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant, and that it is urgently necessary to fight against these policies.

While there is widespread disgust for this popular front among RC members, this does not mean conscious opposition to class-collaborationist politics. Rather, it reflects the fact that this popular front is extremely rightist and revolting. It is this widespread dissatisfaction, which does not break with class collaboration, that the group around the newspaper *Voce Operaia* (VO) seeks to intersect with its recent opposition to a vote for Ulivo and RC. In the 1994 elections, VO openly supported RC and the popular-front "Pole of the Progressives," and in June 1993 they even called for an "anti-capitalist" vote for three candidates of the camouflaged Christian Democrats of La Rete.

In the fall of 1995, VO wrote a leaflet entitled "No Truce" in which it says, "*Throw out the Berlusconi government and put the left in the government!*" This is a clear appeal for a bourgeois parliamentary government of PDS, RC and others. When a skeptical reader objected to this popular-frontist slogan in a letter to the paper, VO defended itself by writing, "The slogan 'the left in the government' means 'the workers movement in the government,' to 'defend the workers' interests and the demands of the movement in struggle'." VO continued, "We said to the workers: let's force them to take power!" VO has the same line as the sellout bureaucrats of PDS and RC—namely, that workers mobilizations should be used as a means to exert pressure for a parliamentary bourgeois "leftist" government. But a PDS/RC government would be racist, anti-woman, anti-worker and imperialist.

Break with the Popular Front! Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

The "New World *Dis*order" has led to more poverty, exploitation, oppression and war for the vast majority of the world's people. At the same time, the working class has shown its determination to resist—from the impressive struggles of the Italian workers in the autumn of 1994 to the massive strikes in France last December. Many leftists see working-class combativity as the solution to the problems of the workers, but as we wrote in *Spartaco* No. 45 (February 1995):

> "No level of combativity or any organizational form in itself can guarantee victory. The essential element is the political break with the popular front and the construction of a genuinely Bolshevik vanguard party that leads the workers struggles beyond economic militancy in the direction of a struggle for workers power."

There will inevitably be struggles of the workers and oppressed against the continual attacks of the bourgeoisie. The key question is who will lead these struggles.

While the PDS and RC, orphans of defunct Stalinism, increasingly openly embrace the bourgeoisie, their "left" tails like *Proposta* and *Voce Operaia* act as waterboys for the popular front. Instead, it is necessary and urgent to struggle for authentic communism.

Both RC and the PDS are the continuators of the old PCI and its betrayals. They represent an *obstacle* on this road. Lenin defined these parties as "bourgeois-workers" parties in order to emphasize the contradiction between their working-class base and bourgeois program. They are not reformable and no level of pressure from the base or "tactical maneuvers" can make them become revolutionary parties. It is necessary to build a Leninist party that intransigently opposes class collaboration and fights to split the base of these parties from the leadership, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. The Lega Trotskista and the International Communist League are fighting to build this Leninist party. ■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

> of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, until peace is attained);
> "2) at the same time emphasise the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests;
> "3) oppose any *annexation* of Alsace and Lorraine....
> "4) as soon as a non-chauvinist republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it;
> "5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other...."

Thus Marx/Engels' military support for the German side at this juncture was highly guarded and conditional. And these conditions ceased to exist *less than a month* after Engels' letter was written. In early September, an uprising of the Parisian masses established a democratic republic in France and, moreover, threatened a "red republic." Consequently, Marx/Engels changed their line on the war. Marx's "Second Address" to the General Council of the First International on the Franco-Prussian War (9 September 1870) stated:

> "The war of defence ended, in point of fact, with the surrender of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment the utter rottenness of the [French] imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military *camarilla* had resolved upon conquest."

This same document cites with approval a manifesto of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers Party, led by Liebknecht and Bebel:

> "We protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And we are conscious of speaking in the name of the German working class.... We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the common cause of the Proletariat!"

Incidentally, during the siege of Paris, Engels drew up military plans for the French to defend themselves more effectively against the German army, an exemplary act of proletarian internationalism. ■

Organize the Unorganized! Mobilize Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!

Victory to L.A. Port Truckers!

LOS ANGELES, May 6—The world's third-largest port was brought to a virtual standstill last week as truck drivers launched a fight for union recognition against the shipping and haulage bosses. Beginning April 29, over 4,000 mostly Latino drivers stopped hauling freight into and out of the L.A. (San Pedro) and Long Beach ports. The *Journal of Commerce* (2 May) complained that they had turned "the nation's busiest container complex into a ghost town." Furiously seeking to break the strike, the shipping companies have been diverting cargo to other ports, while bringing in scab truckers and an army of cops.

A day after the work stoppage began, Communications Workers (CWA) Local 9400 announced that it had signed an "interim agreement" representing the drivers with a start-up leasing outfit, the Transport Maritime Association (TMA). TMA has promised the drivers a hefty initial pay increase and benefits package if they turn over their rigs and work directly for the new company. Fed up with working horrendously long hours as independents—including endless unpaid waits—carrying dangerously unstable container cargo and taking home barely more than the minimum wage, over 4,000 drivers have signed up with TMA. However, many are rightfully leery about the company's sweet-sounding promises.

The hard-pressed L.A. port truckers will not find an answer to their problems by looking to a corporate "benefactor." What's needed is to build a fighting union, through joint struggle with the rest of the waterfront workers.

This is a key labor battle for Southern California. A victory here could give tremendous impetus to union organization throughout this notoriously "open shop" region, particularly along the Alameda Avenue corridor between downtown L.A. and the harbor complex. In the past few years there have been a number of combative struggles for union organization by largely Latino and immigrant workers in L.A. Drywallers waged a bitter strike against the employers, cops and immigration (*migra*) agents to join the Carpenters union. The SEIU's "Justice for Janitors" has defied massive police mobilizations. Hotel and restaurant workers have struck repeatedly, and organizing efforts are underway among the desperately underpaid workers in the garment sweatshops. The port truckers, strategically placed in "the leading gateway for containerized cargo in and out of North America" (*Journal of Commerce*, 3 May), have the potential power to bring the harbor bosses to their knees fast, *and* to impel unionization efforts among other workers.

When militant Teamsters strikes coincided with independent truckers' protests in the late 1970s, the government pushed through deregulation to drive down shipping costs and strangle union power in the industry. Over a decade ago, Teamster drivers at the L.A. harbor—many of them black—were replaced with "independents" working at a fraction of the cost, without benefits and denied collective bargaining rights. The truckers' position as owner-operators or leasers created a very contradictory consciousness: while operating as petty entrepreneurs, they have been driven to the wall by the big shipping and haulage companies. This has led to repeated efforts to organize. After two earlier strikes, including a six-week walkout in 1988, a stoppage organized by the Latino American Truckers Association (LATA) in 1993 effectively paralyzed the port for eleven days in an unsuccessful bid for Teamster representation.

A fight to win union recognition means tackling head-on the racist anti-immigrant frenzy being pushed by politicians of both parties, from Republican governor Pete Wilson to Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer. Over 90 percent of the *troqueros* are immigrants from Mexico and Central America. During the protests against the immigrant-bashing Proposition 187 in 1994, LATA members marched through the waterfront and led convoys through downtown L.A. in powerful displays of labor action in defense of immigrant rights. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) works hand in glove with the bosses to clamp down on Latino workers, many of them with experience in combative labor struggles in Latin America. The Spartacist League says: Labor must mobilize to stop *migra* terror and deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

But the CWA tops are playing strictly by the bosses' rules. At a May 1 mass rally attended by over 2,500 truckers, CWA bureaucrats warned against "violence" on the picket lines and vowed to enforce court injunctions limiting pickets to six to a gate. But L.A. truckers remember that LATA member Ruderis Lazo was brutally beaten by company police in September 1994. Meanwhile, Latino Teamster Jesse Acuna sits in prison on a five-year rap after being assaulted by cops for defending his union's picket lines during the national truckers strike two years ago. Labor must demand: Freedom now for Jesse Acuna!

The CWA leadership's strategy is to organize drivers to sign up with TMA and hope that the trucking and shipping firms will play ball. At the May 1 rally, the union platform was handed over to TMA chief Donald Allen, a former trucking insurance agent, who laid out the company's plans to secure a monopoly over all trucking at the harbor. TMA is purportedly promising a $25/hour wage package—but only for one year. But so far only a handful of haulage companies have signed on with TMA. It's a corporate squeeze play in which the drivers are being used, not to bolster their own union power, but to boost Allen's corporate ambitions. Truckers can only rely on their own strength, by forging a powerful union organization in struggle.

The truckers need an *elected strike/organizing committee* to take control of their action out of the hands of the bureaucrats, and to draw other unions, notably the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Teamsters and rail workers, into a joint struggle. Rather than the company-supervised "dispatch hall" the CWA is pushing, a *union hiring hall* is needed to ensure equitable distribution of work among all truckers, with a particular effort to reach out to black drivers and thus undercut the bosses' attempts to divide the workforce along racial lines.

Scandalously, ILWU Local 13 tops are having their members unload ships and load scab trucks behind the picket lines. Both the ILWU and Teamster bureaucrats refused to lift a finger to back the truckers during the '93 strike. The ILWU tops' scabherding only emboldens the Pacific Maritime Association bosses, who are trying to extract "productivity" givebacks when the longshore contract expires in July. On February 5, the ILWU shut down the L.A./Long Beach docks to protest the decision to hire a non-union contractor to operate the huge L.A. Export Terminal (LAXT) coal unloading facility currently under construction. *What's necessary is united strike action to shut the ports down tight. For mass pickets that no one and nothing crosses!*

Instead, government-approved Teamsters president Ron Carey even refused to sanction a strike when 215 Teamster workers at the Sante Fe railroad yard in L.A. were summarily fired in 1995. Far from using the union's muscle to defend its members and organize Latino truckers, Carey organizes grotesquely protectionist, racist demonstrations against Mexican truckers in the name of opposing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The labor tops' opposition to NAFTA with chauvinist calls to "save American jobs" only serves to fuel the racist assault on Latinos, Asians and all immigrants. We call instead for workers on both sides of the border to join in common class struggle against this neocolonial "free trade" rape of Mexico by the U.S. imperialist bosses.

While there's a lot about the CWA's deal with TMA that's unclear, one thing is certain: collaboration with the bosses is a sure recipe for defeat. This lash-up recalls the CWA's own origins as a company union in the phone industry. The CWA bureaucracy was a linchpin of the sinister American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a "labor" front for the CIA's anti-union assassins and saboteurs in Latin America. In 1973, the AIFLD organized an independent truckers "strike" in Chile which was instrumental in bringing down the leftist Allende government and ushering in a reign of terror that claimed the lives of tens of thousands of leftist and labor militants.

At home and abroad, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy sees as its main job keeping labor in line for the American ruling class. Under new, "progressive" president John Sweeney, the AFL-CIO has been recruiting hundreds of college students and other young activists for a "union summer." But instead of building support for L.A. truckers and other workers fighting for union recognition, Sweeney & Co. are throwing organizers and money into bringing out the vote for Clinton's Democrats in November, so they can have another four years to push through racist attacks on blacks and immigrants.

Like the recently organized Latino drywallers and carpenters, the truckers are having to fight their way into the unions. To achieve any real victories for the working class, what's needed is a political struggle within the unions to drive out the labor lieutenants of capital and to forge a class-struggle workers party which unites all workers—black, white, Asian and Latino—to sweep away this union-busting, racist capitalist system. *Victory to the L.A. truckers! Organize the unorganized!* ■

PL Caves In...

(continued from page 7)

then Marx. PL has essentially reverted to the old utopian socialist view that the struggle for communism is simply a question of convincing everyone that collective living would be a good idea. PL has completely rejected the understanding that socialist revolution requires a material basis to construct a society of plenty along the lines of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This is achieved centrally in the organization and consciousness of the working class built up *through class struggle*. Genuine communists are fighters for the *material* interests of the working class. It is only by building up the organization, social strength and consciousness of the proletariat—by winning struggles and pointing the way forward—that we can forge the revolutionary communist party necessary to effect the overthrow of decaying capitalist society.

PL does not lead its members to be fighters for the working class, but to be proselytizers for increasingly weird ideas about what a future communist society would look like. PL makes no distinction between working-class organizations like trade unions, and social service organizations, churches, and even bourgeois political parties like the Democrats. As far as PL is concerned, all of these are "reform" organizations, which PLers are sometimes encouraged to join in order to find recruits and "build a base." In 1972, when petty-bourgeois youth opposing the war in Vietnam had massive illusions in Democratic Party presidential candidate George McGovern, PLers actually formed "Grass Roots for McGovern" committees. The draft of "Road to Revolution 4½," projects a PL demonstration "to fight for a workers dictatorship" outside the Democratic Party convention this August. Thus PL, for all its "communist" rhetoric, reveals again that in practice it simply capitulates to the current backward consciousness in the working class—in this case to the idea that the Democratic Party is some kind of "lesser evil" to the Republicans.

Anyone serious about making the working class conscious of its historic interest in overthrowing capitalism should recognize that the poisonous racial and sexual divisions spread by the ruling class are key impediments to class struggle, as are illusions in the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. For all their talk of multiracial unity, Progressive Labor surrenders to the racist backlash against public education, and to the Democratic Party of war and racism. For youth, for workers, for women, blacks and Latinos, the way to smash the entrenched racist, sexist status quo is forging a revolutionary workers party—against both the Democrats and Republicans. Communists fight for a party that serves as a tribune of the people, taking aim at *every* manifestation of racial and sexual oppression. ■

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MOVE...

(continued from page 12)

massacre have now had to take the stand, it has been clear from the beginning of the proceedings on April 9 that the "legal" conspiracy against MOVE continues. Both Wilson Goode and the current mayor, Ed Rendell, who was district attorney at the time, had already been granted immunity from lawsuits. Under Judge Pollak's rules, some of the facts that came out in Goode's commission on the MOVE bombing will be heard, but *not* the finding in the final report that "dropping a bomb on an occupied rowhouse was unconscionable and should have been rejected out of hand." In this 40 percent black city, the pool for jury selection was *90 percent white*, composed entirely of *people from outside Philadelphia*. While attorneys for the city used some peremptory challenges to remove black jurors, the panel which resulted is made up of five whites, two blacks and an Asian.

That it required civil suits to bring any of those guilty of the mass murder of MOVE onto the stand is itself an indictment of American bourgeois "democracy" and its "justice" system. The suit brought by Ramona Africa clearly lays out that the bombing and "the events of years leading up to May 13, 1985 are an *extension* of a planned conspiracy" to eliminate MOVE entirely. In regard to the 1978 Powelton Village police siege, in which a policeman was shot and killed, the suit documents that even though the sentencing judge publicly admitted he did not know who killed the cop, nine MOVE members were framed for the shooting and sentenced to *900 years* in prison. MOVE's protests against the continued imprisonment of their members led to the city's May 1985 attack.

Ramona Africa's suit details the cops' enormous military deployment, beginning on Mother's Day, May 12, which led up to the bombing:

> "Our home was surrounded by *hundreds* of fire and police officials armed with: squirt guns, tear gas, concussion grenades, explosives, M-16 rifles, 30.06 caliber scoped sniper rifles, 12 gauge shot guns, Uzi machine guns, 22.250 caliber rifles with silencers, .357 magnums, Smith and Wesson 9 MM automatic hand guns, .45 caliber Thompson sub-machine guns, Browning automatic rifles, .50 caliber machine guns, M-60 machine guns, 20 MM armor piercing anti-tank guns and the diabolical ingredients to make bombs.
>
> "During the first 90 minutes or so of the confrontation, approximately 10,000 rounds of bullets were fired at me and my family by police officers...."

The suit also points out that much of this arsenal was acquired with the aid of a BATF agent.

The city's official line on the decision to drop the bomb was that it was meant to destroy the "bunker" on the roof of the MOVE house. In recounting the cold-blooded actions of the police who had the house surrounded, Ramona's suit exposes the murderous intent of their decisions:

> "High powered explosives were used on various areas of our home, on orders of defendant [police commissioner Gregore] Sambor and/or his agents.... Defendants *knew* we had gasoline stored in our home for our generator *and* defendants believed we had a half truck-load of stolen explosives in our home, so to use high powered explosives on the house in such a situation shows clearly what their intention had to be."

The papers go on to point out that the bomb dropped on the house the afternoon of 13 May 1985 "ignited a fire that defendants deliberately refused to extinguish," and that while the house burned, a police videotape recorded cops and officials stationed across the street laughing and saying, "That's the last time they'll call the Commissioner a mutha fucka." As screaming adults and children tried to leave the burning house, "we continued to encounter gunfire which interfered with and/or prevented our escape...and left my family burned or shot to death."

***WV* immediately indicted Reagan, Goode for MOVE massacre. These articles are published in *Black History and the Class Struggle No. 3* (available for $.75 from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116).**

Web of Racist State Terror

In the first two weeks of the trial on the civil suits, some key figures in the conspiracy to destroy MOVE have appeared on the stand. First to testify was former mayor Goode, who attempted to cover for his role in approving the attack on the MOVE home by claiming he was deceived by police chief Sambor and did not know explosives would be used. Goode also repeated the (quite plausible) assertion he made in his 1992 memoir that the reason he stayed at City Hall during the May 12-13 events was that a trusted adviser warned him not to go to Osage Avenue for fear he might be shot...by his own racist cops!

Also testifying were Sambor, Leo Brooks (the city's managing director in 1985), then-fire commissioner William Richmond, and police lieutenant Frank Powell, a key player in planning the attack who personally dropped the C-4 bomb from a helicopter. All followed Goode's lead in tossing out leaky alibis, while trying to rat on each other. Sambor claimed not to know that C-4 was mixed into the bomb. Richmond baldly asserted that his decision to let the fire burn was "a judgement call. There was not evil intent"! Richmond also testified that Sambor suppressed an order from Brooks to put out the fire.

Obscenely, Leo Brooks testified that the device that touched off the inferno was not a bomb at all, since it didn't have "aerodynamic capabilities, fins, etc., to direct its trajectory." Rather it was a "bag in which explosive was put." As Ramona Africa replied, referring to the Unabomber and the destruction of the Oklahoma City federal building last year, "When the government does it, it's OK, it's minimized. But when a citizen does anything like that, it's terrorism, it's a bomb."

What the self-serving tales spun by Goode, Sambor, et al. are meant to obscure is the deadly conspiratorial web, stretching from Philadelphia to the Pennsylvania State House to Washington, D.C., that targeted MOVE for death. Many of those involved in the attack on MOVE have long been and are still today key enforcers of racist repression in the city. Current Philly mayor Ed Rendell, who as D.A. procured the arrest warrants against MOVE prior to the bombing, also prosecuted the 1982 frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal on false charges of killing a cop and personally approved seeking the death penalty in that case. The judge who approved the May 1985 warrants was one Lynn Abraham, the arraigning judge in the Jamal case who today as D.A. is notorious for seeking the death penalty every time she possibly can.

Workers Revolution Will Avenge the MOVE Martyrs!

Many leftist organizations have recently become active in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from legal lynching and have come out in support of Ramona Africa's legal action against the city. However, at the time of the MOVE massacre, the Spartacist League was virtually alone on the left in solidarizing with MOVE. Attempting to link outrage over the Philly inferno with the power of the organized working class, we pointed out that "the unions, particularly those with large black memberships, should have shut down Philly over this racist atrocity. After all, they're high on the government's hit list" (*WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985). As an expression of our solidarity with MOVE, the SL featured LaVerne Sims and Louise James at a protest forum in New York City in July 1985.

The rest of the left (with the exception of the Revolutionary Communist Party and Progressive Labor) reacted either by alibiing for Wilson Goode or refusing outright to defend MOVE. The Communist Party demanded the resignation of the city manager and the fire and police commissioners as a way to get Goode off the hook. Workers World Party guru Sam Marcy echoed Goode's denial of responsibility, stating that Goode "was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans" (*Workers World*, 30 May 1985). The most grotesque response came from the ludicrously misnamed Revolutionary Workers League, which wrote that there should have been "black self-defense" groups to "deal" with MOVE. What they had in mind was a *mugging*, saying such "defense" groups "could have intercepted MOVE members on the street and administered some more powerful forms of persuasion" (*Fighting Worker*, June 1985).

The Spartacist League prepared to stand with MOVE at a protest called in Philadelphia two weeks after the bombing. But prior to the demonstration, the Socialist Workers Party and others organizing the event sought to blunt any protest against Goode, outrageously debating in planning meetings whether MOVE would be allowed to speak! Hearing of the attempt to censor MOVE, we bitterly announced in a press release that the SL would not attend the protest: "No indication has been given by the organizers of today's protest...that MOVE will be defended or given the respect their martyrdom demands. We have no interest in lending our forces and good name to a gathering which has effectively cut off the participation of the MOVE victims" (reprinted in *WV* No. 381, 14 June 1985).

The capitulation of the SWP, CP, RWL, et al. to MOVE's tormentors showed their prostration before the capitalist state—and in particular its black Democratic Party front men—at a time when the state had clearly revealed its impulse toward racist genocide. The MOVE bombing was, as we said at the time, the signature of the Reagan years. Eight years later, Democratic president Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno conspired to carry out the grotesque mass murder, by weapons and fire, of 86 men, women and children in the racially integrated Branch Davidian complex near Waco, Texas.

Like MOVE, the Branch Davidians were targeted because they dared to exercise basic democratic rights, like the right to association and to bear arms. In both cases, the state felt it could get away with its murderous actions because the groups were perceived as isolated from the rest of the population. In response to the Waco holocaust, virtually the entire left either ducked the issue or aped Clinton/Reno's smearing of the Branch Davidians as a violent "cult." The Spartacist League was virtually the only socialist organization to denounce and protest this act of bloody state terrorism.

The MOVE and Waco holocausts demonstrated that the Democrats and Republicans are partner parties of racist capitalism. A decent future for the working people and impoverished ghetto masses can only be assured by throwing the corrupt, racist ruling class from power and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. This task demands the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed to mobilizing the working class, through its mass organizations, in defense of all the oppressed. Concretely today this means fighting for the trade unions, along with black organizations and youth, to actively take up the cause of freedom for the MOVE prisoners, Mumia Abu-Jamal, and all victims of capitalist repression. Through such struggles, the workers and their organizations will only be strengthened for future battles against the racist exploiters who are the enemies of us all. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Meyers/NY Times

Black Philadelphia neighborhood in ruins following the cops' helicopter bombing of MOVE commune. Ramona Africa (left) spent seven years in prison for surviving police assault which killed eleven men, women and children.

MOVE Survivors Put City Rulers on Trial

Shatter/NY Times

Philadelphia: 11 Years After Racist Cop Bombing

13 MAY 1985: In an act of calculated racist mass murder, Philadelphia police dropped a powerful bomb on the Osage Avenue home of the radical back-to-nature group MOVE. The cops pumped thousands of rounds of ammunition into the house, and as the blaze caused by the bomb was allowed to burn out of control, they fired at people trying to flee. The death toll was eleven black people, including five children, while 61 homes in the black West Philly neighborhood burned to the ground.

The cop attack on MOVE was carried out with the aid and assistance of the FBI, which helped plan the assault and provided the military explosive C-4 used to bomb the house, and of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), which helped procure the weaponry. It was a message from the Reagan White House: Step out of line, and this is what you get. In the aftermath, the bombing was "reviewed" by the Justice Department, a state grand jury and a city commission appointed by the black Democratic mayor at the time, Wilson Goode. Yet no charges were ever brought against the perpetrators of this heinous crime—from Goode, who approved the attack, to the various local, state and federal cops and officials involved. The only person to be put on trial afterwards was Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the attack, who suffered seven years in prison on trumped-up charges of "riot" and "conspiracy."

Now, eleven years later, the government's murderous conspiracy to destroy MOVE is again the focus of attention, as a trial takes place in the Philadelphia court of U.S. District judge Louis Pollak over three separate civil suits against the city, its police and fire commissioners at the time, and others. They are being sued by Ramona Africa, Louise James (who owned the MOVE home and whose son Frank Africa was one of the murdered MOVE members) and LaVerne Sims, sister of MOVE founder John Africa.

The potential impact of the court hearings in Philadelphia, where any discussion of the state's war against MOVE is explosive, is magnified by current investigations into massive Philly cop corruption and brutality, which have already forced the reversal of 116 drug convictions and the review of nearly *2,000* other arrests. Furthermore, a huge spotlight has been thrown on the city's racist frame-up system by the international protests for black journalist and death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who became a supporter of MOVE after reporting on a massive cop assault in 1978 against MOVE's Powelton Village home.

Ramona Africa's suit, filed over nine years ago, is asking for compensatory and punitive damages, as well as "any declaratory or injunctive relief necessary to insure that such religious persecution never happens again." It goes without saying that those victimized by the bloody state vendetta against MOVE should receive every dime they ask for. But as Ramona Africa stated, "I didn't file this suit for money. We intend to instill in people the motivation to stand up for themselves."

Immediately following the racist firebombing on Osage Avenue, the Spartacist League declared our solidarity with

Balger/WCAU-TV

MOVE. Since then, we have sought through protests, public forums and articles in our press to sear the memory of this atrocity into the consciousness of the working people. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization associated with the SL, has defended MOVE members victimized by state repression, for example through the PDC's program of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners. As we declared in May 1985: "Avenge the Philly inferno—For black freedom through socialist revolution!"

While as a result of the civil suits some of those responsible for the MOVE

continued on page 11

AP

Former city officials guilty of murder: (from left) Mayor Wilson Goode, Managing Director Leo Brooks, Fire Commissioner William Richmond, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor (at 1985 hearing on MOVE bombing).

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 646 — 24 May 1996

South Africa: De Klerk Goes, Neo-Apartheid Remains

Reuters

de Blois/AP

New constitution approved, De Klerk (above, left) exits "power sharing" government. Meanwhile, police fire rubber bullets at squatters in black township near Johannesburg (left).

Break with Bourgeois-Nationalist ANC—For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

The South African "Government of National Unity" abruptly came to an end on May 9 when F.W. De Klerk resigned as deputy president and his National Party left the cabinet. This ends the formal "power sharing" arrangement, in which the representatives of the former apartheid regime and the former leaders of the black liberation struggle jointly presided over a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa. Now the African National Congress (ANC)—the former petty-bourgeois black nationalist movement which has been transformed into a bourgeois ruling party—will alone administer the country on behalf of the Randlords and the Johannesburg stock exchange.

The "new South Africa" is *neo*-apartheid: although the legal structure of rigid racial segregation and white supremacy has been dismantled, the capitalist economy is still based on brutal exploitation of black labor by the white owners of the country's mines, factories and farms. While the ANC has taken over the government ministries, the core of the state apparatus, the officer corps of the army and the top commanders of the police force, is the same as before.

Make no mistake: whether as part of a "power sharing" coalition or on its own, the ANC—backed up by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—is a front for racist capitalist rule. In its two years in government, Nelson Mandela's regime has unleashed the cops to shoot down striking workers and sent eviction squads against squatters. As the needs of capital require, it is prepared to launch frontal attacks on the powerful and combative union movement. It is already carrying out a poisonous campaign against immigrants fleeing the ravages of neocolonialism in southern and central Africa.

What is necessary is a fight to split the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance" which chains the proletariat to its class enemies, and to forge a Bolshevik workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to liberate all the oppressed. The South African black proletariat has enormous power; it must throw off the yoke of the nationalist popular front and fight for power in its own name. Those who labor must rule!

The National Party pulled out of the cabinet one day after the new South African constitution was signed. The 140-page document drafted by the Constitutional Assembly enshrines a regime of bourgeois parliamentarism and formal political equality, as opposed to the elaborate apartheid code of "separateness," with its infamous pass laws, bantustans and the Group Areas Act. However, a host of "sunset clauses" entrenches white domination in the state apparatus until 1999. And despite elaborate prohibitions of discrimination on the grounds of "race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion," etc., the whole constitutional structure is to enforce the rule of the white capitalist masters whose fabulous wealth is extracted from the sweat and toil of black labor.

De Klerk's Nats voted for the new charter in the interests of "stability," but in last-minute bitter wrangling they demanded greater protections of "property rights," a supposed "right" of the bosses to lock out workers, and government funding of segregated ("Afrikaans only") schools. The 1.6 million-member COSATU carried out a one-day general strike on April 30, demanding the lockout clause be removed from the constitution. While the *New York Times* (1 May) declared, "General Strike Fails in South Africa," the stayaway closed down auto in Port Elizabeth, stopped the trains in Johannesburg and shut construction sites. The weakest support for the strike was in mining, reflecting the large number of miners recruited from Mozambique and Lesotho who have few rights and hence little interest in striking over constitutional issues. The April 30 strike was successful in getting the lockout clause dumped from the constitution, but the Labor Relations Act, passed last year, already legalizes that weapon of the bourgeoisie.

The question of "property rights" was one of the most contentious issues. The Johannesburg *Mail and Guardian* (3 May) reports "speculation that Cosatu and the ANC agreed on a trade-off, according to which the ANC would publicly support the [April 30] strike as long as Cosatu did not challenge it on...the property clause and other unresolved constitutional clauses." Originally, the ANC wanted to sidestep this question, but big business interests demanded limits on the government's ability to nationalize property. So as the National Party, Democratic Party and ultraright Freedom Front dug in their heels, a proviso was inserted that "no one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application."

"Gravy Train" for ANC Tops, Austerity for the Workers

While the township poor are growing increasingly disillusioned over the Mandela government's failure to keep its promises, the ANC tops fully intend to line their own pockets while they're filling the bankers' coffers. In ANC jargon, this is called "black capitalist empowerment." In the townships and the factories they call it "climbing aboard the gravy train." And to the growing anger of the black masses, for the tops of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, entering the government has been their ticket to the "Blue Train" to individual enrichment.

As the ANC concentrates governmental power around Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, a "respectable moderate," other possible contenders for successor to Mandela are being crassly bought off. Pallo Jordan, a reputed ANC left-winger recently ousted from the cabinet, has now been brought back to head the ministry of tourism, where he will broker resort construction and airline megadeals in this boom industry. Reconstruction and Development Programme minister Jay Naidoo, the former COSATU chief, had his ministry abolished, but was recompensed with the telecommunications ministry, where he will preside over the privatization of Telkom and awarding

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MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

Part 5
The Syndicalists

See Page 6

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

cellular phone franchises. And last week ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa announced his retirement from parliament to go into private business.

The personal odyssey of Cyril Ramaphosa from Johanneshurg human-rights lawyer to mine union leader to government power broker to black capitalist tells a lot about the "new South Africa." From the heginning, Ramaphosa was the protégé of Anglo American mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, who engineered Ramaphosa's installation as head of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Ramaphosa will now head "New Africa Investments Limited" (NAIL), which owns *The Sowetan*, South Africa's higgest circulation black newspaper, anil is set to pick up another industrial and media group being offered for sale hy Anglo American. The London *Financial Times* (16 April) quotes Ramaphosa saying, "The heauty of this is that the unions are coming together with black business to play an important role." For hlack miners living in fenced-in hostels, separated from their families, daily subjected to strip searches by company police, there is no "beauty" in this arrangement. Hundreds of thousands of anti-apartheid fighters did not face the jails, the guns and "hippo" armored cars of the racist hosses to put a few ANC tops on the "gravy train."

With the "honeymoon" of the Government of National Unity over, the representatives of South African and international capital are targeting the workers movement, as they have done everywhere from the U.S. to West Europe and Latin America. The Randlords are clamoring for a massive cut in the cost of South African labor, which means a full-scale assault on the powerful and combative union movement. During the anti-apartheid struggle, the hlack unions came to center stage, and their militant fight did much to bring ahout the replacement of direct white-supremacist rule hy the ANC regime. It also won some of the higher wages among "Third World" countries. At the same time, the huge apartheid wage gap between whites and blacks—six to one in manufacturing and even greater in mining—remains.

Now, in the name of the "national interest," and following the diclates of the world capitalist market, the bourgeoisie is gearing up to take a *sjambok* to South African labor, which is bound and gagged politically by the ANC/COSATU/SACP alliance that directly suhordinates labor to the capitalist state, centrally through the SACP-dominated union bureaucracy. The key task is to break the working class from this nationalist popular front and build a Bolshevik workers party.

Reuters

South Africa's main union federation, COSATU, staged one-day national strike April 30, demanding dropping of constitutional clause giving bosses "right" to lock out workers.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

As we wrote last month in "South Africa: Cracks in the Neo-Apartheid Order" (*WV* No. 643, 12 April):

> "While the ANC may occasionally clash with South Africa's business leaders, this former petty-bourgeois nationalist political movement has become a neocolonial bourgeois party. The Mandela regime—whether or not in coalition with De Klerk's National Party—*cannot* significantly improve the conditions of the black African, coloured and Indian toilers, much less meet their needs and heightened aspirations."

When Mandela agreed to "power sharing" with De Klerk, a host of reformist leftists called for votes to the ANC and "demanded" that this (now bourgeois) nationalist party hreak with De Klerk and govern in its own name. A prime example is the Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO), allied with the British social democrat Tony Cliff. In the run-up to last November's local elections, the SWO called to "Vote ANC to Boot De Klerk" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 October 1995). A split-off from the SWO, the International Socialist Movement (ISM) has the same line. The ISM headlined last year, "Dump De Klerk" (*Revolutionary Socialist Worker*, July 1995). Well, now De Klerk is out, hut this will not aid the struggle of the hlack proletariat one whit!

Now the SWO writes, "Constitution: Far Too Many Compromises!" complaining, "The ANC has given too much to the capitalist minority" (*Socialist Worker*, April 1996). But the ANC is today a capitalist party administering a capitalist state: for Mandela, Mbeki & Co. the capitalist constitution is no "compromise" but the codification of the class rule they represent.

The struggle against popular-frontism must go hand in hand with forging a revolutionary workers party fighting for the cause of all the exploited and the oppressed, from the homeless in the squatter camps, to triply oppressed hlack women workers, to "illegal" immigrants fleeing the devastation of a continent racked by neocolonial wars. South Africa exemplifies the burning urgency of Trotsky's program of *permanent revolution*—in the imperialist epoch, even the most basic struggles for national liheration, democratic rights, land, education, housing, social and economic modernization can only be won through proletarian revolution, and a determined fight by communist internationalists to take that battle to the imperialist centers. As we wrote last month:

> "What is needed is a *Bolshevik workers party* capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. Given the country's massive and stark inequalities, so long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. The fight for a black-centered workers government would necessarily transcend the potentially fratricidal conflicts hetween different ethnic groups, holding out the prospect of decent jobs, education and housing for all working people—black, coloured, Indian and white—on the hasis of socialist planning. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of southern Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the neo-apartheid state."■

The IWW and the Fight for a Revolutionary Workers Party

TROTSKY

LENIN

Anarcha-syndicalism has gained increasing attention among radicalizing youth in West Europe in recent years. In the U.S. in the early part of this century, revolutionary syndicalism was represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, which called for "One Big Union" that would serve as the instrument to seize the means of production from the capitalist class. This confuses the role of the unions, which seek to embrace the mass of the workers, and a programmatically based revolutionary party. As former "Wobbly" and later Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in a 1955 essay, the IWW's conception was transcended by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which demonstrated that what the working class needs to overthrow capitalism is a Leninist vanguard party.

The founders of the IWW regarded the organization of industrial unions as a means to an end; and the end they had in view was the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement hy a new social order. This, the heart and soul of their program, still awaits its vindication in the revolution of the American workers. And the revolution, when it arrives, will not neglect to acknowledge its anticipation at the Founding Convention of the IWW. For nothing less than the revolutionary goal of the workers' struggle was openly proclaimed there 50 years ago....

As an organization of revolutionists, united not simply by the immediate economic interests which bind all workers together in a union, hut by doctrine and program, the IWW was in practice, if not in theory, far ahead of other experiments along this line in its time, even though the IWW called itself a union and others called themselves parties.

That was the IWW's greatest contribution to the American labor movement—in the present stage of its development and in those to come. Its unfading claim to grateful remembrance will rest in the last analysis on the pioneering role it played as the first great anticipation of the revolutionary party which the vanguard of the American workers will fashion to organize and lead their emancipating revolution.

This conception of an organization of revolutionists has to be completed and rounded out, and recognized as the most essential, the most powerful of all designs in the epoch of imperialist decline and decay, which can be brought to an end only hy a victorious workers' revolution. The American revolution, more than any other, will require a separate, special organization of the revolutionary vanguard. And it must call itself by its right name, a party.

—James P. Cannon, "The IWW: The Great Anticipation."
The First Ten Years of American Communism (1962)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Update: Geronimo Case Sent Back to Superior Court

The Los Angeles district attorney received a setback in his attempts to derail the fight by Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) to overturn his frame-up conviction for a murder everyone knows he did not commit. On May 15, the California Supreme Court reversed an earlier order by L.A. Superior Court judge Michael Cowell which had endorsed D.A. Gil Garcetti's claim that Geronimo's *habeas corpus* petition had to be filed in the state Supreme Court. In his decision, Cowell had ignored strenuous objections from Geronimo's legal team.

A former leader of the Black Panther Party and unbowed fighter against black oppression, Geronimo has been fighting to expose the now notorious frame-up by the FBI, the LAPD and D.A. Geronimo has been behind bars for more than a quarter of a century—one year short of the 27 years the South African apartheid state kept Nelson Mandela imprisoned. Geronimo is a living condemnation of the American capitalist state and the racist "justice" of its courts. The international working class must demand: Freedom for Geronimo now!

Wobblies Knew:

A SCAB IS A SCAB IS A SCAB

Lessons from the History of the Class Struggle

A clear example of the degeneration of the American labor movement under the pro-capitalist "leadership" of the AFL-CIO is the betrayal of the basic trade-union principle of respecting picket lines. This was amply demonstrated in the strike last winter by SEIU Local 32B-32J building workers against the New York City real estate barons. While many individual unionists and even non-union truck drivers refused to cross the picket lines of this largely black and immigrant workforce, the city's labor officialdom betrayed the building workers by ordering their members to cross the lines.

But it wasn't only the trade-union bureaucrats who knifed the strikers in the back. A host of self-described "socialist" groups, like the International Socialist Organization and the "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT), blithely and regularly waltzed across the picket lines. The BT actually went the labor tops one better by *publicly defending* crossing the lines. In a letter to *WV* (No. 641, 15 March), one BTer tried to alibi his scabbing by arguing that "neither I nor any of my fellow union members did the work normally performed by strikers—the defining activity of a scab in the eyes of any trade unionist, or, for that matter, anyone else outside the Spartacist League."

This is the classic excuse of craft union bureaucrats for scabbing on another union's strike. Almost 90 years ago, an article in a publication of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) blew to bits the pseudo-socialists' shameless rationale for scabbing. A revolutionary syndicalist organization, the IWW fought to build industrial unions, transcending the narrow craft divisions of the AFL, which stood in the way of organizing mass production industries. In doing so, the "Wobblies" dealt head-on with the treachery of "union" scabs.

Union Scabs

by Oscar Ameringer (1870-1943)

There are three kinds of scabs: the professional, the amateur and the union scab.

The professional scab is usually a high-paid, high-skilled worker in the employ of strikebreaking and detective agencies. His position is that of a petty officer's in the regular scab army.

The amateur scab brigade is composed of hums, riff-raff, slum dwellers, rubes, tramps, imbeciles, college students and other undesirable citizens.

The last, and by far the most important class is the union scab.

Professional scabs are few and efficient. Amateur scabs are plentiful and deficient, and union scabs both numerous and capable.

The professional scab knows what he is doing, does it well and for the sake of the long green only.

The Rebel Girl

The historic 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts textile strike, led by IWW. Above, strikers responded to brutal police attacks with mass pickets.

The amateur scab, posing as a free-born American citizen, who scorns to be fettered by union rules and regulations, gets much glory (?), little pay and when the strike is over he is given an honorable discharge in the region where Darwin searched for the missing link.

The union scab receives less pay than the professional scab, works better than the amateur scab and don't know that he is a scab.

He will take a pattern from a scab pattern-maker, cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as ever walked in shoe leather, and then proudly produce a paid-up union card in testimony of his unionism. Way down in his heart he seems to have a lurking suspicion that there is something not altogether right in his action, and it is characteristic of the union man who cooperates with scabs that he is ever ready to flash a union card in the face of innocent bystanders.

He don't know that the rose under any other name is just as fragrant; he don't know that calling a cat a canary won't make the feline warble, and he don't know that helping to run the shop while other workers bend all their energies in the opposite direction is scabbing. He relies on the name and seeks refuge behind a little pasteboard card.

When a strike is declared it becomes the chief duty of the organization to effect a complete shutdown of the plant. For that purpose warnings are mailed, or wired, to other places, to prevent working men from moving to the afflicted city.

Pickets are stationed around the plant or factory, or harbor, to stop workers from taking the places of the strikers. Amateur scabs are coaxed, persuaded, or bullied away from the seat of the strike. Persuasion having no effect on the professional strikebreaker, he is sometimes treated with a brickbat shower. Shut down that plant, shut it down completely, is the watchword of the striker.

Now while all these things are going on and men are stopped in ones and twos, a steady stream of dinner pail parades pours through the factory gate. Why are they not molested? Oh! they're union men, belonging to a different craft than the one on strike. Instead of brickbats and insults it's "Hello, John; hello, Jim; howdy, Jack," and other expressions of goodfellowship.

You see, this is a carriage factory, and it's only the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers that are striking, the Brotherhood of Oil Rag Wipers, the Fraternal Society of White Lead Daubers, the Undivided Sons of Varnish Spreaders, the Benevolent Compilation of Wood Work Gluers, the Iron Benders' Sick and Death Benefit Union, the Oakdale Lodge of Coal Shovelers, the Martha Washington Lodge of Ash Wheelers, the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Oilers, the Engineers' Protective Lodge, the Stationary Firemen, the Portable Firemen, the F.O.O.L., the A.S.S.E.S. Societies have nothing to do with the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

At the next regular meeting of those societies, ringing resolutions endorsing the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers will be passed. Moral support is pledged and five dollars' worth of tickets are purchased for the dance given by the Ladies' Volunteer and Auxiliary Chore for the Benefit of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

The whole thing is like beating a man's brains out and then handing him a headache tablet.

During a very bitterly fought molders' strike in a northern city the writer noticed one of the prettiest illustrations of the workings of plain scabbing and union scabbing.

A dense mass of strikers and sympathizers had assembled in front of the factory awaiting the exit of the strikebreakers. Out they came, scabs and unionists in one dark mass. Stones, rotten eggs and other missiles began to fly, when one of the strikebreakers leaped on a store box and shouted frantically: "Stop it, stop it, for C-----'s sake, stop it: you are hitting more unionists than scabs; you can't tell the difference."

That's it. Wherever scabs and union men work harmoniously in the strikebreaking industry all hell can't tell the difference.

To the murky conception of a union scab, scabbing is only wrong when practiced by a non-union man. To him the union card is a kind of scab permit that guarantees him immunity from insults, brickbats and rotten eggs.

After having instructed a green bunch of amateur scabs in the art of brimstone and emery polishing all day, he meets a striking brother in the evening and forthwith demonstrates his unionism by setting up the drinks for the latter.

Union scabbing is the legitimate offspring of craft organization. It is begotten by ignorance, born of imbecility and nourished by infamy.

My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label, and here is my card.

This is union scabbing.

—Industrial Union Bulletin,
14 March 1908

Spartacist Events

EUGENE

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Saturday, June 1, 4 p.m.: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party;* University of Oregon, Chapman Hall, Room 202
For more information: (510) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Thursdays, 6:30 p.m. First class, June 6: *The Origins of Marxism and the Marxist Program;* New College, Room 2, 777 Valencia Street (between 18th & 19th Streets)
For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

VANCOUVER

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Thursday, June 6, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Poisons Class Struggle: For Quebec Independence!*
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information and readings: (604) 687-0353

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The Bloody Suppression of the 1980 Kwangju Uprising

AP

Yonhap/Reuters

South Korean army massacred 2,000 during crushing of May 1980 rebellion in Kwangju. Right, former presidents and generals Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo are on trial for this slaughter and 1979 military coup.

South Korea: Regime Puts Coup Generals on Trial

For months, the attention of the South Korean population has been riveted on an unprecedented trial of two former generals and presidents, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo. Sixteen years after they ordered a bloody massacre in the city of Kwangju, Chun, Roh and 14 other defendants are being tried in Seoul for corruption, mutiny and treason for seizing power in a December 1979 coup, and for their role in the May 1980 Kwangju massacre. When the trial began in March, hundreds of protesters crowded outside the courthouse to jeer and throw eggs at the hated former military rulers. "We've waited for 16 years, and our suffering has never stopped. We've come here to rip them to pieces," exclaimed one woman, the mother of a student protester killed in Kwangju.

On 18 May 1980, student protests against the imposition of martial law the previous night gave vent to pent-up anger over years of brutal U.S.-backed military dictatorship, triggering a full-scale popular revolt which drove the army out of Kwangju. Nine days later, assured of the support of their U.S. imperialist overlords, the South Korean army bloodily suppressed the uprising, labeling it a "communist revolution" orchestrated by "impure elements" and North Korean agents. Ever since, particularly during the bitter struggles of the 1980s against the military dictatorship, radical students and working-class activists have looked to the Kwangju uprising as a symbol of resistance. At the same time, as an article in *CovertAction* (Spring 1996) notes, "For many Koreans, the massacre is also a symbol of all that was and continues to be wrong with the nation's close relationship to the United States."

Now, in the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and with the North Korean deformed workers state ever more isolated and brittle, the South Korean bourgeoisie is trying to spruce up its "democratic" credentials. The trial of Chun and Roh is intended to serve a similar purpose to the "Truth Commissions" which have become a commonplace in countries from South Africa to Argentina and El Salvador, where U.S.-backed right-wing dictatorships have been replaced by supposedly "democratic" governments. A few particularly repugnant figures may be sacrificed in order to amnesty the criminal rule of the whole capitalist class.

The backdrop to the current trial is a military garrison state riven by explosive class struggles and student protests against the regime and the nearly 40,000 U.S. occupation troops which have been stationed in the country since the 1950-53 Korean War. As a wave of demonstrations broke out in the lead-up to parliamentary elections this April, Kwangju police threatened to "strongly confront" the student protesters. Earlier this month, police arrested 45 union activists in an attempt to suppress a militant textile strike in the southern industrial city of Kumi.

It was only as the result of a massive strike wave in 1987-88 that the military dictatorship, then headed by Chun, was forced to grant direct presidential elections, placing Roh in power. At the same time, the rise of an independent labor movement, breaking the stranglehold of the "AFL-CIA"-advised and government-sponsored corporatist trade-union federation, ushered in a period of enormous working-class combativity, marked by recurrent strikes and plant occupations. The current New Korea Party (NKP) government of President Kim Young Sam came to power in December 1992 with the aim of quelling years of militant working-class and student struggle. While Washington hailed the triumph of "democracy" in South Korea, we noted that "Kim's election is little more than a transparent 'democratic' veneer for the South Korean police state" (*WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993).

The trials of Chun and Roh are connected to the efforts to rein in corruption and the political influence of the military. Yet Kim's NKP comes out of a 1990 merger with Chun and Roh's old party, and today features a number of ex-generals in prominent parliamentary positions. Until recently, Kim opposed any investigation or trial of the former military rulers, urging "let us forgive" and insisting that "history [will] determine the full truth if there are still doubts about it" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 May 1993). Only when corruption charges against Roh threatened to engulf Kim himself did the president finally become, late last year, an advocate of "righting the wrongs of history." Former "dissident" Sohn Hak Kyu, now an NKP parliamentarian, asserts: "We need a new history. This means not only defining Kwangju as a democratic movement, but also punishing those who suppressed it" (*Guardian* [London], 20 January).

UPI

May 1980: Insurgents patrol the streets of Kwangju after seizing weapons and military vehicles. Popular revolt drove out the army and held the city for over a week.

The Kwangju uprising should be remembered as part of a history of struggle running back to the resistance to Japanese colonial rule and the struggle for national independence at the end of World War II. The postwar partition of the country was one of the first acts of the Cold War. When Kim Il Sung's forces attacked the Southern puppet army, this led directly to the counterrevolutionary onslaught by U.S.-led United Nations forces against North Korean and later Chinese troops backed by the Soviet Union. A Korean Trotskyist party, committed to military defense of North Korea, will avenge the Kwangju massacre through socialist revolution against the South Korean *chaebol* (monopoly) capitalists—linking this to proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist regime in Pyongyang—and the revolutionary reunification of the peninsula.

Front Line in the Cold War

The division of Korea along the 38th parallel was demanded by the United States in the face of the Soviet advance into Korea in the last days of World War II. As an independence movement dominated by Communists and radical nationalists erupted throughout Korea, the U.S. ordered Japan not to surrender to "unauthorized local armed Resistance groups." U.S. occupation authorities rearmed Japanese troops to liquidate the "people's committees." After the Moscow conference in late 1945, where Stalin effectively acquiesced to U.S. plans for South Korea, repression was stepped up in the American occupation area.

Syngman Rhee (Yi Seung Man), who had spent years in exile in the United States and was the solitary nationalist leader willing to serve as a U.S. puppet,

U.S. Documents Reveal

Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light

The South Korean generals who drowned in blood the popular uprising of May 1980 in Kwangju acted with the full support and active collusion of their imperialist masters in Washington. This is proven by some 2,000 formerly secret documents which were obtained from the State Department and the Pentagon by journalist Tim Shorrock under the Freedom of Information Act. His report, published in the *Journal of Commerce* (27 February), sparked a wave of protest demonstrations in Kwangju and elsewhere in South Korea.

A study of a large portion of the recently released U.S. documents by *Workers Vanguard* shows even greater levels of American complicity in the Kwangju bloodbath than had been reported. U.S. officials warned ominously of a takeover by "unidentified armed radicals who are talking of setting up a revolutionary government." To prevent this, Washington was prepared to do anything. Notably, the massacre by South Korea's "free world" dictatorship was sanctioned by Democratic president Jimmy Carter, whose "human rights" campaign was aimed at whipping up Cold War II against the Soviet Union.

The documents show that the U.S. government approved plans by the South Korean regime to send the army against the citizens of Kwangju and was *fully conscious* that this would *result in a bloodbath*. The American forces commander in South Korea released operational control over several of the key

Sven Simon

Democratic president Jimmy Carter, here with Defense Secretary Brown and National Security Adviser Brzezinski, approved military crushing of 1980 Kwangju uprising.

Korean (ROK) army units from his command which were sent to occupy Kwangju. The documents also show that top U.S. officials were *prepared to intervene militarily with U.S. troops* if their South Korean puppets were unable to bring the situation under control.

The documents clearly expose the lies of successive U.S. administrations, who have for years denied U.S. responsibility in the Kwangju massacre. Washington's official history of the Kwangju events is a White Paper produced by the Republican Bush administration for a 1989 South Korean parliamentary investigation. This State Department document claimed that U.S. officials were "alarmed" at reports that South Korean troops were to be used against protesters. In reality, while gently lecturing its South Korean henchmen on the need for "liberalization," the Carter administration repeatedly assured them of Washington's full backing if they unleashed military repression.

Thus U.S. ambassador William Gleysteen, in preparation for a meeting with South Korean president Chun Doo Hwan, cabled the State Department on 7 May 1980: "In none of our discussions will we in any way suggest" that Washington "opposes" the South Korean regime's "contingency plans to maintain law and order, if absolutely necessary, by reinforcing the police with the army." Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher (now Clinton's Secretary of State) cabled back that officials in Washington "agree that we should not oppose" South Korean "plans to maintain law and order." And a 21 May 1980 cable from Gleysteen crisply predicts: "Military will probably restore order using considerable force."

The 1989 State Department White Paper claims that the U.S. did not have "prior knowledge" that the brutal South Korean Special Forces were being sent to Kwangju. We have emphasized before the U.S. role in the Kwangju massacre, noting that "The Special Forces troops which carried out the massacre were released from duty along the Demilitarized Zone with North Korea and replaced by U.S. troops" (*WV* No. 431, 26 June 1987). However, the recently released documents make U.S. knowledge of the use of the notorious "Black Berets" even more abundantly clear.

Early in May 1980, Ambassador Gleysteen reported that two brigades of Korean Special Forces were being sent to Seoul to be used against student demonstrations. A further cable on May 8 from U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency operatives reported that the Korean Special Forces were "probably targeted against unrest" in Kwangju and noted they could be counted on to "break heads." Confronted with proof of their blatant lies, State Department officials have stonewalled, cynically declaring to the *Journal of Commerce*: "When all the dust settles, Koreans killed Koreans, and the Americans didn't know what was going on."

"Didn't know"? On 22 May 1980, just days before the massacre, Gleysteen

continued on page 10

was installed in power. The same police who had rounded up and enslaved Korean women to serve as "comfort women" in imperial Japanese army brothels—and who later ran prostitution rackets that seized young women from refugee columns during the Korean War—were now recruited to wipe out any popular resistance to the American occupiers and their puppet regime. Likewise, the head of the South Korean army when the Korean War broke out had served in a special Japanese anti-guerrilla force, akin to the Nazis' Waffen-SS, which hunted down Kim Il Sung's Korean Communist guerrillas in Manchuria. Park Chung Lee (Pak Chung Hee), the military dictator who replaced Rhee in 1961, also saw active service with the Japanese army in China.

As Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings write in *Korea: The Unknown War* (Pantheon, 1988), "the occupation spent much of its first year dismantling the [people's] committees in the South, which culminated in a major rebellion in October 1946 that spread over several provinces." In addition, the occupation authorities suppressed peasant seizures of formerly Japanese-owned land (which was then handed over to new profiteer landlords) and imposed exploitative restrictions on the sale of rice. The correspondent of the *Chicago Sun* reported on the main uprising in the southeastern city of Taegu:

> "The railroad workers went on strike, followed by the phone, metal, textile and electric workers. As each strike was suppressed by the police, another one took its place. Students went into the streets to demonstrate....
> "From the city, the revolution spread into the country side and was taken over by the sharecroppers. The farmers refused to surrender their rice to the police. They attacked the homes of the landlords, and then the police stations. They tore off jail doors to release arrested sharecroppers, they burned the records, and they stole the weapons.
> "Arrayed against the revolution were the police, the rightist organizations and the American Army. In one town after another, right-wing leaders offered their aid to our local commanders, or actively participated in the mass roundups of suspects. As for us, we did more than just transport the Korean police to the trouble areas, or supply arms, or maintain preventive patrols. Our troops—come here as liberators—had fired on crowds, conducted mass arrests, combed hills for suspects, and organized posses of Korean rightists, constabulary and police for mass raids."
>
> —Mark Gayn, *Japan Diary*, quoted in Jon Halliday, "The Korean Revolution," *Socialist Revolution* (November-December 1970)

AP

Kyunghang Shinmum

Turmoil in today's South Korea. Left: Police attack student demonstrators in Seoul in March. Above: Mass rally of illegal Korean Confederation of Trade Unions.

Two years later, mass unrest broke out again. Even before the Korean War began in June 1950, more than 100,000 people had been killed in the South.

Though organized resistance had in large part been suppressed in the South by 1950, sporadic guerrilla struggle continued in many areas during the war. Tens of thousands of people were killed in Seoul after Rhee's troops reoccupied it in September 1950. Contrary to anti-communists like Tony Cliff's "state capitalist" Socialist Workers Party in Britain (represented by the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. and the International Socialists in South Korea), the origins and development of the Korean War graphically demonstrate the intimate connection between the defense of the deformed workers states and revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism. While the Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of North Korea, China and the Soviet Union, Cliff capitulated to imperialist Cold War pressure, breaking from the Fourth International in 1950 through his refusal to take a side in the Korean War.

Kwangju: "Let's Rise Up! Let's Fight!"

Traumatized by the horrors of the Korean War, in which some two million people were killed by the U.S.-led forces, the South Korean population was then subjected to a brutally authoritarian police state. South Korea's vaunted "economic miracle" of recent decades was the result of vicious exploitation imposed through naked terror. This created a large—and combative—urban proletariat in what had been a largely agricultural area. By the end of the 1970s, three-fourths of the South's 8.8 million non-agricultural workers were under the age of 29, and 44 percent of Korean women worked outside the home. A sit-in by 250 women textile workers at the Seoul office of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) in August 1979 marked the beginning of a new wave of struggles. A thousand riot police were sent to break up the sit-in and one woman was killed. This, in turn, provoked student demonstrations and mass protests in the industrial cities of Pusan and

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Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Part 5
The Syndicalists

by Joseph Seymour

Parts One through Three of this series (published in Workers Vanguard *Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Part Four (WV No. 643) covered the views of Kropotkin, and also discussed anarcho-terrorism in the late 19th century.*

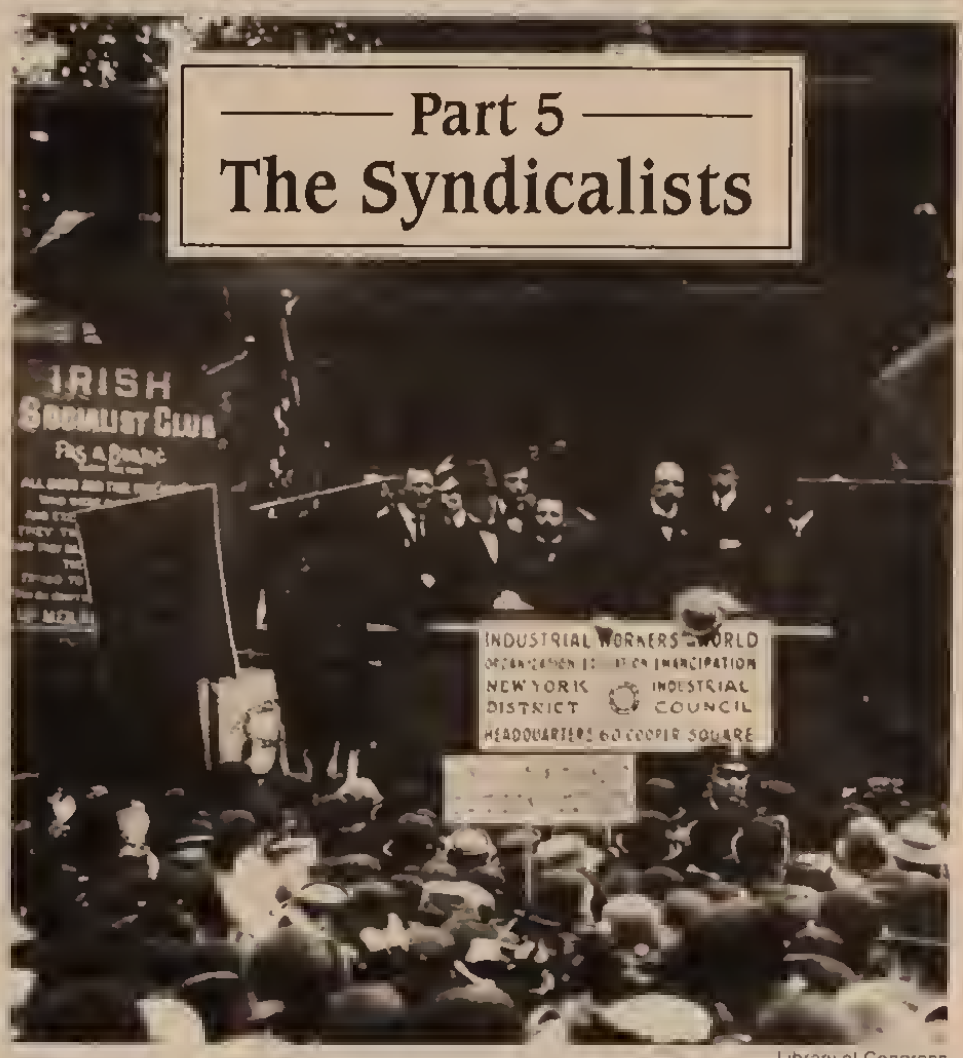
The early years of this century saw the rise of syndicalism, especially in Latin Europe. The Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor—CGT) became the dominant workers organization in France. The Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor—CNT), formed by anarcho-syndicalists in Barcelona in 1911, soon became the strongest trade-union formation in Spain and was hegemonic in Catalonia, the country's most industrialized region. The Unione Sindacale Italiana was a sizable formation occupying a position to the left of the main Italian trade-union federation, which was led by reformist socialists. In the United States, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was a major factor on the American left in the decade before World War I.

The rise of syndicalism in this period was in part a reaction to the parliamentary reformism prevalent among the parties of the Second (Socialist) International, and partly (especially in France) it developed and was defined against the anarchist propagandism best represented in this period by Peter Kropotkin. Addressing an international anarchist congress in Amsterdam in 1907, the prominent French syndicalist Pierre Monatte explained that a decade before, "a number of anarchists, realizing at last that philosophy is not enough to make a revolution, entered into a working-class movement" (in George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* [1977]).

The original Bakuninist movement of the early 1870s envisioned an imminent Europe-wide revolution which would usher in a new liberated world without classes and without states. However, by the mid-1880s no serious and intelligent leftist in Europe considered social revolution to be a near-term prospect anywhere on the continent. Anarchist militants therefore asked themselves: what is the main obstacle to social revolution and how could this be overcome? They arrived at two basically different answers (leaving aside the anarcho-terrorist fringe).

Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, Elisée Reclus and their cothinkers maintained that the masses did not understand and so did not support the principles and program of anarchism. They therefore devoted themselves to expounding and defending anarchist doctrine in books and pamphlets, speeches and meetings of small propaganda groups. The theorists of syndicalism—Fernand Pelloutier, Emile Pouget, Monatte and others—argued that the main obstacle to social revolution lay in the organizational weakness of the anarchist movement and the disorganization of the working class in general. They therefore devoted themselves to organizing and striving for leadership of a mass trade-union movement.

The strength of syndicalism lay in its understanding that the organized industrial working class was the central agency for overthrowing the capitalist system. As the leaders of the American IWW stated bluntly: "anarchism denies the class struggle, while the I.W.W. teaches it." Many syndicalist militants—Monatte and Alfred Rosmer in France, Andrés Nin and Joaquin Maurín in Spain, James P. Cannon and William Z. Foster in the U.S.—would become leading figures in the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. In this sense, pre-1914 syndicalism occupied an intermediate position between classic anarchism and contemporary communism.



Library of Congress

Mass meeting in New York City of the Industrial Workers of the World. Revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the American labor movement.

The main weakness of syndicalism lay in its tendency to place the organization of the working class *above its political consciousness*. The fact that a trade union has an avowedly revolutionary leadership and formal program is not in itself sufficient to make it a revolutionary organization *in practice*. The revolutionary syndicalists, in order to maintain their positions as official union leaders, were under constant pressure to adapt their policies to the backward prejudices of the ranks, above all national chauvinism. Thus with the outbreak of World War I, the central leadership of the French CGT around Léon Jouhaux helped mobilize the working class on behalf of the French imperialist state. Jouhaux ended his career as a front man for the American CIA in building an anti-Communist union movement in France after World War II. In this sense, pre-1914 syndicalism occupied an intermediate position between classic anarchism and contemporary trade-union reformism.

Pre-1914 Syndicalism: The French CGT

There were a number of factors—economic, political and ideological—which underlay the rise of syndicalism in the French workers movement in this period. The relatively slow pace of industrialization in France perpetuated many small workshops, especially in the luxury trades such as silk, lace, china and jewelry. In part due to this, the French union movement developed on a geographical basis rather than along industrial or craft lines. A key institution was the local *Bourse du Travail* which combined the roles of a labor exchange (the literal meaning of the term), a workers' social and cultural club and, later, a centralized union body. Most major strikes were city-wide, involving the entire working-class community. Hence French anarchists like Pouget could easily transform the old Bakuninist program of a society based on autonomous communes into one based on autonomous local unions representing the working-class community.

At the political level, French syndicalism was conditioned by the multiplicity of socialist parties in that country. During the last quarter of the 19th century unitary, mass social-democratic parties claiming to represent the entire working class developed in Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Scandinavian countries. It was therefore natural for the union movement in these countries to be closely affiliated with these parties. In France, however, during the 1890s there were half a dozen sizable socialist parties competing with one another and constantly splitting and combining.

Any effective trade union (*syndicat*) therefore had to embrace not only workers but also organizers and officials adhering to different political tendencies. When the CGT was formed in 1895, its leadership included prominent anarchists like Pouget, avowedly reformist socialists (Possibilists) and old-style Jacobin communists (Blanquists). The independence of the unions from political parties was initially an empirical adaptation to peculiar French conditions and only subsequently was enshrined in syndicalist doctrine. In other words, the *syndicats* came before syndicalism.

The founding father of French syndicalism is generally considered to be Fernand Pelloutier. Born into a well-to-do family, Pelloutier was a university-educated intellectual who rapidly progressed from bourgeois radicalism to reformist socialism to the official Marxist Parti Ouvrier Français (French Workers Party) of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law). But he soon became disillusioned with parliamentary maneuvering and the factionalism between the Parti Ouvrier and its rivals. Pelloutier then turned to the local *Bourses du Travail* and organized these into a national federation, which by the turn of the century had become the largest labor organization in France. After Pelloutier died of tuberculosis in 1901 at the age of 33, his memory was revered by many French workers.

Pelloutier aimed to free the French workers movement from *both* "the parliamentary doctors, who have taught that any social transformation is subordinated to the conquest of political power," and "the revolutionary doctors, who have taught that no socialist effort is possible before the redeeming cataclysm" (Fernand Pelloutier, *Histoire des bourses du travail* [1901]). The "revolutionary doctors" gibe was mainly directed at the Blanquists, the leading advocates of "to the barricades" insurrectionism who, even more so than the Marxists, were popularly identified with the Paris Commune of 1871. Pelloutier and his fellow syndicalists were offering the French workers a path to socialist transformation supposedly avoiding the risk of another "bloody week" of May 1871, when the army massacred 20,000 people in crushing the "Red Commune."

But if a social revolution could not be brought about through parliamentary means and insurrection was supposedly ruled out, what was left? The revolutionary syndicalists answered: the general strike. The leading intellectual exponent

of French syndicalism, Georges Sorel, in his famous 1908 *Reflections on Violence*, wrote of the general strike as embodying "the war undertaken by socialism against modern society. The syndicalists solve this problem perfectly, by concentrating the whole of socialism in the drama of the general strike...." The CGT's 1906 Charter of Amiens declared that the organization "prepares for the complete emancipation which can be achieved only by expropriating the capitalist class. It endorses the general strike as a means of action to that end" (reproduced in Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* [1966]).

While socialists, both Marxist and non-Marxist, have propagated and led political and economic general strikes, the syndicalists identified the general strike with the revolution, posing it as an alternative to insurrection. The syndicalists argued that a strike in one city or industry could be broken by government repression with striking workers replaced by scabs protected by the police or, in some cases, by soldiers. But how could the army run all the major railway lines, unload vital imports from the docks, distribute food to thousands of shops in the major cities and towns, etc.? If all workers walked out at the same time, it was maintained, the economy would collapse and the bourgeoisie would be rendered powerless.

But, one might argue, what if the government threatened to arrest or even shoot down the striking workers? A decade earlier Engels had pointed out in a letter (3 November 1893) to Karl Kautsky, "the political strike must either prove victorious immediately by the threat alone (as in Belgium, where the army was very shaky), or it must end in a colossal fiasco, or, finally, directly *lead to the barricades*" (emphasis in original). Engels' view of the dynamics of a revolution was borne out by the Russian Revolution of 1905, which began with a series of mass strikes. It soon became apparent that only an insurrection could overthrow the tsarist autocracy. As V.I. Lenin wrote, "Over the heads of the organisations, the mass proletarian struggle developed from a strike to an uprising. This is the greatest historic gain the Russian revolution achieved in December 1905" ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," August 1906).

Although the suppression of the Paris Commune was well within living memory, the CGT syndicalists implicitly assumed that the French bourgeoisie had become "too civilized" to again resort to mass terror against the working class in defense of its property. For all the denunciations of parliamentarism, syndicalist doctrine in its own way rested on illusions in bourgeois democracy.

Furthermore, a precondition for a revolutionary general strike was the organization of the large majority of workers into the syndicalist-led union movement. Syndicalist strategy therefore implied the social revolution was a relatively *long-term* prospect. Pelloutier's basic

Wayne State University

IWW general secretary Vincent St. John, outstanding American workers leader.

Musée Social

French syndicalist workers meet in 1909 under the banner of *La Vie Ouvrière* (Workers Life), edited by Pierre Monatte (above). Monatte later became a leading figure in early French Communist Party and Third International.

CFF Archive

message was that the workers had to "pursue more actively, more methodically, and more persistently the work of moral, administrative and technical education necessary to make viable a society of free men." When this was written in 1901, only 10 percent of French workers were in any kind of trade-union formation. A decade later only one in six industrial workers were unionized and one in ten were in the CGT. Even at the height of their power and influence, the French syndicalists did not have the organizational capacity to carry out their maximal program of a general strike to "expropriate the capitalist class."

New American Library

1910 poster shows striking French workers, waving red flag of socialism and black flag of anarchism, confronting the army.

As previously noted, French syndicalism developed in part as a result of the existence of several competing socialist parties. However, in 1905 the main socialist factions got together and formed the French Section of the Workers International (SFIO), conventionally called the Socialist party. The CGT syndicalists thus had to define their relationship to a party which claimed to be the political representative of the entire working class. The response was the 1906 Charter of Amiens, a declaration of trade-union independence from *all* political parties, regardless of their character. The subsequent relationship between the CGT and SFIO was one of peaceful coexistence—sometimes chilly, sometimes warm—with a tacit understanding of a division of labor.

To the parliamentarism of the Socialist party, the CGT syndicalists counterposed "direct action." What this term meant concretely was stated in Emile Pouget's 1905 *Le Syndicat:*

> "If the improvement they demand is a matter of government action, the unions pursue the aim by mass pressures on the public authorities, not by trying to get favorably minded deputies into parliament. If the improvement sought must be wrested directly from the capitalist...their means are varied, although always following the principle of direct action. Depending on the situation, they use the strike, sabotage, the boycott, the union label."

Here it should be emphasized that "direct action" was basically regarded and motivated as a more effective means than parliamentary pressure in winning concessions from the capitalists and government.

Some of the struggles undertaken by the CGT disturbed and potentially threatened the bourgeois order, notably the 1910 railway strike, which the government quickly crushed by inducting the striking workers into the army and militarizing the railways. However, all CGT strikes and other industrial actions had as their immediate and direct aim gaining higher wages, shorter hours or better conditions from the employer. The French revolutionary syndicalists did not engage in strikes—even protest strikes—for political aims, thereby avoiding challenging the authority of the government at this level. In practice, the CGT functioned in a way not fundamentally different than the British Trades Union Congress whose leaders did not at the time even claim to be socialists, much less revolutionaries.

The CGT's "Anti-Militarism" and August 1914

The ascendancy of syndicalism in the French workers movement coincided with the looming threat of a Europe-wide imperialist war which finally exploded in 1914. Therefore "anti-militarism" was a key element of French syndicalist doctrine, with the CGT's 1908 congress in Marseille adopting the following resolution:

> "The Congress repeats the formula of the [First] International: 'The workingmen have no fatherland:' and adds:
> "That whereas, consequently, every war is but an outrage against the workingmen; that it is a bloody and terrible means of diverting them from their demands, the Congress declares it necessary, from the international point of view, to enlighten the workingmen, in order that in case of war they may reply to the declaration of a war by a declaration of a revolutionary general strike."
>
> —reproduced in Louis Levine, *The Labor Movement in France* (1912)

These were fine words but they turned out to be just that...words. When the moment of truth came in August 1914, the CGT did nothing. No call for a general strike, not even an antiwar demonstration. A number of CGT leaders, notably the general secretary Léon Jouhaux, immediately announced their support for the war and subsequently collaborated closely with the bourgeois government in mobilizing the working class for the four-year-long imperialist slaughter. Those syndicalist militants like Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer who remained true to the principles of proletarian internationalism found themselves an isolated minority in an organization in which only yesterday they had been respected leading figures.

In hindsight, the CGT's collapse with the outbreak of war was prefigured by its entire history. During the 1905 Morocco crisis—an interimperialist squabble for influence in North Africa—everyone in France thought war with Germany could break out at any moment as, indeed, it could have. Yet during this and subsequent international crises, the CGT leaders did no more than call demonstrations, issue manifestos, etc. There was no move to organize protest strikes. When in 1913 the French government extended the length of compulsory military service from two to three years, the CGT leaders considered but rejected calling a general strike against this measure, which was broadly unpopular.

Furthermore, the CGT's "anti-militarism" was defined almost exclusively as opposition to the looming war with Germany. French syndicalists were little concerned with the role of the French army in enforcing the colonial enslavement of the peoples of Africa, the Near East and Indochina. In 1911, French troops suppressed an uprising in Morocco against the local monarchical client regime, and the following year Morocco was formally made into a French protectorate. In action, the CGT leadership was effectively indifferent to such colonial conquests by the French imperialist state.

Why did the revolutionary syndicalists limit the "direct action" they advocated

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Anarchism...

(continued from page 7)

to the sphere of economic relations between labor and capital? One undoubted factor is that syndicalist militants were well aware that many workers in the CGT, probably most, were imbued with national chauvinist prejudices to some extent. If, for example, the CGT leaders had called a mass demonstration or a one-day protest strike against French military intervention in Morocco, they would have encountered significant rightist opposition in their own ranks, perhaps even leading to a split.

The French syndicalists organized and led a labor organization primarily on the basis of *militant trade unionism*. The French syndicalists never really prepared the workers they led and influenced for a decisive confrontation with the bourgeois state but rather increasingly adapted to the political consciousness of their base. As Trotsky later wrote in his 1929 article, "Communism and Syndicalism": "The epigones of syndicalism would have one believe that the trade unions are sufficient by themselves. Theoretically, this means nothing, but in practice it means the dissolution of the revolutionary vanguard into the backward masses, that is, the trade unions."

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Left and right faces of syndicalism: Anarchist militant Emile Pouget (far left) became a leader of the French syndicalist movement, advocating "direct action." In 1914, French CGT leader Léon Jouhaux supported French bourgeoisie in imperialist slaughter of World War I.

Italian and Spanish Syndicalism

The French syndicalist movement was both the seedbed of European syndicalism and its most moderate expression. Exported to Italy and Spain, the doctrines of revolutionary syndicalism took on more radical expressions. There, calls for general strikes were carried out, more than once. Yet there also, the syndicalist movement collapsed when faced with the ultimate tests of war and revolution. For while this current initially represented a revolt against reformist parliamentary socialism and coalitionism with the bourgeoisie, it was unable to generate a program and theory capable of politically defeating the reformists and carrying out socialist revolution. Worse yet, facing this dead end, sections of the syndicalist movement evolved in the direction of imperialist nationalism, in particular fascism, symbolized by Mussolini.

In Italy, the syndicalist movement originated in the Socialist Party (PSI), and was originally led by men who considered themselves orthodox Marxists. The first organ of Italian revolutionary syndicalism was the paper *Avanguardia Socialista*, founded in 1902 by Marxist theorist Antonio Labriola. Italian Communist leader Antonio Gramsci later described early Italian syndicalism as "the instinctive, elemental, primitive but healthy expression of working-class reaction against a bloc with the bourgeoisie and for a bloc with the peasants" (from his essay on *La questione meridionale* [The Southern Question], 1926). At a regional conference of the PSI in Brescia in 1904, the syndicalist current passed a motion declaring:

> "Reaffirming the permanently and intransigently revolutionary character of proletarian action, which is against the bourgeois state, the Congress declares that the transformation of the political organization of the proletarian class into a mainly parliamentary, opportunist, constitutionalist and monarchist possibilist party is a degeneration of the socialist spirit.
>
> "It therefore rejects, as inconsistent with the principle of the class struggle and the true essence of the proletarian conquest of public power, alliance with the bourgeoisie, whether through participation by party members in any monarchical or republican government or through support of any sort to a government of the bourgeois class."

Labriola and his supporters were incessantly propagandizing for a general strike. Barely five months after the Brescia motion was passed, and weeks after the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International rejected the applicability of the general strike, in September 1904 such a strike swept through Italy in protest against the government's violent repression of workers' demonstrations. For five days the peninsula was shaken by a vast national mobilization, yet the workers' action never went beyond a giant protest to a struggle for power. Again, from May to July 1908, the syndicalists carried out another major strike, of agricultural workers in the region of Parma, which is depicted in Bernardo Bertolucci's epic film *1900*. Facing brutal repression by the army, including use of cavalry and legions of strikebreakers, after a running three-day battle the strike was broken.

One of the constant themes of syndicalist propaganda was that of an anti-militarist "general strike against war." In Italy, there was an attempt to carry this out, in September 1911, against the Italian colonial war of conquest in Libya. However, while it was (lepidly) supported by the PSI and the CGL labor federation, the strike failed to change anything. Moreover, it was undercut by the fact that important syndicalist leaders (including Labriola) *supported* the Libyan war. In seeking to combine syndicalism and nationalism, they were following the example of Georges Sorel, who in this same period was collaborating with the reactionary nationalist-monarchist Action Française movement.

On the eve of the imperialist world war, a nationwide general strike broke out in response to the shooting of anti-militarist syndicalist demonstrators in Ancona. During the "Red Week" of 7-14 June 1914, many syndicalists thought the moment had come for the general revolt they had preached for so long to bring down the government, the monarchy and the rule of the bourgeoisie. Yet lacking a plan of action for decisive revolutionary struggle and a steeled leadership to carry it out, the strike soon petered out.

In Spain, meanwhile, the syndicalists also grew to be a substantial force. The founding of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo in 1911 represented a convergence of the anarchist and syndicalist currents. Within a month of the CNT's founding, it had endorsed a general strike and was outlawed by the government. As Spain remained neutral throughout the war, the syndicalists' call for a "general strike against war" remained purely abstract. But as the imperialist powers became exhausted, and workers were inspired by the overthrow of the tsar in Russia, a revolutionary opportunity presented itself in Spain in August 1917.

The anarcho-syndicalist CNT had been pushing for months for an unlimited national general strike, and mass pressure forced the Socialist-led UGT labor federation to join in planning for the strike. Meanwhile, the Republican bourgeoisie and Catalan regionalists were agitating for the overthrow of the monarchy, counting on support in the army. When the strike was finally called, rather than launching a fight for social revolution, its objective was restricted to helping the liberal bourgeoisie seize power. As a result of this limited goal, the working class did not mobilize uniformly, and after a week of bloody repression the strike was extinguished. As would once again occur in 1936-37 during the Spanish Civil War, the anarchists became the tail of bourgeois forces.

The IWW: Revolutionary Syndicalism in the United States

In the United States during the decade before the First World War, a syndicalist movement—the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—came into being that was significantly different than its counterparts in Latin Europe. The particular and in some ways unique nature of the IWW was rooted in the development of the American economy and its effect on the character and political consciousness of the working class.

The working class in the U.S. was largely formed through successive waves of immigration from different European countries. This produced an industrial proletariat riven by deepgoing ethnic divisions and antagonisms, for example, between native-born workers of Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock and Irish, Italian and East European Catholic immigrants. These ethnic divisions, skillfully manipulated by the American ruling class, prevented not only the formation of a mass workers party such as developed in Europe in this period but also the unionization of the mass of the industrial proletariat, especially non-English-speaking immigrants. By the turn of the century, only *5 percent* of workers in the U.S. were organized at all, and these on a craft-union basis in the openly pro-capitalist American Federation of Labor (AFL).

The Industrial Workers of the World was formed in 1905 as a broad front of the American left. The founding leadership consisted of revolutionary syndicalists such as William Trautmann and Vincent St. John, the "orthodox" Marxist Daniel De Leon and his followers, and the militant trade unionists of the Western Federation of Miners. The launching of the IWW was enthusiastically supported by Eugene V. Debs, the most popular, even revered, figure in the American socialist movement of the day.

As against the conservative, job-trusting AFL, the IWW actively sought to organize unskilled workers across ethnic/racial lines, including such oppressed layers as immigrant agricultural laborers. Confronting murderous anti-union terror by company strikebreakers as well as government repression in the form of anti-labor laws and deportations of foreign-born organizers and activists, the IWW wrote a heroic chapter in American labor history.

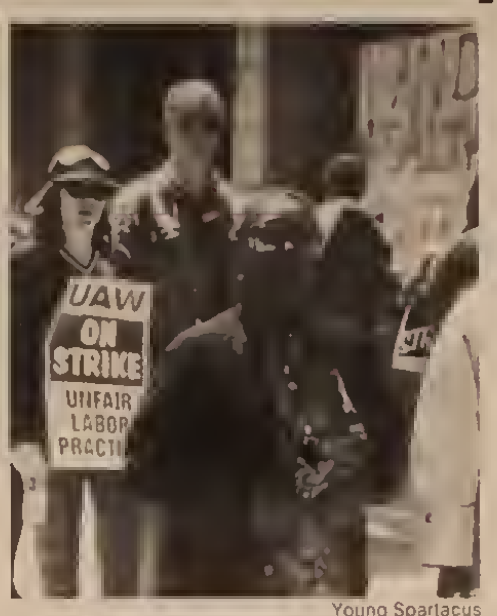
The leaders and militants of the IWW—which adopted as its slogan "One Big Union"—expected in a relatively short time to organize the mass of industrial workers, win over most of the membership of the AFL and reduce the remaining right-wing craft unions to an insignificant element in the American labor movement. The IWW press carried frequent reports on the struggles and activities of the French CGT under the heading: "Le Syndicalisme in France is Industrialism in America. Its principles are substantially those of the I.W.W. in America" (quoted in Philip S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* [1965]). Yet the American syndicalists were not able to emulate the organizational success of their French cothinkers. The reasons lay in the very different political consciousness of the working class in the two countries. Most French workers wanted socialism in some form and thought it natural to join a union whose ultimate aim was "complete emancipation...by expropriating the capitalist class."

Not so American workers. During strikes most of the workers involved joined the IWW but left just as quickly when normal, workaday life returned. The IWW became in fact an organization of revolutionary militants in the form of a broad-based union movement although this was in no way the conscious program or intent of its syndicalist leaders. James P. Cannon was a young IWW roving organizer who later became a

A Mondadori

Agricultural laborers, key component of the Italian syndicalist movement, on strike in 1907.

Defend Barnard Students Victimized for Supporting Strikers!



Young Spartacus

In a vindictive move against seven graduating seniors—supporters of clerical workers in UAW Local 2110, which was on strike for much of the semester—administrators at Barnard College in New York City withheld the students' diplomas "pending disciplinary proceedings." The administration wanted to gag the students to ensure a quiet commencement in the midst of the bitter campus struggle.

College president Judith Shapiro and the entire Barnard administration have shown their contempt for campus workers as well as students in their heavy-handed attack on the clerical workers union. This is to be expected from the bosses of an elite school whose purpose is to train the next generation of bourgeois administrators. We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs support the students' solidarizing with striking workers. However, as we said early on in the strike, effective student support of the strikers means: Build picket lines, don't cross them! Strikes win by *shutting down* the struck facilities; that means all other campus unions honoring Local 2110's picket lines, with students and teachers boycotting classes, not merely holding them off campus.

The SYC says: The seven students deserve their diplomas without any recriminations! Drop all disciplinary actions against all strike-supporting students! Victory to the Barnard clerical workers strike!

founding member of the American Communist Party and subsequently the principal leader of American Trotskyism. Looking back at the IWW in the 1950s, Cannon explained its dual and contradictory nature:

> "The IWW announced itself as an all-inclusive union; and any worker ready for organization on an everyday union basis was invited to join, regardless of his views and opinions on any other question. In a number of instances, in times of organization campaigns and strikes in separate localities, such all-inclusive membership was attained, if only for brief periods. But that did not prevent the IWW agitators from preaching the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in every strike meeting....
> "The IWW at all times, even during strikes embracing masses of church-going, ordinarily conservative workers, acted as an organization of revolutionists. The 'real IWW's,' the year-round activists, were nicknamed Wobblies—just when and why nobody knows—and the criterion of the Wobbly was his stand on the principle of the class struggle and its revolutionary goal; and his readiness to commit his whole life to it.
> "In truth, the IWW in its time of glory was neither a union nor a party in the full meaning of these terms, but something of both, with some parts missing."
>
> —"The IWW: The Great Anticipation" in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

As it became clear that the IWW was not going to displace the AFL as the main labor organization in the U.S., much less become "one big union," the Wobblies increasingly saw themselves as a "militant minority" setting an example for the more backward mass of workers. The existence of an avowedly revolutionary union movement competing with pro-capitalist unions, which *initially* was regarded as an unfortunate and transitory condition, evolved into a political principle. The program of revolutionary dual unionism thus became a central tenet of the American far left in the period immediately before and during World War I.

The Wobblies took a militantly anti-war line when in 1917 U.S. imperialism entered the European conflict (a clear indication that the IWW was a very different kind of organization than the French CGT despite the shared syndicalist doctrines). The U.S. government, mobilizing popular chauvinism, effectively destroyed the IWW through massive police repression abetted by extra-legal vigilantism. Frank Little, a Native American Indian IWW organizer in the copper mines, was lynched in 1917 in Butte, Montana. In 1918, thousands of IWW-organized Mexican miners in Arizona and New Mexico were loaded onto railroad cars and dumped in the desert. At the same time, the war-generated economic boom led to a substantial growth in the AFL unions, and a wave of worker militancy swept through these unions in the immediate postwar period.

Nonetheless, former IWW militants and sympathizers such as John Reed, who constituted an important part of the early American Communist cadre and leadership, opposed in principle working in the pro-capitalist AFL unions even though these now constituted almost the totality of organized labor in the United States. One of the major disputes in the formative period of the Communist International was over the question of revolutionary dual unionism in the United States and elsewhere. Lenin's 1920 pamphlet, *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, addressed this doctrine:

> "This ridiculous 'theory' that Communists should not work in reactionary trade unions reveals with the utmost clarity the frivolous attitude of the 'Left' Communists towards the question of influencing the 'masses,' and their misuse of clamor about the 'masses.' If you want to help the 'masses,' and win the sympathy and support of the 'masses,' you should not fear difficulties, or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution from the 'leaders' (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), but must absolutely *work wherever the masses are to be found*." [emphasis in original]

The Trade-Union Question: Anarchism, Syndicalism and Leninism

At an anarchist conference in 1907, the old Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta warned against what he saw as the dangers of syndicalism for the anarchist movement:

> "One cannot deny that syndicalist action involves us in certain perils. The greatest of these perils undoubtedly lies in the acceptance by the militant of office in the syndicates, particularly when it is paid office. Let us take it as a general rule: the anarchist who becomes a permanent and paid official in a syndicate is lost to propaganda, lost to anarchism! Henceforward he is under obligation to those who pay him and, since these are not all anarchists, the salaried official—placed between his conscience and his interest—must either follow his conscience and lose his position, or follow his interest—and then, goodbye to anarchism!"
>
> —reprodnced as "Syndicalism: A Critique," in George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader*

Malatesta therefore insisted that anarchist militants, whether in the trade unions or outside them, should limit themselves to explaining and defending the principles and program of anarchism. When the vast majority of working people were won to the anarchist vision of the future...then, *voilà*, the revolution.

In light of the subsequent course of the French CGT, Malatesta's concern that syndicalist militants would abandon their revolutionary principles in order to keep their union posts was certainly valid. But the old Bakuninist's preventative cure for the bureaucratic degeneration of revolutionaries is, however, as bad as the disease. For revolutionaries to refuse in principle to ever become trade-union officials is to cede the leadership of the mass economic organizations of the working class to opportunists (hardened and otherwise), reformists (overt and covert) and even reactionaries. This will ensure that there will never be a proletarian revolution and that the trade unions will not even serve the best interests of the workers within the framework of capitalism. A precondition for a socialist revolution is a strong workers movement, with mass trade unions, factory committees, etc. The key is the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party.

During the First World War, the Russian Bolsheviks denounced the treachery and overall wretchedness of social-democratic parliamentarians and trade-union and party officials just as harshly as did the anarchists, if not more so. But they did not therefore conclude that the workers should do without mass trade unions and political parties. As the Bolshevik leader Gregory Zinoviev wrote in 1916 in *The War and the Crisis of Socialism*:

> "At the time of the crisis over the war, the labor bureaucracy played the role of a reactionary factor.... But that does not mean the labor movement will be able to get along without a big organizational apparatus; without an entire spectrum of people devoted especially to serve the proletarian organization. We do not want to go back to the time when the labor movement was so weak that it could get along without its own employees and functionaries, but to go forward to the time when the labor movement will be something different, in which the strong movement of the proletariat will subordinate the stratum of functionaries to itself, in which routine will be destroyed, bureaucratic corrosion wiped out; which will bring new men to the surface, infuse them with fighting courage, fill them with a new spirit."
>
> —excerpted in *New International* [New York City], March-June 1942

A Leninist party is a counterweight to the inevitable pressures on revolutionary militants fighting for leadership in mass organizations. Unlike a union or factory committee, membership in and support for a political party is based on accepting its program and agreeing with its underlying principles. In arguing for the need for a separate party of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, Lenin stressed that there are different levels of consciousness in the working class. Many workers have reformist illusions and are imbued with national chauvinism, racism and other manifestations of social reaction, from religiosity and the desire to open a small shop to wife-beating. Through its press, demonstrations and other actions, through intervening in and fighting for leadership of social protest movements of the oppressed—and, when appropriate, participating in parliamentary and other elections—a communist party can attract and organize those workers who support the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system, *differentiating* them from those workers who have not gone beyond militant trade unionism.

Here one can contrast the pre-1914 French syndicalists with the Russian Bolsheviks in the same period. The anti-parliamentarism of the CGT leadership actually prevented French workers from facing a clear-cut choice between revolutionary and reformist politics. Instead class-conscious French workers led compartmentalized lives: they were syndicalists in economic struggles against the employer and socialists when it came to electing parliamentary deputies or local government officials. Furthermore, the French Socialist party contained both openly reformist and ostensibly Marxist factions.

The political topology of the Russian workers movement in the decade before the First World War was entirely different. There the organization of revolutionary militants (the Bolshevik Party) was clearly differentiated from both the trade unions, factory committees, etc. and the reformist/centrist socialists (the Mensheviks). A Russian worker who actively and directly supported the Bolsheviks (e.g., distributing the party's illegal literature) was motivated by a higher level of political consciousness than one who simply voted for a Bolshevik fellow worker to head up a strike committee. The Bolsheviks also ran candidates (a number of whom won) in elections to the workers' section of the tsarist Duma (parliament), opposing not only the liberal and reactionary parties but the populist Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks organized the *revolutionary vanguard* of the Russian working class, later enabling them to lead the first successful proletarian revolution in world history in October 1917.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

no credit

Wobbly leader "Big Bill" Haywood (far right) in Moscow, 1922, with former IWW organizer James P. Cannon who later became the founding leader of American Trotskyism.

South Korea...

(continued from page 5)

Masan in October.

The mounting popular resistance led to splits within the military regime. In late October 1979, Park was assassinated by the head of the Korean CIA and replaced by a caretaker regime. But when the new government promised concessions and elections, General Chun attacked army headquarters and seized power. Chun proceeded to consolidate his coup with the acquiescence of the liberal opposition. Kim Young Sam, then head of the NDP, vowed that his party would cease playing the role of an opposition. His more populist alter-ego, Kim Dae Jung, released from house arrest, stressed the importance of "national security" against North Korea and called for restoring dictator Park's 1963 draft constitution.

But Chun's coup was met with growing popular resistance from student demonstrations and labor struggles. The *Los Angeles Times* (5 May 1980) reported with alarm: "Sitdown strikes, walkouts and other labor protests, some of them violent, are spreading across South Korea in a wave of worker uprisings." In Pusan, a thousand steel workers clashed with cops. In Sabuk, coal miners attacked a police station. On May 14-15, more than 50,000 students demonstrated in Seoul, followed a day later by 20,000 in Kwangju, the capital of South Cholla province and the country's fourth-largest city. At midnight on May 17, Chun declared martial law, closing universities, banning strikes and all political activity, and arresting thousands of student leaders and worker activists along with prominent bourgeois opposition politicians like Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung.

The next day, a Sunday, protesting students in Kwangju defied the martial law edicts. The center of a historically deprived area, Kwangju had a history of political revolt, going back to the post-WW II people's committees and further still to an anti-colonial student uprising in 1929. On the afternoon of May 18, 3,000 paratroopers and "elite" Special Forces, who had been moved into the city in preparation for the declaration of martial law, waded indiscriminately into the street crowds. During the Vietnam War, the Special Forces had earned particular notoriety for their brutality as part of the 300,000-strong South Korean mercenary contingent for U.S. imperialism. Now, in Kwangju, these elite killers murdered hundreds and beat, bayoneted and tortured thousands more in a matter of days.

Mass outrage swelled; an American Peace Corps volunteer in Kwangju recalled: "It was at this point I began to hear murmurs from the crowd—Let's rise up! Let's fight!—not from students, but from ordinary people in the streets." Taxi and bus drivers offered their vehicles to the demonstrators. People began to arm themselves—first with kitchen knives, sickles and pipes, then by seizing weapons from police stations and armories—5,400 rifles and 318 military vehicles, according to the government's own records. In places, the soldiers fired blindly as they were overwhelmed by the enraged masses. On May 21, as 200,000 people took to the streets, students installed a machine gun on the roof of Chonnam University Hospital. That evening the army withdrew from the city.

Mass rallies continued, as debate raged about what to do next. All called for Chun's ouster and an end to martial law. Initially a committee dominated by local officials and dignitaries sought to negotiate with the government on the basis of seven demands, including no return of combat troops to Kwangju, the release of all those arrested and no reprisals. But this grouping was shortly supplanted by a more radical committee, which opposed compromise and sought to organize arms distribution and the defense of the city. Commissions were established to handle public administration, external affairs, planning, analysis of the situation, security and public information, which included the publication of a news journal from May 18 to May 26.

On the night of May 26, expecting the army to attack the next day, women and youth were told to go home, leaving a core of several hundred militants in the provincial administration building. The army stormed the city with tanks, flame throwers and heavy machine guns, killing scores more. The central government building was taken after a three-hour gun battle.

Other cities in the southwest—the port of Makpo, Hwasun and Polkyo—also came under insurgent control during these days. Draconian repression was to follow. An official report of 9 February 1981 speaks of more than 57,000 arrested in a "campaign of social purification" and 39,000 sent to military camps for "physical and psychological re-education." Many people simply disappeared and were buried secretly. The official claim of about 200 dead is still propagated by various imperialist mouthpieces, but the best estimate is that around 2,000 were killed. Official figures of the arrested and killed indicate the heavy involvement of industrial workers alongside students.

To this day, Washington denies any responsibility for what happened at Kwangju. A State Department spokesman recently insisted, "We have denied on multiple occasions that we had advance knowledge of what was going to happen at Kwangju or that we gave our approval for it" (*International Herald Tribune*, 6 March). However, recently released Pentagon and State Department documents confirm what was obvious at the time: that despite occasional counsels of "moderation," the U.S. knew in advance of the plan to use the Special Forces thugs to suppress the Kwangju uprising, and aided and abetted the military crackdown (see "Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light," page 5). The U.S. repaid Chun by rolling out the red carpet when this bloodthirsty dictator visited Washington in February 1981, the first foreign head of state to be invited by Ronald Reagan after his inauguration.

Even today, as the South Korean rulers undergo a bit of cosmetic housecleaning by trying Chun and Roh, other bourgeois spokesmen continue to stand by these butchers for their services on behalf of the "war against Communism." A recent editorial in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 April) seeks to amnesty Chun and Roh:

> "In terms of substance, moreover, there is an excellent case to be made that what Mr. Roh, and especially Mr. Chun, did in 1979 saved the country from disaster. Mr. Park's assassination, it is worth recalling, came at a time when the balance of power between North and South favoured the former and support for Seoul from the Carter administration was uncertain."

In the 1976 American presidential election campaign, held in the immediate aftermath of U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, Democratic candidate Carter called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea. The following year Major General John Singlaub, then chief of staff of U.S. forces in Korea, was fired for publicly denouncing Carter's call. But by 1979, U.S. imperialism was seething about its humiliations in Iran and Carter had proclaimed his "human rights" Cold War II crusade against the Soviet Union. As mass protests rocked the streets of South Korea in October 1979, visiting U.S. defense secretary Harold Brown went out of his way to reaffirm South Korea's "pivotal" and "vital" role in U.S. strategic interests.

In the years 1980-87, 1.7 million new manufacturing jobs were created in South Korea. Some of the world's largest steel mills, car plants, shipyards and television factories were built there. Wages were low and working conditions horrendous. The combative young proletariat intersected with students and petty bourgeois deeply alienated by the brutal dictatorship and the continuing presence of the domineering U.S. military. Underground circles talked about revolution while the workers sought to organize illegally. The memory of Kwangju was a rallying point for thousands of radicals and labor activists.

Some sense of the radical students and labor activists is gained from a description of the political evolution of Yoon Sang Won, a 29-year-old leader of the struggle committee which sought to lead the uprising and who died in the final shootout at the central administration building:

> "Simply opposing Park was no longer enough, he discovered. Students sought a more all-encompassing, progressive view of the world. Yoon and others devoured Hegelian philosophy, Third World radical texts and Western books on economic history, capitalism, socialism and communism. Renting a room in a Kwangju slum, Yoon watched the wretched lives of the slum-dwellers and agonised over his future. Should he become a salaried man and help put his younger siblings through school? Or should he opt for an entirely different direction, organising a social movement?"
>
> —*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 May 1994

The consciousness of the participants in the 1980 Kwangju uprising was quite mixed. Demonstrators often waved Korean flags and sang the national anthem. There is no evidence of attempts to organize the workers into factory councils and soviet-type bodies, nor of any clear idea what to do once the army had been driven out. The consciousness evidenced during the Kwangju uprising remains indicative of much of the current South Korean left, which blends vague Marxist ideas with nationalist sentiment, often expressed as sympathy for the bizarrely nepotistic Stalinist regime in the North, particularly its appeals for "peaceful reunification." By and large they subscribe to the Stalinist/Menshevik "two stage" theory, advocating a "democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) revolution first (some precede this with a "national liberation" stage), while relegating the "socialist stage" to an indeterminate future.

Caught between the U.S. and Japanese imperialist powers, South Korea continues to be a powder keg. South Korean "democracy" is limited and unstable. The draconian National Security Laws remain in place. In the last few years the South Korean capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons have been congratulating themselves about a decline in working-class and student struggle, conditioned in part by the death of the Soviet Union, as well as by South Korea's recent "democratic" facelift and the rise of a more affluent middle class. In any case, spontaneous upsurges cannot continue indefinitely in the absence of a revolutionary workers party to lead these struggles toward the seizure of state power.

The volatile situation in South Korea cries out for a Trotskyist party based on the strategy of permanent revolution, the understanding that only the working class leading the rural masses and other oppressed layers in a socialist revolution can solve the democratic tasks, as it undertakes the expropriation of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and seeks to extend revolution internationally, particularly to the economic powerhouse of Japan.

Such a party will be internationalist to the core, championing the rights of the increasing numbers of Chinese Korean, Filipino and other minority workers. It will stand for defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist and South Korean provocations, while fighting for political revolution to remove the Stalinist Kim Jong Il regime in North Korea. It would also reach out to the working masses of China to carry out proletarian political revolution to thwart the growing danger of capitalist counterrevolution from within. *For the revolutionary reunification of Korea!* ■

U.S. Documents...

(continued from page 5)

reported to Washington his talk with the South Korean foreign minister: "I explained the extent to which we were facilitating ROK army efforts to restore order in Kwangju and deter trouble elsewhere. In essence, we had done everything we reasonably could. We had not and did not intend to publicize our actions because we feared we would be charged with colluding with the martial law authorities and risk fanning anti-American sentiment in the Kwangju area." While giving the go-ahead to the South Korean butchers, American officials drew up plans for direct U.S. intervention if their lackeys could not control the situation.

That same afternoon, President Carter held a special high-level meeting on Korea with the secretaries of State and Defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the head of the CIA, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Warren Christopher and Richard Holbrooke, who was then the chief U.S. diplomat specializing in East Asian and Pacific affairs (Holbrooke was until recently Clinton's special negotiator in Bosnia). The secret minutes of that meeting show that the participants discussed possible direct U.S. military intervention and shared "general agreement that the first priority is the restoration of order in Kwangju."

It was at that White House meeting that the decision was made to dispatch two early warning aircraft and an aircraft carrier, the *Coral Sea*, to South Korea. In fact, the South Korean martial law commander in chief during the Kwangju massacre has testified that sending troops into the city was delayed by three days in order to ensure the American naval and air deployment. One hour before the attack was launched, the U.S. government declared: "We recognize that a situation of total disorder and disruption in a major city cannot be allowed to go on indefinitely" (see "Korea and the U.S.: Partners in Repression," *CovertAction*, Spring 1996).

What were the leaders of U.S. imperialism fearful of? *Washington saw in the Kwangju uprising the threat of social revolution.* The *Journal of Commerce* report does not mention this key aspect, but it is amply spelled out in the numerous documents which *WV* investigated. On 15 May 1980, U.S. ambassador Gleysteen cabled Washington that "it is the radicals" in Kwangju "who are obviously in the lead now." Two days later, he wrote: "we are faced with an extremely serious escalation of the Korean confrontation between the people in power, who fear to let go, and those out of power, who have less and less compunction about resorting to radical measures."

And here is how the Secretary of State summarized the situation in a cable to the commander of U.S. Pacific forces in Honolulu and to U.S. embassies in South Korea, Japan, China and the USSR:

> "The situation in Kwangju has taken a rather grim turn. The moderate citizens committee has lost control of the situation and the radicals appear to be in charge. Peoples courts have been set up and some executions have taken place. Student demonstrators have been largely replaced by unidentified armed radicals who are talking of setting up a revolutionary government.... Military action to regain control of the city will probably take place within 24-36 hours."

Less than 36 hours after that cable was sent, South Korean troops were carrying out a bloody slaughter in the streets of Kwangju. Estimated death toll: up to 2,000 civilians killed.

Kwangju was Jimmy Carter's "human rights" massacre. ■

Hospitals...

(continued from page 12)

released by the Civilian Complaint Review Board show police brutality complaints in the Bronx soaring by 34 percent in the first three months of this year. And now New York State once again has the death penalty on the books. This is part of a national government plan to augment the forces of racist repression in the face of a growing gap between the filthy rich ruling class and those on the bottom of society. Last week, Democratic president Clinton bragged to a Washington, D.C. gathering of the Fraternal Order of Police that 44,000 cops have been added to police rolls on his watch as part of his pledge to add 100,000 cops nationally.

Anger Mounts Over Killer Cuts

As the scope of the cutbacks broadens, it is not just the destitute who are feeling the effects. Anger is seething among transit workers over speedup and layoffs caused by steep state funding cuts that threaten their safety and that of millions who ride the subways and buses every day (see article page 12).

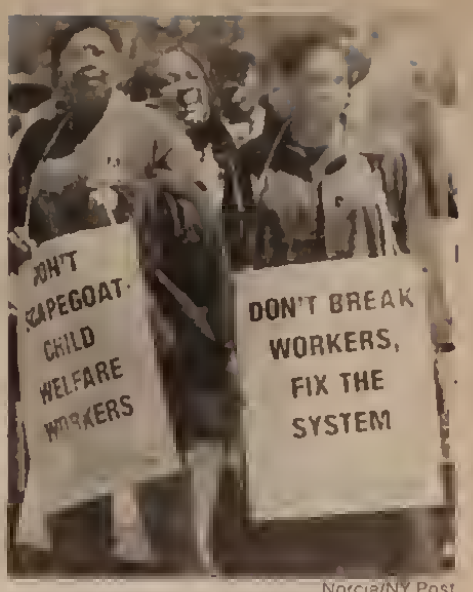
On May 14, over 1,000 child-welfare workers organized by the Social Services Employees Union massed outside City Hall to denounce the suspension of two caseworkers charged with failing to prevent the beating death of six-year-old Elisa Izquierdo in a housing project last December. The social workers were being made into scapegoats for a tragedy that grew directly out of welfare funding cuts which have increased the caseloads of welfare workers, who earn $26,000 a year, to as many as *80 per worker*. As one placard carried by the unionists read, "Caseworkers don't murder children, politicians do."

While there is evident desire to fight back against the city's political bosses, no one can imagine any kind of militant action coming from pro-capitalist union "leaders" who roll over and play dead every time attacks come down from City Hall, the Albany statehouse, Washington or their Wall Street patrons. The same day the school budget plan was revealed, United Federation of Teachers president Sandra Feldman signed off on a contract proposal virtually identical to the one voted down by the union ranks in December, including a two-year wage freeze. Giuliani gloated, "What they have got is exactly what they turned down last time."

Feldman and Giuliani hope that teachers will buckle under this time after watching AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill, chief negotiator for 130,000 city workers, ram through a similar rotten contract in January. At a meeting earlier this month, Hill touched off a storm among the union brass by lauding both the mayor and the hateful Republican U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, claiming that with their aid "I got job security for three years for my members." He didn't add: And a wage freeze, as well as sacrificing city hospital workers slated to be axed as the city pursues its plans to privatize hospitals. As for the mythical "job security," Rudy the Slasher has since come calling for another pound of union flesh, with a new budget plan which would eliminate 12,000 more city jobs.

The labor tops acquiesce to the bosses' cutbacks because they are politically wedded to the capitalist system, particularly through their ties to the Democratic Party. The only "alternative" put forward by phony labor "progressives" to Hill's groveling before the Republican Giuliani is more dead-end support to the Democrats. Particularly in a presidential election year, this translates into maintaining labor "peace," heading off any threat of militant *action* and herding unionists to the phone banks to get the vote out for Clinton.

Giuliani's predecessor, black Democrat David Dinkins, oversaw the gutting of thousands of city and industrial jobs while hiring 6,000 more cops. And as an article by Vivian S. Toy in the *New York Times* (18 May) underlined, the Democrat-controlled City Council plays a key role in pushing through the cutbacks through their "annual budget dance" with City Hall: "Year after year, the Council has been criticized by advocacy groups...for only marginally changing the Mayor's budget proposal, even though the heavily Democratic body could, under law, serve as a powerful counterweight."



Norcia/NY Post

NYC City Hall, May 14: SSEU union protest against Giuliani's scapegoating of child-welfare caseworkers.

With the Giuliani gang bludgeoning workers and the poor, it is high time to mobilize the labor movement *in action* at the head of all the victims of the racist budget-slashers. But this requires the kind of fighting leadership that would have used widespread anger over last winter's city union contract proposal to lead a militant strike in defiance of the state's anti-labor Taylor Law. Today the unions could begin to mobilize opposition against the cuts by sending activists into housing projects, schools and hospitals to organize massive marches of labor and the poor against Wall Street, City Hall and the City Council to protest racist killer cuts and killer cops.

What's called for is a leadership that understands you get nothing without hard class struggle against the racist rulers. This means fighting to break working people and the black and Hispanic masses from support to the Democratic Party, to drive the pro-capitalist labor fakers out of the unions, and to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights for the rights of all the oppressed. ■

CORRECTIONS

A Partisan Defense Committee statement on the frame-up murder conviction of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), headlined "Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!" (*WV* No. 645, 10 May), incorrectly referred to evidence showing that he was 400 miles away "at the time the murder was uncovered." In fact, FBI wiretaps and evidence from former Black Panther leaders show that Geronimo was at a Panther meeting in Oakland at the time the murder was *committed* in Santa Monica, near L.A.

In "Victory to L.A. Port Truckers!" (*WV* No. 645, 10 May), we wrote that Latino Teamster Jesse Acuna "sits in prison on a five-year rap after being assaulted by cops for defending his union's picket lines." Acuna was actually jailed for defending the Teamsters' picket line from a speeding *scab* who tried to run down pickets at Pico Rivera.

In "'Sewer Socialists' Campaign in Oakland" (*WV* No. 641, 15 March), we incorrectly referred to World War I era Socialist Party politician Victor Berger as "Milwaukee mayor." Berger was an alderman and was elected to Congress from Milwaukee six times, beginning in 1910; the SP did win the mayoralty several times, but with other candidates.

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

The TA has been trying to get rid of conductors for six years, especially on the shuttle lines that run trains with half the usual number of subway cars. NYC's 90-year-old subway system already kills at twice the national rate. Management pressure on train operators, dangerously outmoded safety signals and other hazards have caused so many accidents in the past six years that even a recent federal safety board report went after the TA for "mismanagement." The OPTO scheme symbolizes the TA's wanton indifference to safety. Each year, over 90 passengers experience the nightmare of having a door closed on a limb, purse or baby carriage and being dragged off by a moving train. The shock, injury and death caused by "draggings" can only go up under OPTO. And who hasn't looked for the conductor's car when taking the subway late at night?

The plan for one-man train crews is part of a broader assault on union-won work rules and seniority rights, aimed in this case against conductors and train operators. Three years ago—as management started gearing up for OPTO, sweeping job cuts, privatization and the current "productivity" crackdown—transit workers held several "work to rule" slowdowns. But newly appointed Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Willie James has already announced that he'll do nothing to stop OPTO. It is now obvious that the Local 100 leadership, in one of many sleazy givebacks in the 1994 contract, handed OPTO to management on a silver platter. The union brass agreed to binding arbitration by a panel, which then dutifully approved OPTO in March.

These days the James gang is totally absorbed in the flimflam of getting transit workers to pull the lever for Clinton's racist, labor-hating Democrats in November. The New Directions "opposition"—which controls several key divisions of the local—also pins its hopes on Democratic "friends of labor," urging TWUers to beg state lawmakers in Albany to oppose OPTO. By preaching reliance on capitalist politicians, both wings of the Local 100 bureaucracy *politically* shackle the enormous potential power of this union, whose heavily minority workforce makes New York City run. To stop the TA's criminal assault on subway safety, transit workers need a *class-struggle leadership* that's prepared to defy the strikebreaking Taylor Law and *shut the system down*.

Six months after the largest fare increase in TA history, subway and bus service is worse than ever. Subway cars and platforms are dirtier, lines for tokens snake up the stairwells, trains and buses are more crowded and less reliable, and track beds are often unsafe, filthy, rat-infested swamps. On May 1, a track fire in midtown Manhattan prompted panicked passengers to seek safety by running through subway tunnels, and 3,000 people ended up trapped underground for over three hours. The TA's standard response to accidents is to blame the workers and haul them off for drug tests, but this time they arrogantly blamed the riders for running for safety!

Instead of cutting train crews and laying off token booth clerks, what's needed is to *hire thousands more transit workers* to maintain and *rebuild* the rotting, antiquated system. A union fight for improved safety conditions would galvanize tremendous popular support among NYC's hard-pressed working people, as would a fight for *free mass transit*. Token clerks should be retrained at company expense to fill vital jobs, like platform conductors, throughout the system. We say: *Stop OPTO in its tracks! Reverse all layoffs! Fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!* ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

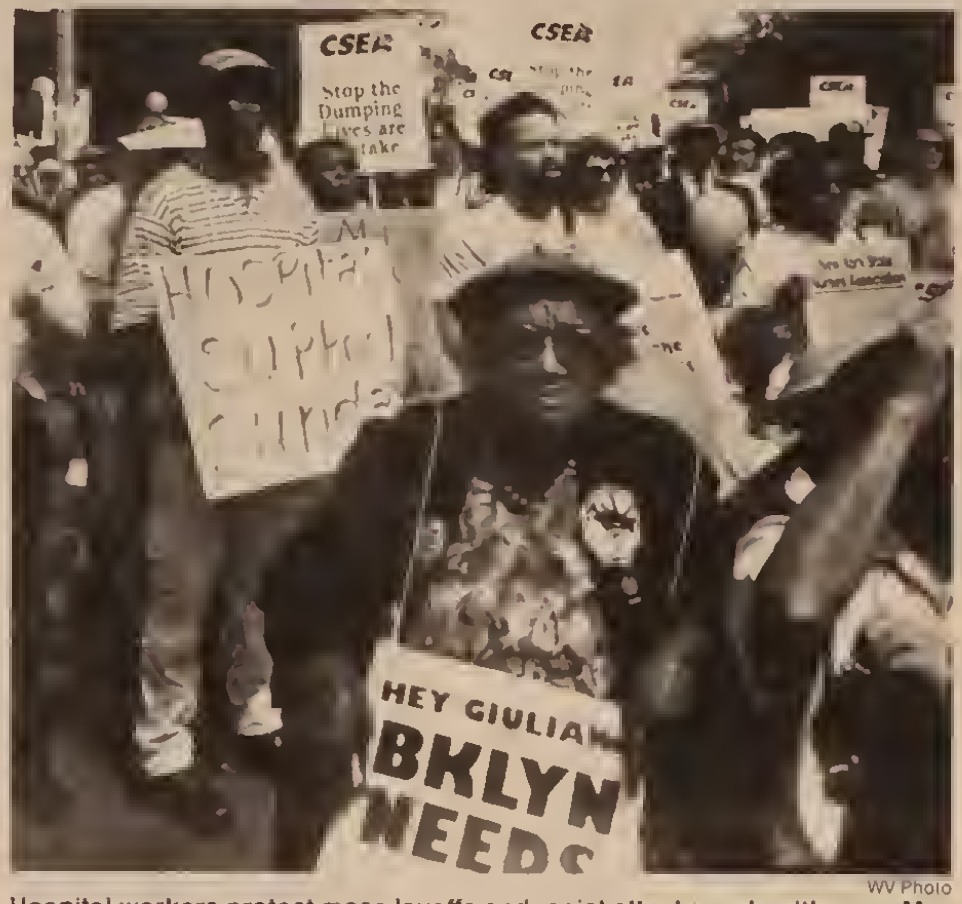
Labor Tops Roll Over for City Bosses

NYC: Giuliani Axes Hospital Jobs

Last week, city bosses sent layoff notices to 1,600 New York City public hospital workers. This is a deadly blow aimed right at the poor and minority population, and at the city's powerful health care and public employees unions. Those laid off include over 1,100 registered nurses, some 239 doctors, and scores of technicians, dieticians, pharmacists and others. Two days after the pink slips went out, union officials got word from the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC) that 1,100 more jobs were to get the ax by the end of June.

HHC spokesmen have announced that by the end of the year as many as 8,000 workers—more than 20 percent of the workforce—would have to be cut to make up a $550 million budget gap. This budget "gap" is a direct result of hundreds of millions of dollars of government health funding cuts, from the state's slashing of money for Medicaid to a new NYC budget proposal that would chop $100 million from the city's contribution to the HHC, on top of a 20 percent cut the year before, leaving the city's subsidy at the lowest level since the agency was created over 25 years ago.

The assault on public hospitals is a death sentence for the black and Hispanic poor and hospital workers alike. What's needed is for the trade unions, whose members make this city run, to take the lead in mobilizing all the victims of capitalist cutbacks—ghetto and barrio residents, City University students, the homeless—in militant struggle against the racist rulers. But the biggest obstacle to such a strategy are the bureaucratic fakers who "lead" the unions for the benefit of City Hall and its Wall Street bosses.



WV Photo

Hospital workers protest mass layoffs and racist attacks on health care, May 19, at Kingsboro Psychiatric Center in Brooklyn.

While this first round of layoffs was mostly of professionals and did not include members of the large, integrated municipal unions, everyone knows they are next on the chopping block. A quick look at where the jobs are being eliminated shows that the cutbacks under Mayor Rudolph Giuliani are not only union-busting in intent but *deliberately racist* as well. Harlem Hospital is losing the most nurses, while at Metropolitan Hospital in East Harlem *all* supervising nurses and assistant head nurses, and half of the head nurses, will be fired—the layoffs may be the first step in shutting down these hospitals outright. At Brooklyn's Kings County Hospital, in the heavily Caribbean Flatbush district, every one of the 208 part-time doctors is getting the boot. This comes at a time when notorious "diseases of poverty" have reached epidemic levels—the infection rate for TB in New York City is the highest in the U.S., and asthma has skyrocketed in the South Bronx, home of scores of incinerators and waste facilities. These are truly "killer cutbacks."

Beyond the cuts is the looming threat of a wave of hospital shutdowns, as the capitalist rulers implement so-called "managed" health care. "Managed care" is a code word for shutting hospital doors to workers and the poor—40 million of whom nationally have no medical insurance—while soaking the working population for expensive medical coverage plans, leading to tremendous profits for insurance companies and "health maintenance" corporations. A recently released study of New York City's hospital system by two research organizations predicted the closing of almost one-fifth of the city's 78 hospitals in the next three years, leading to the loss of *80,000 jobs* (*New York Times*, 7 April).

The hospital layoffs are but a fraction of the cuts dictated by Giuliani and New York governor Pataki, whose targets include some of the most vulnerable layers of the population. Among school cutbacks announced on May 14 by NYC schools chancellor Rudy Crew was the slashing of special education programs for the handicapped. That same day, a Manhattan judge slapped million-dollar fines on two city agencies and a contempt of court citation on Giuliani after touring a Bronx homeless services office and finding 254 people sleeping on floors, desks and chairs while they waited for places in homeless shelters—a leading target of the city's budget ax.

To enforce capitalist austerity, Giuliani has unleashed a growing army of police on the desperate ghetto and barrio masses. Currently an additional 800 cops have descended on north Brooklyn, with a wave of paramilitary "drug sweeps" scheduled for the summer. New figures

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TWU Must Stop One-Person Train Operation!

NYC Transit's Killer Cuts

New York City's Transit Authority (TA) has just announced plans to implement one of the more deadly "cost-cutting" schemes to hit the tracks, "One Person Train Operation" (OPTO). The TA is set to carry out an OPTO "pilot program" on five lines early this fall, as a first step toward using this dangerous practice extensively "systemwide," according to TA chief Lawrence Reuter. This means *eliminating subway conductors*, who open and close doors, make announcements, assist passengers and carry out other tasks critical for overall safety. With one-man trains, already overworked train operators will be ordered to do conductors' duties as well. Part of a five-year plan to slash $2.4 billion from the TA's budget, OPTO is supposed to save barely $42 million. But the real costs of this and other killer cuts will be—and already are being—paid in blood by transit workers and riders alike.

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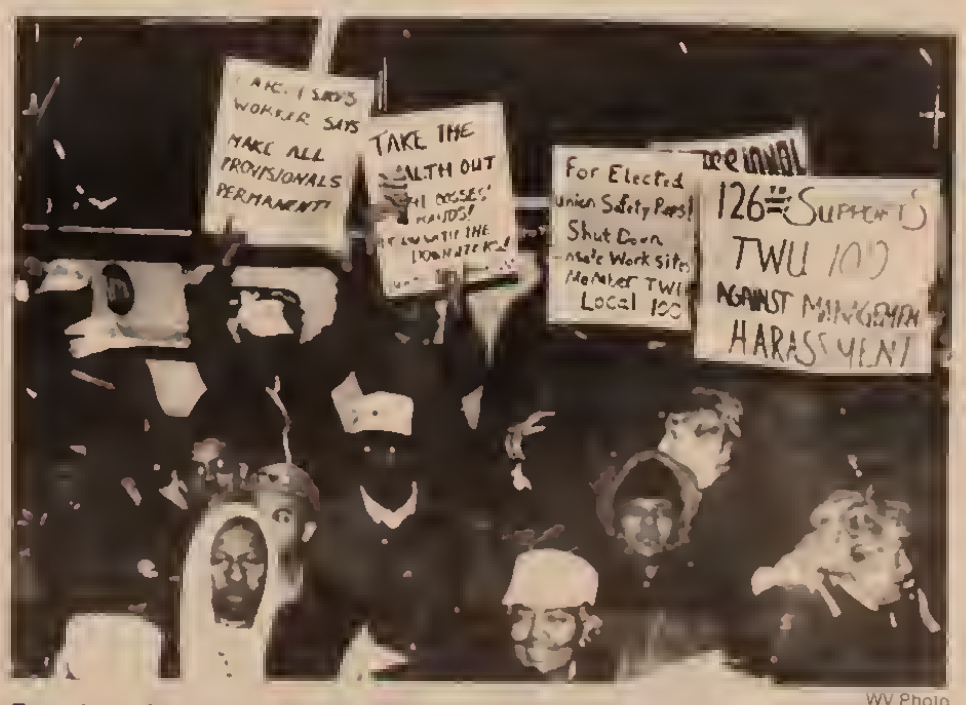

WV Photo

Transit workers at March 20 TWU rally demand fight against deadly conditions caused by layoffs and cutbacks.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 647

7 June 1996

PRI Government Enforces NAFTA, IMF

Mexico: Fight Austerity—Mobilize Workers Power!

Espartaco

Hundreds of thousands of workers marched through the streets of Mexico City with trade-union and leftist banners on May Day last month, filling the city's huge central plaza, the *Zócalo*, to overflowing. The mammoth turnout, a half million or more, was a sharp challenge to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government of President Ernesto Zedillo and the hidebound corporatist Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) which serves its interests. For the second year in a row, CTM head Fidel Velazquez, the 96-year-old *charro* (bureaucrat) who has run the federation with an iron hand for more than 50 years, had not only canceled the traditional official union rally but had called for a ban on any labor demonstrations marking May Day, the international workers holiday. Yet Velazquez' dictate was defied not only by a large number of independent unions, but as well by ten unions traditionally allied with the PRI regime.

The massive outpouring of Mexican working people on May Day reflected widespread and growing unrest among broad sectors of the population, as the imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994—coming on top of austerity attacks imposed at the behest of the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—has led to a cataclysmic assault on living standards. Since the Wall Street-engineered crash of the peso in December 1994, real wages have plummeted by over 35 percent, with pay settlements averaging half the rate of inflation. In April, the government approved a 12 percent rise in the minimum wage (to less than *$3 a day*), while at the same time raising the price of government-controlled staples like milk and corn tortillas by up to 30 percent.

Lopez Mills/AP

Mexico City: Half a million workers pour into city's central plaza on May Day, defying ban by pro-government corporatist labor chiefs (top); May 23 demonstration of 7,000 striking teachers brutally attacked by police (above).

This in turn has provoked a rising tide of labor combativity, with the month of May registering the highest increase in strike activity in the recent period. The regime has responded by unleashing draconian repression against Mexican workers and peasants, from the brutal army invasion to suppress a rebellion by Zapatista (EZLN) peasant rebels in the southern state of Chiapas beginning in 1994 to the imprisonment of leaders of the independent SUTAUR bus workers union in Mexico City last year. On May 23, Mexico City police unleashed an orgy of violence against a demonstration by striking teachers, seriously injuring at least 40. And earlier in the month, Javier Elorriaga and Sebastián Entzin were given prison sentences of 13 years and six years respectively for alleged ties to the EZLN.

Washington's hand is clearly visible in the current wave of repression coming down on Mexico's working people. The Mexican army's bloody massacres in Chiapas were carried out with weapons supplied by the U.S., and recently the PRI government agreed to an unprecedented pact to have Mexican soldiers trained at American military bases, as part of a scheme for joint policing of the border. Meanwhile, the Clinton administration has militarized large parts of the border and drastically stepped up its racist deportations of Latin American immigrants.

From the outset, the International Communist League has denounced NAFTA as an imperialist "free trade" rape of Mexico. Against the racist protectionist policies of the U.S. labor bureaucrats, who rail against Mexican workers "stealing American jobs," we fight for common class struggle by workers in Mexico and the U.S. The key is forging internationalist vanguard parties to lead the working class in struggle against U.S. imperialism and all the capitalist rulers.

The following article is translated, from *Espartaco* No. 8 (Spring-Summer 1996), newspaper of our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the ICL.

It is in the interests of the whole working class to demand immediate and unconditional freedom for all activists and fighters for the exploited and oppressed who are being held in the jails of the bourgeois state! When the government of Ernesto Zedillo jailed eleven leaders of SUTAUR last year and subsequently imprisoned, along with others,

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Cold War Hack Smears Trotsky, Attacks Enlightenment

Richard Pipes: Exorcising the Russian Revolution

SEE PAGE 8

In Memory of Ivan Vrachev

Moscow
17 May 1996

To the Editor,

We have just learned that Ivan Yakovlevich Vrachev passed away on 22 December 1995 at the age of 97. He was the last living link to the Bolshevik leadership of the October Revolution and to the central cadre of Trotsky's Left Opposition. Like a number of other Oppositionists, in 1929 Vrachev renounced his Trotskyist views. Other prominent capitulators were nevertheless executed; Vrachev survived the purges of the 1930s, he believed, because of the patronage of Politburo member Anastasy Mikoyan.

In his final years, Vrachev's primary concern was to use the opening allowed by Gorbachev's *glasnost* to record for history his unique knowledge of certain truths buried for decades under mountains of Stalinist lies. In an interview with comrades of the International Communist League (ICL) in 1990, Vrachev told us:

> "To tell the truth of the events, that is my credo. If the Institute of Marxism-Leninism was interested like you are interested, they would provide for me the conditions wherein I would have a stenographer, a tape recorder, text that I could verify. Once dead, all this will be lost. There are things that I alone know."

Spartacist

Ivan Vrachev (far left) with his family in Moscow, 1991.

When we first met him in 1990, Ivan Yakovlevich was in robust health and perfectly lucid. But he lived less than two years after the death on 8 February 1994 of his second wife, Rebecca Mikhailovna Boguslavskaya, to whom he had been married for 25 years. She was the daughter of Mikhail Solomonovich Boguslavsky, who was a Jewish working-class fighter in the 1905 revolution, a delegate to the October 1917 Second Congress of Soviets in Petrograd at which the workers seizure of power was proclaimed, a prominent Soviet government leader in the Ukraine and Russia during the period of 1917-1924 and a prominent supporter himself of the Left Opposition at one time.

Representatives of the ICL were fortunate enough to be guests on several occasions in the Vrachev's Moscow home. Their apartment was always bustling with family and pets and filled with warm hospitality. The last time I visited Ivan Vrachev was in September, just three months prior to his death.

In keeping with their wishes, Ivan Vrachev is buried in his family's plot in the Danskoy Crematory and his wife is buried with her family in Golovinskoye Cemetery.

The month he died the Russian media was flooded with nationalist election campaign demagogy about "bringing back the Soviet Union." Not a word appeared to mark the passing of Ivan Vrachev—this despite the fact that he was the last living signatory to the December 1922 treaty that established the USSR.

Ivan Vrachev joined the Bolshevik party as a young worker in Moscow in March 1917, on the heels of the February Revolution. He was soon drafted into the army by the Provisional Government and posted to the city of Voronezh, south of Moscow.

A genuine workers revolution throws open the road to youth and all the oppressed who rise to meet its promises and challenges. While Vrachev had worked from the age of eleven and received only three years of formal schooling, he nevertheless displayed such acute intelligence, and oratorical and organizing strength, that by the summer he was in the leadership of the garrison and city soviets.

In January 1918, Vrachev was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies. At the proposal of its chairman, Yakov Sverdlov, he was also brought onto its expanded Presidium. Thus at the age of *nineteen*, Vrachev became the youngest leader in the Soviet workers government.

How fortunate we were to hear Vrachev's first-hand accounts of those days! It is one thing to read the debates that raged in the Bolshevik Party and the Soviets over the 1918 Brest-Litovsk negotiations with German imperialism. It is another thing altogether to hear the words of Lenin and Trotsky, reverberating with all their conviction, related by an actual participant in the first days of Bolshevik power.

During the Civil War, Vrachev served on the Southern fronts in various leading army and party posts, eventually becoming Chief Political Commissar of the Red Army of Transcaucasia. The Red Army played a key role in extending proletarian power to the region, defeating imperialist-backed nationalist forces in Azerbaijan and Armenia and a pro-imperialist Menshevik government in Georgia. The consolidation of Soviet rule in economically backward and ethnically kaleidoscopic Transcaucasia and Central Asia was based on the combination of proletarian social revolution in the urban centers, agrarian revolution in the countryside, and the struggle for full equality for all nationalities and ethnic groups. Where today Yeltsin's slaughter in Chechnya reduces whole cities to rubble, the birth of soviet power in the region was based on a *smychka* (alliance) of the predominantly Russian oil refinery workers of Grozny with the pro-Soviet rising of the landless mountain people, the Chechens.

In the Civil War against the White Guards, the Red Army became a school of internationalism, and Vrachev was one of its teachers. In the Turkestan Front newspaper that he edited, the *Political Commissar Daily*, and in special pamphlets, Vrachev addressed the need to counteract commandism and Great Russian chauvinism and to be sensitive to the national particularities of the various minority peoples. This was all explicitly linked to Lenin and Trotsky's perspective of spreading the revolution from Soviet Central Asia throughout colonial Asia.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable moments in Vrachev's life was when he became one of three Left Oppositionists to be allowed as delegates to the 13th Party Conference in January 1924. This conference took place after Trotsky's "New Course"—calling for the revival of party democracy—met with an unexpected groundswell of support in the ranks, filling the pages of *Pravda* in November 1923. In response, Stalin's apparat for the first time managed to completely rig delegate elections and turn the last remaining forum of Bolshevism into a demonstrative fist of defiance by the apparat against the revolutionary layers of the party. It was Vrachev who, amid the orchestrated heckling, denounced Stalin's course and warned the delegates that they were witnessing the end of party democracy: "Comrades, it may be that we have only a few hours left of full democracy, so let us use it!"

Indeed, the January 1924 conference marked the decisive point of the Soviet Thermidor, the political counterrevolution which took place in 1923-24.

Upon his return to Tbilisi, Georgia,

Jacobinism and Communism

TROTSKY

LENIN

The program of communism—for a just and egalitarian society based on the overcoming of economic scarcity—has its roots in the rational humanism of the Enlightenment. The Great French Revolution, especially under the Jacobin dictatorship of 1793-94, sought to realize the most radical principles of Enlightenment thought under the banner of "liberty, equality, fraternity." But by the late 19th century, capitalism had outlived its progressive period and its ideologues were denouncing Jacobinism, which they identified with "red revolution." In his seminal work laying out the theory of permanent revolution for backward Russia, written after the defeat of the 1905 Russian Revolution and vindicated by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Leon Trotsky paid homage to the historic achievements of Jacobinism, while indicating that its program of revolutionary bourgeois democracy had been transcended by the proletariat's struggle for socialist revolution.

In the heroic period of French history we saw a bourgeoisie, enlightened, active, as yet not aware of the contradictions of its own position, upon whom history had imposed the task of leadership in the struggle for a new order, not only against the outworn institutions of France but also against the reactionary forces of the whole of Europe. The bourgeoisie, consistently, in all its factions, regarded itself as the leader of the nation, rallied the masses to the struggle, gave them slogans and dictated their fighting tactics. Democracy bound the nation together with a political ideology....

Jacobinism is now a term of reproach on the lips of all liberal wiseacres. Bourgeois hatred of revolution, its hatred towards the masses, hatred of the force and grandeur of the history that is made in the streets, is concentrated in one cry of indignation and fear—*Jacobinism*! We, the world army of Communism, have long ago made our historical reckoning with Jacobinism. The whole of the present international proletarian movement was formed and grew strong in the struggle against the traditions of Jacobinism. We subjected its theories to criticism, we exposed its historical limitations, its social contradictoriness, its utopianism, we exposed its phraseology, and broke with its traditions, which for decades had been regarded as the sacred heritage of the revolution.

But we defend Jacobinism against the attacks, the calumny, and the stupid vituperations of anaemic, phlegmatic liberalism. The bourgeoisie has shamefully betrayed all the traditions of its historical youth, and its present hirelings dishonour the graves of its ancestors and scoff at the ashes of their ideals. The proletariat has taken the honour of the revolutionary past of the bourgeoisie under its protection. The proletariat, however radically it may have, in practice, broken with the revolutionary traditions of the bourgeoisie, nevertheless preserves them, as a sacred heritage of great passions, heroism and initiative, and its heart beats in sympathy with the speeches and acts of the Jacobin Convention.

—Leon Trotsky, *Results and Prospects* (1906)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 647 **7 June 1996**

Nobel Prize Winner Defends Israeli Nuclear Technician

Free Mordechai Vanunu from Mossad Dungeon!

Nearly ten years ago, Mossad agents kidnapped an Israeli nuclear technician, Mordechai Vanunu, in Rome and spirited him off to a *secret* trial in Israel. Vanunu was sentenced to 18 years in prison, where he has since been held in total isolation in a six-by-ten-foot cell. Vanunu's "crime"? He revealed to a British newspaper that the Israeli state had produced and stockpiled *more than 200* atomic warheads. And the Zionist fanatics are fully capable of launching this arsenal of mega-death to exterminate every man, woman and child in the Near East.

Marlow/Magnum

Nobel Prize winner Joseph Rotblat.

The worldwide campaign to free Vanunu recently received a significant boost when the 1995 recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, nuclear physicist Joseph Rotblat, publicized Vanunu's case (*New York Times*, 21 May). Rotblat is the founder of the Pugwash Conferences, a movement of scientists opposed to nuclear weapons. At the award ceremony last December, Rotblat was interrupted with applause when he called for Vanunu's freedom. "I was a whistle-blower like him when I warned against the danger of radiation from the hydrogen bomb," Rotblat told an Israeli journalist. "It is the right and the duty of every citizen to report, and such whistle-blowers should be protected by law" (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January-February 1996).

Born in Poland of Jewish parents, Rotblat moved to Britain in 1939 just before the German invasion. His wife, who stayed behind, perished in the Holocaust; one of his brothers fought as an anti-Nazi partisan on the Eastern Front. Desperate to do something to combat the Hitlerite scourge, Rotblat offered his services to the Anglo-American imperialist alliance. He initially participated in the Manhattan Project to build the first U.S. A-bomb but resigned in protest after learning "that the real purpose in making the bomb was to subdue the Soviets" (*Scientific American*, January 1996). For his courageous stance, Rotblat was hounded during the Cold War, threatened with arrest and denounced as a "Communist dupe."

While we do not share Rotblat's pacifist philosophy, we welcome his defense of Vanunu as a blow against the nuclear militarism of the war-crazed Israeli Zionist state and its even more dangerous godfather, U.S. imperialism, the only power to ever use nuclear weapons with its hideous obliteration of Hiroshima and of Nagasaki in 1945. The International Communist League has publicized Vanunu's case since the time of his abduction and imprisonment (see "Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!" *WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). We honor Mordechai Vanunu and demand his immediate freedom. The crimes of the crazed Zionist theocracy will be avenged by workers revolution.

AP

After revealing massive scale of Israeli nuclear arsenal to London *Sunday Times* in October 1986, Mordechai Vanunu was abducted by Mossad, tried in secret and sentenced to 18 years.

Vrachev was handed orders removing him from his army and party posts and transferring him to Moscow to run a dairy collective. Vrachev was a signer of the May 1927 "Declaration of the 83" and a supporter of the Platform of the Left Opposition submitted to the 15th Party Congress in December 1927. For this he was expelled from the party by the congress. In January 1929, he was arrested.

Isaac Deutscher's three-volume biography of Trotsky contains a chapter entitled "The Year 1928" that vividly describes the rich correspondence carried on in exile by the Left Opposition. Vrachev took an active part in this correspondence. The Prometheus Research Library, the research and archival facility of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, has in its collection two fascinating manuscripts by Vrachev, one on the Tenth Party Congress in 1921, where he was a supporter of Trotsky's platform on the trade-union question, and one on the crucial 12th Party Congress in 1923, at which he was also a delegate. The collection also includes a transcript of our 1990 interview.

In July 1929 Vrachev capitulated to Stalin along with former Left Opposition leaders Karl Radek, Ivar Smilga and Evgenny Preobrazhensky. Failing to understand the centrality of the struggle for world socialist revolution to the Left Opposition's perspectives, they accepted the constraints of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" and went over to Stalin when he embarked on his "left" zigzag of forced-march industrialization. Vrachev was restored to the party in 1930, dropped again in 1936 and eventually exiled to Siberia in 1937 for his Trotskyist past. By 1938 he was allowed to live under house arrest in the Moscow region.

When Hitler's army invaded in June 1941, Vrachev was evacuated to Moscow, where he telegrammed Stalin to insist on being mobilized for the front. Unlike the surviving Trotskyists in Siberian exile who demanded to serve at the front, Vrachev was not shot, but merely kept in limbo. When in February 1943 his oldest son died at the front, Vrachev dropped everything and enlisted secretly. Beginning again as a 46-year-old infantry soldier, he worked his way up to battalion commander and returned to Moscow with several medals.

In September 1949, he was again arrested for "former Trotskyist activity" and sentenced to 25 years. He served seven years before being rehabilitated along with millions of others in the wake of the 1956 Khrushchev revelations. To his last days he sought to be reinstated to the CPSU. But for years the bureaucracy would not so much as issue this veteran of the October Revolution a personal pension. In 1989-90, however, Gorbachev's ideologues became eager to enlist Vrachev's name for the *perestroika* "market reforms" which paved the way to capitalist restoration, and the media suddenly descended upon him. But despite Vrachev's misplaced hopes in Gorbachev, at the age of 92 he did not pretend to involve himself in contemporary politics.

Our time with Ivan Vrachev was very limited. We recorded a lengthy interview with him and provided him with transcripts whose accuracy he confirmed. Vrachev was thrilled to receive the ICL's Russian-language edition of Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin* when we invited him to its public presentation in Moscow 1994, and he hoped then to write a review.

We will seek to incorporate what we have learned from Ivan Vrachev about the world's first proletarian revolution and its degeneration to arm future generations. As Vrachev said recalling his revolutionary period:

> "The October Revolution was the greatest cause of the working class and had significance not just for our country, but for the working class of the entire world. Its influence was very significant and has not run out to today.
>
> "We lived and breathed the world revolution. As Lenin wrote, 'We may die, but we will help the German Revolution!'"

We extend our condolences to Ivan Vrachev's family, especially to his daughter, Svetlana, who cared for him in his final years.

Victor G.

On the Slogan "Restore the Soviet Union"

15 February 1996

To the Editor

Dear Comrades,

In *Workers Vanguard* (issue no. 638) it is asserted that Marxists should not call for the restoration of the S. Union and presumably that of Yugoslavia as well. Was the creation of the S. Union a historical step forwards and consequently its demise a step back into an era of war and barbarism? To not support the restoration of the S. Union as it once was Stalinist is tantamount to not supporting the restoration of union rights in a factory strike which has occurred and workers have lost their rights (e.g. recent Dockers strike in Liverpool, England). The demand and desire for peoples to live in peace and harmony in multinational wholes (which imperialism is currently seeking to destroy in order to rule over them more effectively) is correct. The tragedy as you correctly point out is that the Stalinist fragments will be unable to defend/extend the gains of the workers movement.

Your current class analysis of the S. Union as one of a fully developed capitalist state means that the mistakes of the state capitalists of yesteryear are to be repeated in current phenomena. E.g. your refusal to support the Serbs in ex-Yugoslavia for more than three years of war and only after the NATO bombardments of August 1995 to take a half-hearted stance in their defence. Your current refusal to support the demand for the restoration of the S. Union because the remnants of Stalinism are currently associated with the demand is reminiscent of T. Cliff's refusal to support Korea against America as it was led by Stalinists.

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DPA

Russian troops patrol Grozny, Chechen capital devastated by Yeltsin's invasion.

Spartacist Supporter Writes in *Black Scholar*:

"Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters"

By Don Cane

Reprinted from

THE**BLACK**SCHOLAR

The following article is reprinted from Black Scholar *Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 1996). Comrade Cane is a spokesman for the Spartacist League in the Bay Area and a member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense.*

The rulers of America are conducting a one-sided class war against the working class, targeting as their main scapegoats the black ghetto masses. With barely a peep from the "leaders" of organized labor, they have gutted industry, busted unions and driven down wages. The wealthy few have condemned the impoverished many in the black ghetto as a "surplus" population. Permanent unemployment, the elimination of welfare, the assault on Medicare, intensified police terror, an overflowing prison population and the speedup on death row—all speak to the impulse to genocide inherent in the policies of the racist rulers.

Seeing no leadership willing to fight the Gingrich/Clinton reaction, many blacks grabbed at Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March like a drowning man for a straw. The Million Man March dressed up a black constituency with the conservative trappings of anti-woman "family values" and segregationist bigotry. As journalist Don Terry noted in the *New York Times* (15 October 1995), "Mr. Farrakhan is a conservative and on the surface, at least, some of the rally's themes echo those heard at Republican gatherings: God, loyalty, family, discipline." In order to court America's party of property (Democrats and Republicans) the black misleaders—Farrakhan, Jesse Jackson, Ben Chavis—condemn blacks for their own oppression and black women "to be the slave of a slave."

Much is made of the march as a demonstration of "black operational unity"—a million black men standing together. In the 1960s, "I'm Black and I'm Proud" race consciousness, influenced by masses in struggle, was defiant of the racist capitalist rulers. Today we witness "I'm black and I'm not a criminal" race consciousness influenced by a desperate black middle class begging for "understanding" from the racist rulers. The black misleaders, branded by race themselves, can barely conceal their contempt for the black masses on whom they call to "atone." I say *black people have nothing to atone for!* But the false prophets of the "American Dream" blame the victim for not "succeeding" and degrade the proud history of black working people who have struggled long and hard for freedom from the chains of racist oppression.

With the defeat of Radical Reconstruction the social revolution that launched the American Civil War remained unfinished. Chattel slavery was destroyed, but blacks were not free from ruthless political and economic subjugation. The social ferment unleashed by the Civil War harbored the underlying question: Who created the society's wealth and who should rule? If the free slave demands 40 acres and a mule from the confiscated plantations why not the workers the factories? Why should these laboring classes not unite and overthrow the masters, South and North? In defense of private property, the masters (South and North) united to head off any incipient workers struggle by withdrawing the Union army from the South (bringing it North to break strikes) and sanctioning race terror and the repressive Black Codes (the foundation of Jim Crow).

American capitalism was built on the forcible segregation and subjugation of blacks at the bottom of society. This is the fundamental fact that the civil rights movement crashed into when it came "up North" in the 1960s. This mass movement, built on the courage of millions of black and white activists, did overturn the "Jim Crow" system of *de jure* segregation of Southern blacks. But the liberal-led civil rights movement had no program to address the *de facto* segregation and ghetto poverty of blacks in the major Northern cities —all they could offer was utopian pie-in-the-sky: the "brotherhood of man" under the thumb of a genocidal racist ruling class.

The perspective of the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League is one of revolutionary integrationism—for black freedom through socialist revolution. It is rooted in the understanding that the brutal oppression of blacks in this country is part of the very bedrock of American capitalism and it is one that guides our practical work. Together with the Partisan Defense Committee, we have sought to bring the social power of the integrated working class to bear in mobilizations demanding freedom for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and the abolition of the racist death penalty. The perspective of an integrated revolutionary fight for black freedom was what guided the PDC-initiated labor and black mobilization against an attempted Klan provocation in Springfield, Illinois on Martin Luther King Day in 1994. Organized labor, led by the Chicago transit unions, was the hard core of this mobilization which spiked the KKK lynch mob.

Revolutionary integrationism is a program for building a fighting labor movement that champions the cause of all the oppressed and a revolutionary multiracial workers party that acts as the tribune of all the people in the fight for an egalitarian socialist America. Revolutionary integrationism recognizes that black oppression is the Achilles' heel of American capitalism, with the understanding that "because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution" ("Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967).

"Marxist utopian rubbish!" the liberal integrationist and the segregationist nationalists would both shout in unison. But let us see whose program is utopian. In an article in the *Nation* (30 October 1995), Eric Foner writes that his "vision of a nation transformed, one in which equality is a reality for all Americans" will "require not only the passage of new laws but a change of America's hearts and minds." Racism is a conscious tool of ruthless capitalist hegemony—it poisons *class* consciousness and divides to rule. It is the whip that drives American workers, white and black, to pull the capitalist cart through war, economic depression and social ruin.

The idea that racism can be fought by changing "hearts and minds" finds grotesque reflection in the whole premise of the Million Man March: racist oppression is the fault of blacks themselves. Louis Farrakhan recalls with nostalgia the Jim Crow era: "When civil rights broke down the segregation laws we began to lose black businesses and spend our money with white businesses. So throughout the South the economic advancement that we gained under Jim Crow is literally dead" (*Emerge*, August 1990). Economic advancement for whom? Surely not the sharecropper chained by debt to the plantation store and the rural capitalist's land. Surely not the "last hired, first fired" urban worker who fought tooth and nail for a decent paying job in industry. Surely not the youth who studied in dilapidated class rooms with outdated books because public tax money was needed for projects to enhance business opportunity.

Today 20 percent of black families earn half of all black income. This is the black middle class created by Johnson's "War On Poverty" as a buffer against black unrest exemplified by the 1960s ghetto upheavals. This layer was the main beneficiary of the civil rights revolt, although its constituents continue to endure the daily humiliation of racism and are watching the openings which they were afforded slam shut for their children. Their despair at the prospects for integrated social struggle against racism is conditioned by their lack of faith in the power of the multiracial working class as an instrument of change. For them the ghetto masses are a social weight "holding down the race" (them) from upward mobility. For them an integrated labor movement is a poor cousin compared to the powerful, wealthy patrons of the Democratic Party. These patrons made it clear they have no need for demanding blacks or bothersome workers when in 1992, Clinton's New Democrats focused his campaign toward the "racist Reagan Democrats."

Reuters

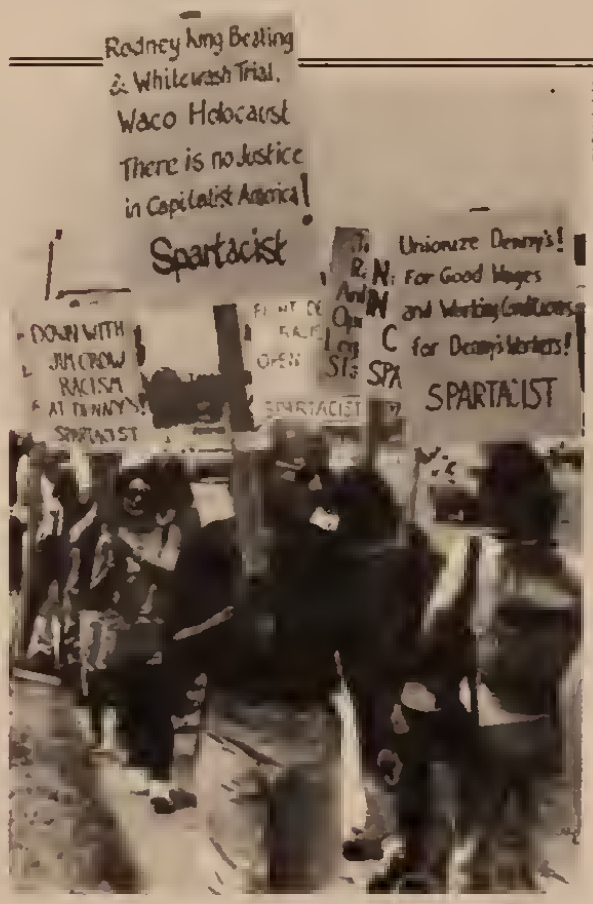
Nation of Islam demagogue Louis Farrakhan speaking at Million Man March.

Farrakhan denounces the small Jewish, now Arab and Asian ghetto shopkeepers as "bloodsuckers." The new Booker T. Washingtons seek to be the *real* bloodsuckers—the capitalist exploiters—of "their own" people, claiming the ghetto as their illusory "exclusive market." In their political role as overseers for their capitalist patrons the language of fascism serves to divert black anger from the real enemy, the capitalist White Anglo-Saxon Protestant ruling class, to the hapless small change "foreign" shopkeeper. For the ghetto masses and even the middle class the "empowerment" of "Black capitalism" is a fraud—old wine in new bottles. It is utopian to believe that this ruling class will share any part of its market with a yet unformed black capitalist class. Farrakhan's cockroach capitalism is premised on the benevolent acquiescence of the white power structure while at the same time feeding off of segregation.

Farrakhan's is a program to sweep up the crumbs that fall from the capitalist table for a price. He advertises himself as an alternative to revolution: "if black people rise up in an evil manner, we could foment revolution inside this country and so weaken America that she could not entertain war with her enemies on the outside" (*Back Where We Belong*, 1989). Indeed, the "Mission Statement" of the Million Man March Organizing Committee offers "the Black community...in a partnership with government" to form "the salvation army of the world"—to make the world safe for Wall Street profiteering and plunder.

Malcolm X once said of American capitalism: "The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this social system, this system, as it stands, to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country."

What Malcolm said also goes for the average American workers, who are being squeezed by the system. We cannot reform the racist capitalist system. It threatens us with total annihilation. It must be overthrown. It is socialism or barbarism. ■



WV Photo

Spartacists and Labor Black Leagues protest Jim Crow racism at Denny's restaurants, July 1993.

Letters...

(continued from page 3)

The workers movement in Russia which you seem to be so dismissive of lately will inscribe on its banner the restoration of the S. Union and the vote for the Stalinists is not a vote for the past (in the same way as the recent large vote for the French left) or a vote for the leaders of these parties (like Zyuganov who beyond any doubt are Western puppets) but a vote for a change in the whole of society. Just as the recent election in France led to the December events so the recent elections in Russia will inevitably lead to social struggle of immense proportions. The struggle between the working class and the remnants of Stalinism is where the coming future class battles will emerge and the long-awaited historical accounting of this remains to occur. The road for conflict against capitalism and Stalinism is inevitable.

Fraternally,
V.N. Gelis

WV replies: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were multinational workers states based on a collectivized economy but governed by a parasitic bureaucratic caste. These states were destroyed in 1991-92 through capitalist counterrevolution in large measure fueled by the splintering of their respective Stalinist bureaucracies along antagonistic national lines. What now exists in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans is a multiplicity of bourgeois states, each under the control of its dominant nation and, in many cases, engaged in internecine feuding with one another.

The call to "restore the Soviet Union" on the part of Stalinist-derived Russian "patriots" like Gennadi Zyuganov, leader and presidential candidate of the bougeois-nationalist Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), is in reality a call for a modernized version of the Russian empire of the Romanovs. Similarly, talk of "restoring Yugoslavia" by the Communist Alliance—Movement for Yugoslavia of Mirjana Markovic, the wife of Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, can only mean a modernized version of the post-1919 Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The progressive character of the former Soviet Union lay in its collectivized economy *not* in its particular national composition. There is nothing inherently progressive about a state incorporating in its boundaries Russians and Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Chechens, etc. If there were, then the tsarist empire, which Lenin called a "prison house of peoples," would have to be judged no less progressive than the USSR.

As is well known, Lenin strongly and clearly advocated the right of national self-determination, i.e., the right to secede and form independent states, for the non-Russian subject peoples of the tsarist empire. In this way the Bolsheviks gained the sympathy and support of the non-Russian toilers, which was vitally important for their victory over the White Guard counterrevolutionaries and Western/Japanese imperialist forces in the Civil War of 1918-21.

At the end of the Civil War, the Red Army controlled most of the territory of the former tsarist empire. However, as we wrote in "Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call 'Restore the Soviet Union'" (*WV* No. 639, 16 February):

> "The Bolshevik leadership did *not* maintain that the various nations and peoples of the former tsarist empire had to be reorganized within the framework of a *single* federated Soviet (workers) state. Lenin was open to the prospect of an alliance of Soviet states in the region if the non-Russian workers and peasants so desired."

Thus, against the opposition of Stalin, Lenin insisted that the right of national self-determination be incorporated into the founding constitution of the USSR.

When the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy disintegrated under Gorbachev in the late 1980s, various non-Russian petty-bourgeois nationalists, notably in the Baltic republics—acting in concert with Western imperialism—demanded secession from the USSR as a cover for capitalist restoration. At the same time, the Russian Stalinist "patriots" increasingly appealed to traditional Great Russian chauvinism. Hence the "'red'-brown" coalition.

The fundamental task facing communists in Russia, the Ukraine and other former Soviet republics today is to work for proletarian socialist revolution to overthrow these new bourgeois states. Whether future workers states in this region will form a multinational federation and what its configuration would be is a historically open and, at the present time, rather abstract question. What is sharply and directly posed at present is the defense of non-Russian peoples against renascent Russian imperialist ambitions, including those would-be Russian imperialists who call for "restoring the Soviet Union."

Here it's significant that V.N. Gelis' letter does not so much as mention the Chechen war in which the Russian Army has already killed tens of thousands of Caucasian people in a region conquered by the tsarist empire in the early 19th century. We call for the defeat of the Russian invading and occupying forces and for the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate. The KPRF nationalists, while criticizing Yeltsin's handling of the war, predictably *oppose* the independence of Chechnya.

Similarly, the European and American imperialists support the "territorial integrity" of the new Russian bourgeois state and therefore have endorsed Yeltsin's bloody colonial war against the Chechens. Clinton made this perfectly clear on his recent visit to Yeltsin, when he grotesquely drew a parallel between the Russian rape of Chechnya and the Union struggle against the slavocracy in the U.S. Civil War, claiming that the common principle was "that no state has a right to withdraw from our union." This clearly refutes Gelis' false assertion that "imperialism is seeking to destroy" multinational states in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans. The imperialist powers have in the past and will in the future support and even create multinational states when this serves their perceived interests.

Thus the original Yugoslav state, ruled by the Serbian monarchy, was created by British and French imperialism at the 1919 Versailles Congress. The Communist International rightly recognized that this new Yugoslav state was by its very nature one in which the dominant nationality, the Serbs, oppressed the other South Slavic peoples. During the 1920s, the Yugoslav Communist Party militantly championed self-determination especially for the Croats, Slovenes and Macedonians. Precisely because they did so, the Communists became the only genuinely pan-Yugoslav party in the country, with its leadership and cadres containing members of all South Slav nationalities.

The victory of Tito's Communist Partisans over the German Wehrmacht and reactionary Serbian and Croatian nationalist forces during World War II laid the basis for the creation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in which nonetheless a real effort was made to ensure political equality among the constituent national republics. However, especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav bureaucracy increasingly fractured along national lines. Thus Serbian Stalinist leader Slobodan Milosevic came to power seeking to create a "Greater Serbia," beginning with trampling on the Albanians in Kosovo.

We have taken a position of *revolutionary defeatism* toward all of the contending bourgeois-nationalist forces in the territorial wars—marked by mutual communalist massacres—precipitated by the breakup of Yugoslavia. As V.N. Gelis notes, we did defend the Bosnian Serbs when they came under direct attack by the NATO powers, including last year's massive air assault carried out in league with the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim forces and with the complicity of the Milosevic government.

While Gelis argues for support to the Serbs in the wars of ex-Yugoslavia, he offers no principled or other reason for this position. Does he believe that Milosevic's Serbia is still a deformed workers state while Croatia and the Bosnian Muslim polity are nascent bourgeois states? Or does he think the Serbs are a "progressive" people compared to the Croats and Bosnian Muslims? Or is he reflecting the pro-Serbian sympathy prevalent in Greece?

It is a basic principle that for communists the main enemy is the bourgeoisie of their own country, which in Gelis' case is the Greek bourgeoisie. However, his positions here are in harmony with those of the Greek ruling class. Not only do Greece, Russia and Serbia share the Eastern Orthodox religion, but the Greek bourgeoisie is also driven by its ongoing nationalist conflict with Muslim Turkey, which backs the Bosnian Sarajevo regime. Today, the Greek government is the only member of NATO which has consistently and conspicuously supported the Serbian cause in the wars of ex-Yugoslavia. This fact alone should cause V.N. Gelis and his comrades to reconsider whether their views on the Balkans and the former Soviet Union are governed by the principles of proletarian internationalism or other considerations.

On South Korea Coup Generals Trial

22 May 1996

To the Editor:

The headline "South Korea: Regime Puts Coup Generals on Trial" (*WV* No. 646, 24 May) could give the false impression that we accept the South Korean regime's "democratic" pretenses and think the capitalist state is willing to put *itself* on trial. The excellent article itself didn't do that. Rather, it made clear that the South Korean bourgeoisie is trying to polish up its image after decades of military corruption and bloody crimes against the working class.

Comradely,
Damon L.

Labor Black League for Social Defense

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality healthcare for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

What We Stand For

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the organized power of the unions against the racist terrorists, in and out of uniform! Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and all victims of racist, capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, puhlic health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high quality, integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! Take industry away from its incompetent and corrupt owners—all the wealth helongs to the working people who created it! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

For more information write the Labor Black Leagues:

CHICAGO
Box 6938
Chicago, IL 60680

NEW YORK
Box 3238
Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND
Box 751
Oakland, CA 94604

Membership pledge is $3/year unemployed;
$10/year employed

U.S. Hands Off the World!

French Troops Out of Africa!

Grossman/NY Times

French troops occupy Bangui, capital of Central African Republic, after perpetrating bloody massacre to suppress revolt.

An army mutiny in the Central African Republic (C.A.R.) last month turned into a popular revolt against the French neocolonial military occupation. On May 18, rank-and-file soldiers demanding back pay rebelled against the puppet regime of President Ange-Félix Patassé for the second time in two months. French troops responded with a brutal assault on the capital, Bangui, using Mirage jet fighters and helicopter gunships. The rebellion in the army triggered a week-long explosion of looting, as the desperately poor population ransacked downtown offices and shops and destroyed scores of villas in the affluent suburbs. But with the bloody French intervention, the plebeian upsurge became focused on opposition to the French military presence. For several days, thousands of people defying a ban on public gatherings marched through the streets of Bangui, chanting slogans like "Death to the French!"

Behind the ferocity of French imperialism's assault on what is one of the poorest countries on earth is the fact that the C.A.R. is a key link in the French military presence in Africa. France has some 8,000 troops stationed in seven African countries, including Gabon, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Chad and Djibouti (as well as on the Indian Ocean islands of Reunion and Mayotte). In addition, French arms and training provide the backbone of the local armies in a number of other countries, with shadowy French "advisers" lurking behind the local generals.

France has used its troops repeatedly to prop up its despotic satraps—an average of once every two years since its former colonies acquired formal independence in the 1960s. In 1979, French troops removed Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the self-crowned Central African "emperor," a notorious tyrant known as the "French-speaking Idi Amin." Paris had propped up Bokassa even as he personally participated in the slaughter of 200 high-school students jailed for holding a protest demonstration. His successor was flown into Bangui and sworn in aboard a French military transport. Three years ago, the French army directly organized the elections in the C.A.R. which brought in Patassé, Bokassa's former prime minister.

French imperialism's record of military intervention in its self-appropriated "back yard" rivals that of the United States, which has intervened countless times in Latin America, most recently in Grenada, Panama and Haiti. Several years ago, France participated along with the U.S. and others in the "humanitarian" occupation of Somalia, where the racist imperialists indiscriminately gunned down residents of Mogadishu. In Rwanda, Socialist president François Mitterrand sent arms, helicopters and 700 troops in the early 1990s to help prop up the Hutu-dominated government of President Juvénal Habyarimana, whose lieutenants unleashed a genocidal slaughter of the country's Tutsi population.

In recent weeks, the American press has been going on about France's neocolonial presence in Africa. A typical *New York Times* (22 May) headline declaimed, "France's Army Keeps Grip in African Ex-Colonies." This is pretty rich, coming from the mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism's "humanitarian" invasions around the world. But there is more than hypocrisy involved here, as the U.S. and French imperialists are today engaged in sharp competition for influence in sub-Saharan Africa.

With the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the imperialist powers feel they have a free hand to ride roughshod over the entire planet. Conservative French president Jacques Chirac recently announced the gradual elimination of the draft in order to form a professional military capable of the sort of "rapid intervention" carried out in Bangui. One of the factors which prompted Paris to streamline the military was its pique at having to play a subordinate role to its imperialist rivals—especially the U.S.—in the 1991 Persian Gulf slaughter and NATO's occupation in the Balkans.

The French bourgeoisie has always regarded absolute control of its former colonial empire in sub-Saharan Africa as key to its pretensions of being more than a second-rate imperialist power. In his recently published memoirs, De Gaulle's sinister aide Jacques Foccart (who is now working for Chirac) describes how he kept up constant phone links with African heads of state like an all-powerful Mafia don. Mitterrand pursued the same approach, with his son Jean-Christophe as the don. Today, Washington is seeking to extend the tentacles of its "New World Order" into this traditional French *chasse gardée* (private hunting ground). While on a visit last year to oil-rich Gabon, Chirac vituperated against the "Anglo-Saxons" who "dream of pushing France out of its position in Africa" (*Economist*, 12 August 1995).

The savagery of the French attack in Bangui was intended to send a message throughout its African "sphere of influence" that local rulers will be anointed by the French government and by it alone. As the mutineers began calling for Patassé's removal, Paris mobilized 2,300 troops, including forces rushed in from Chad, Gabon and France, in addition to those permanently stationed in the C.A.R. Two columns of paratrooper commandos and Foreign Legion troops with armored cars, cannons and heavy machine guns, supported by jet fighters and rocket-firing helicopter gunships, overwhelmed rebel troops around the national radio station and the presidential palace in the city center. As many as 200 rebel soldiers and civilians were killed and hundreds more were wounded.

The racist imperialists then arrogantly pushed aside their own puppet president, negotiating an amnesty agreement (with the benediction of the local archbishop) directly with the rebels. French troops armed with automatic rifles and machine guns fanned out through the devastated capital, arresting suspected "rebels." When protesters marched to the French embassy, the troops dispersed the demonstration with gunfire. Outraged protesters attacked the lavish French cultural center and set it ablaze.

Paris exercises virtually total economic control of its former colonies through the CFA (African Financial Community), a direct carry-over from colonialism which ties the currencies of the 14 African member states to the French franc. As part of an austerity drive in response to German pressure within the European Union, in 1993 Mitterrand arbitrarily decreed a massive 50 percent devaluation of the CFA franc. The consequences have been catastrophic throughout Central and West Africa, where this has meant a doubling of the price of food, medicine and other imported goods.

While the plebeian revolt in the C.A.R. reflected a deep wellspring of popular anger and bitterness against neocolonial exploitation, it also starkly revealed the lack of social power necessary to throw off the yoke of capitalist imperialism. The movement coincided with a wave of strikes by public service employees (who also have not been paid for months). But it could not harness the power of an industrial working class—the only force capable of overthrowing capitalism—because such a class simply does not exist in countries like the C.A.R., which are so terribly underdeveloped because of imperialist exploitation that they do not even possess a railroad.

Just as the Russian Revolution of 1917 opened up the perspective of revolutionary change in the backward regions of Central Asia, the overthrow of capitalism in those parts of Africa whose development has been so dreadfully retarded must be linked to the international struggle of the working class for socialist revolution. Proletarian revolution in South Africa, Egypt, Algeria, Nigeria or other industrialized countries in Africa will be a liberating force which will produce social transformation reaching into the most backward areas of the continent. What is necessary is the forging of internationalist Trotskyist vanguard parties standing at the head of the proletariat and leading behind it the peasantry and all the oppressed. ■

Der Spiegel

U.S. imperialism's "humanitarian" invasion of Somalia unleashed racist massacres against civilian population.

Spartacist Events

NEW YORK

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Saturdays, 3:00 p.m.
Next classes, June 29: ***Principles of Communism***; July 13: ***State and Revolution***; Spartacist Public Office
41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers St., near Church St.)
For more information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next classes, June 27: ***The State***; July 11: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; New College, Room 2, 777 Valencia Street (between 18th & 19th Streets)
For more information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Spartacists Expose Apologists for Counterrevolution

Polish Fake-Lefts: Still Praying at Solidarność Shrine

WARSAW—After ushering in the restoration of capitalism—and mass unemployment, widespread immiseration and a sharp rise in attacks against the rights of women and minorities—Solidarność is widely scorned among working people here, who voted its founder Lech Walesa out as Polish president last December. Solidarność' services as the battering ram for capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe made it the favorite "trade union" of the CIA, the Vatican and the imperialist bankers. Today, the Frankfurt and Wall Street financiers have shifted their bets to the ruling ex-Stalinist Social Democrats of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). But Solidarność continues to serve as a key instrument for the promotion of virulent Polish nationalism, anti-communism and anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-Semitic bigotry in the working class.

None of this has stopped various Polish leftists from continuing to tail after this reactionary outfit and wallowing in the backward prejudices it promotes. Most brazen are the supporters of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization), who even call themselves "Solidarność Socjalistyczna" (Socialist Solidarność). Recently, the Cliffites grotesquely tried to turn a Warsaw anti-fascist demonstration on April 27—protesting an anti-Semitic provocation earlier that month at the site of the Nazi death camp in Auschwitz—into a platform for anti-Semitic Solidarność. "A Solidarity union banner was on the demonstration," boasted the British *Socialist Worker* (25 May). But it failed to report that the handful of Cliffites who tried to place themselves at the head of the march carrying red-and-white Solidarność flags were sent scurrying to the back as a result of angry denunciations by the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) and other anti-fascist protesters.

In early May, Solidarność was also the focus of a sharp political debate at the annual "Guevariada" youth conference in Katowice organized by the Radical-Progressive Movement, which publishes the anarchist-oriented journal *Barykada*. This is a lash-up which includes the Revolutionary Left Current (NLR), associated with the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), and the Initiative Group for a Workers Party (GIPR), connected to the International Workers League of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. But far from offering anything vaguely "radical" (even Che Guevara's name was barely mentioned, much less the anti-imperialist struggle he is identified with), the conference sponsors and the sole Cliffite in attendance attempted to outdo one another in justifying their erstwhile or current support for Solidarność.

Yet many of the youth who attended were looking for a way forward out of the glaring injustice, bigotry and oppression of the "new" capitalist Poland, and eagerly bought copies of *Platforma Spartakusowców* and other literature of the International Communist League. Also, Rachel Wolkenstein, general counsel of the Spartacist League/U.S. and a defense attorney for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, was given time to speak to the conference about the international campaign for Mumia's freedom. It was the SGP which brought the fight for Mumia's freedom to Poland.

Gamma

Lech Walesa's CIA-backed counterrevolutionary movement bowed to Vatican, was supported by opportunist leftists.

The political lines at the conference were quickly drawn when the Solidarność Socjalistyczna spokesman got up to crow about their despicable action on April 27. An SGP supporter responded that it was under these same red-and-white Solidarność banners that a reactionary mob in Warsaw last year clamored for "gas chambers" for the Social Democrats.

What the opportunists' quest for "common ground" with Solidarność means in practice was shown when one self-proclaimed "anarchist" hanging around the conference boasted of having participated in a right-wing attack on a workers' May Day demonstration several days earlier. The Guevariada sponsors ignored vigorous protests by the SGP that this creep had no place at the conference. Even when he returned the next day with his cronies, one of whom was wearing fascist insignia, several supporters of the Mandelite NLR chatted amicably with these scum. But other conference participants were rightly alarmed by this open rightist provocation, and together with comrades of the SGP finally forced the fascists to withdraw.

The supposed keynote of the conference was a presentation by former USec supporter and Solidarność activist Józef Pinior in defense of Solidarność' 1981 call for a "self-managed republic." Pinior was once lauded by Mandel (during the latter's 1994 debate with the SL/U.S. in New York City) as "the most brilliant revolutionary intellectual and mass leader in Eastern Europe." But the "brilliant revolutionary" showed his true colors at the Guevariada, offering a "god that failed" anti-communist lament that "the ideological division between left and right is *passé*" and urging radical young activists to find a "new language."

In the early 1980s, Mandel's followers, among others, claimed that the "self-managed republic" was simply a synonym for a workers state based on soviet democracy. In order to justify marching in lockstep with the imperialists in "solidarity with Solidarność," they argued that a movement supported by 10 million Polish workers couldn't possibly lead to the restoration of capitalism, no matter what the intentions of openly pro-capitalist leaders like Walesa were. Self-styled "socialists" like Pinior were held up as evidence of a mythical "left current" inside Solidarność. In contrast, the international Spartacist tendency (now the ICL) uniquely warned that a victory by Walesa & Co. would directly pose the restoration of capitalism. Six years after the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution spearheaded by Solidarność (and abetted by the former Stalinist bureaucracy), its fake-Trotskyist cheerleaders are still trying to cover up this simple fact.

To believe the learned theoreticians of the USec, "Capitalism has not yet been restored in Poland." With Walesa discredited, these consummate opportunists now look to the pro-capitalist Social Democrats, urging "Let's keep the pressure on the SLD." What pressure? When Walesa and his patron Cardinal Glemp launched a hysterical crusade which led to a ban on abortion, the spineless Mandelites caved in to the bigots by calling "for the right to choose motherhood." Last year in Katowice they joined with the Morenoites in building an "anti-clerical" demonstration under the slogan "Jesus is with us, not with the priests"! Most recently they offered a "left" cover to a right-wing witchhunt which assailed former SLD prime minister Oleksy for supposedly being a KGB agent, with a screaming front-page headline demanding, "Disclose Everything in the 'Oleksy Affair' " (*Dalej*, February-March 1996). In contrast, the SGP has been forthright in opposing the anti-communist witchhunt, while refusing to give any electoral or political support to the SLD. The SGP fights for free abortion on demand.

The newspaper of the Morenoite GIPR, *Glos Robotniczy* (Workers Voice), meanwhile, campaigns permanently for the "self-managed republic" as a way to avoid mentioning such "unprintable" terms as socialism, Marxism or Leninism. This aversion is not surprising since the GIPR has a track record of capitulating to the most backward prejudices fostered by Solidarność and its offshoots and sneers at the Leninist struggle against special oppression, dismissing the fight against anti-Semitism, and the defense of abortion rights and of Roma (Gypsy) immigrants, as "secondary questions" of no interest to workers. *Glos Robotniczy* recently carried a misogynist attack on Ewa Spychalska, the woman chairman of the social-democratic OPZZ trade-union federation. At the Guevariada, an SGP comrade denounced this disgusting smear, noting that the Morenoites had earlier attacked the Spartacists for calling on the working class to fight in defense of women's rights.

Opportunists in the tradition of Mandel, Moreno and Tony Cliff are nothing if not experienced in selling alibis for Solidarność. After all, they churned out "leftist" excuses to tail every counterrevolutionary imperialist-sponsored movement against the former Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe—from applauding Hitler's World War II Estonian "Forest Brothers" to cheering the reactionary rabble on Boris Yeltsin's White House barricades in August 1991. And, as the SGP noted in a polemic against the Morenoites, "those who opened the road for capitalist counterrevolution are incapable of leading the struggle to get rid of it" ("A 'Workers Party' Fit for Pilsudski," *Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 4, Summer-Fall 1993).

The key to leading the historically combative Polish proletariat to the conquest of power in its own name lies in the fight for a Trotskyist vanguard party as part of a reforged Fourth International, which combats all manifestations of clerical nationalism, anti-Semitism and anti-woman bigotry. Such a party will reclaim an internationalist heritage stretching back to the heroic Proletariat party of Ludwik Warynski, the SDKPiL of Rosa Luxemburg, Feliks Dzerzhinsky and Leo Jogiches and the early Polish Communist Party. The political struggle to expose today's "left" apologists for counterrevolution is part of the fight to build this party. ■

Platforma Spartakusowców

Polish Spartacists at 1992 May Day march in Warsaw call for workers to fight anti-Semitism and attacks on abortion rights.

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* will skip alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 5.

Cold War Hack Smears Trotsky, Attacks Enlightenment

Richard Pipes: Exorcising the Russian Revolution

While alive, Leon Trotsky was feared and reviled by capitalist rulers everywhere. They hated him for being the co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian October Revolution, organizer of the Petrograd insurrection and founder of the Red Army, and for his unceasing fight for world socialist revolution. Fanatically anti-Communist British Conservative Winston Churchill, who later inaugurated the Cold War with his 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech, denounced Trotsky as "The Ogre of Europe" when the Bolshevik leader was forced into exile by Stalin in 1929. And when a Stalinist secret police agent in Mexico City assassinated Trotsky in 1940, America's rulers would not even allow his body into the U.S.

Now the hired pens of imperialist reaction are seeking to bury Trotsky—and the cause of international communism he embodied—yet again. The publication earlier this year of an English translation of Russian historian Dmitri Volkogonov's *Trotsky: The Eternal Revolutionary* (Free Press, 1996) was greeted with rave reviews in the capitalist press. A key figure in the Russian counterrevolutionary regime until his death last December, Volkogonov's aim was to smear Trotsky as the architect of the bureaucratic terror regime that the Bolshevik leader died fighting against. Volkogonov's aim is to denigrate and denounce any struggle for the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed. One reviewer, economist Marshall Goldman, acclaimed Volkogonov's hack job as "bold," "daring" and "brilliant," because it supposedly showed how the Stalinist regime's "adoption of violence and terror as a basic tenet, the same form of terror that ultimately did Trotsky in, came largely at his initiative" (*Boston Globe*, 17 March).

This scurrilous lie was given an insidious twist by Harvard historian Richard Pipes, who claimed in the *New York Times Book Review* (24 March): "Trotsky and Lev Sedov, his son and closest aide, frequently said and wrote that Stalin's regime had to be overthrown and Stalin himself assassinated.... The obsessive charges of 'Trotskyism' levied against the defendants in the show trials of 1936-38 and the bloodbath of 1937, it now emerges, were inspired by an irrational yet genuine fear of internal subversion." This grotesque justification of Stalin's horrendous blood purges echoes the slanders of Stalin himself. Yet its author is not only the "distinguished" Baird Professor of Russian History at Harvard, but a longtime Cold War "hawk" who braintrusted Pentagon schemes for the nuclear annihilation of the Soviet Union. Why would this die-hard anti-Communist solidarize with Stalin's bloody terror?

The collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in August 1991, in the absence of any decisive intervention by the Soviet working class, led directly to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Imperialist publicists hailed this as the "death of communism," proclaiming final victory in the military, economic and propaganda war which the capitalist powers waged for most of this century against the Soviet Union. Yet, in the last few years, if anything an even *greater* number of turgid tomes have been churned out with the aim of maligning the October Revolution and Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky.

By and large, the new barrage of imperialist propaganda takes off from the Cold War Big Lie that Stalinism—with its police-state repression and stultifying censorship, its bureaucratic privilege and economic mismanagement—was the natural offspring of Leninism. This hoary myth willfully buries the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy came to power through a *political counterrevolution* in 1923-24 which destroyed Lenin's Bolshevik Party. But now that Stalinism is discredited and deposed, *those who seek to exorcise the Russian Revolution from history are particularly aiming their fire at Trotsky*, who carried forward the fight for Lenin's internationalist program against the anti-revolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy.

And that is where Richard Pipes comes in. While crowing that they have "prevailed" in their decades-long effort to "roll back Communism," the imperialist rulers and mouthpieces like Pipes today seek to extirpate any memory of authentic communism. In the introduction to his latest book, *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), Pipes wrote: "All this now seems safely relegated to the past. Yet to prevent it from recurring, it is essential to know how such things happened." How "such things" happened, per Pipes, is that the working masses and oppressed were given far too free a rein to assert themselves—and he's not just talking about Russia in 1917! This fanatical counterrevolutionary wants to "roll back" even the great bourgeois-democratic French Revolution of 1789 and the Enlightenment which preceded it.

Richard Pipes is a fitting ideologue for the American imperialist bourgeoisie in this era. The destruction of the Soviet Union ushered in a period of all-sided capitalist reaction. The push for retrograde social policies has been historically justified with a virtual flood of books and articles attacking the rationalist values of the Enlightenment. At the same time, from the multiracial upheaval in Los Angeles over the Rodney King case in 1992 to the massive strike wave in France last fall, the victims of capitalist exploitation and oppression have made it clear that they will not simply roll over and die because the racist rulers decree "the end of history." As the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) proclaimed in the face of rampant imperialist triumphalism: Stalinism is dead, but communism lives. We fight to build the revolutionary proletarian vanguard which can lead the struggles of the working people to victory.

Today, while the bourgeoisie in its decay disowns the rationalist and democratic aims it once espoused, and the dregs of Stalinism openly proclaim their allegiance to the stinking capitalist order, we Trotskyists stand out not only as the party of the Russian Revolution but the champions of the liberating goals of the French Revolution. In its death agony, capitalism is propelling humanity in a headlong rush toward high-tech barbarism, intent on wiping out every advance achieved by the working people through two centuries of struggle. More than ever, the future of humanity hinges on the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

L Y Leonidov

V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky (at center), co-leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, on its second anniversary, 7 November 1919.

Even Slander Should Make Some Sense

The workers state which issued from the Bolshevik Revolution was based on proletarian internationalism and soviet democracy, the rule of workers councils whose delegates were democratically elected by the workers themselves. But three years of civil war and imperialist strangulation devastated the economy and decimated the proletariat, particularly its most conscious layers, gutting the soviets while allowing the growth of a bureaucratic layer in the party and state apparatus. Not only the Bolshevik leaders, but the working masses as a whole, saw the key to survival of the soviet republic in the extension of socialist revolution abroad. However, numerous proletarian uprisings in Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and elsewhere were suppressed, due largely to the weakness and inexperience of the Communist parties there. The Bolshevik seizure of power, in contrast, was prepared by a years-long struggle which cohered a steeled cadre of professional revolutionaries.

Seizing on widespread demoralization following the defeat of a revolutionary opportunity in Germany in late 1923 and with Lenin on his deathbed, the bureaucracy—led by the "troika" of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev—asserted its control at the Thirteenth Party Conference in January 1924. Months later, the political program of this conservative layer was given expression, as Stalin and his then henchman Nikolai Bukharin proclaimed the anti-Marxist doctrine that international revolution was no longer an iron necessity, that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society presupposing a level of production far higher than that existing even in the most advanced capitalist countries—could be built in backward Russia alone. This was the Stalinist lie of "socialism in one country," which was

Der Spiegel

Stalin's prosecutor Vyshinsky (second from left) pushed vile slanders of Trotskyists at Moscow show trials in late 1930s to justify bloody purges.

Jerry Bauer

Joshua Reynolds

André Deutsch Ltd

Mary Evans Picture Library

Anti-communist fanatic Richard Pipes (top left) hails Edmund Burke (top right), reactionary opponent of 1789 French Revolution. Their idols, last Russian tsar, Nicholas II (bottom left) and Louis XVI, who was beheaded by French revolutionaries.

propagated as Zinoviev and Kamenev were spinning off of the party leadership.

While Stalin claimed Lenin's mantle, Lenin's last political struggle was in fact waged—seeking a bloc with Trotsky—*against* Stalin and the nascent bureaucracy, particularly over manifestations of high-handed arrogance and Great Russian chauvinism as well as against Stalin's attack on the monopoly over foreign trade, a key economic bulwark of the isolated workers state (which Pipes dismisses as a "minor issue"). Thus, both in terms of its immediate prehistory and, more fundamentally, in its defense of the Bolshevik program of revolutionary internationalism, the Left Opposition of Trotsky carried on the struggle for Leninism against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Pipes' monstrous smear to the contrary, in every public utterance on the question, Trotsky made clear his Marxist opposition to individual terrorism as a means of removing Stalin. For example, writing on the 1934 assassination of Leningrad party leader Sergei Kirov, which provided the justification for the bloody purges (and is now widely accepted to have been ordered by Stalin himself), Trotsky explained: "*Individual terrorism is in its very essence bureaucratism turned inside out....* Bureaucratism has no confidence in the masses and endeavors to substitute itself for the masses. Terrorism works in the same manner" ("The Stalinist Bureaucracy and the Kirov Assassination," December 1934).

This is the heart of the matter. As Trotsky wrote in *Their Morals and Ours*, addressing the bourgeois hobbyhorse that communists resort to any means, no matter how vile and violent, to suit their ends: "When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organization, replacing it by worship for the 'leaders'." The assassination of Stalin in and of itself would not have served Trotsky's end, which was to oust the Soviet bureaucracy *as a whole*, to restore political power to the Soviet working class and to further the ability of the international proletariat to fight for socialist revolution. Individual terror as a weapon against Stalin and the bureaucracy was *counterposed* to the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition's entire perspective, which looked to the *revolutionary mobilization of the masses to defend the socialized foundations of the workers state and to extend them internationally.*

This understanding informed Trotsky's attitude toward every question. Thus, in the late 1920s Trotsky opposed a "left-right" bloc with Bukharin—whose conciliation of the peasantry opened the door to capitalist restoration—and argued against the slogan "Down with Stalin," raised by a group of former Right Oppositionists in 1932, because such a call could appeal as well to the forces of counterrevolution. Until 1933, the Left Opposition fought to remove Stalin and his gang by winning the membership of the Soviet Communist Party back to the program of Leninism: when it became clear, following Hitler's unchallenged rise to power in 1933, that the CPSU had become nothing more than "an apparatus of domination in the hands of an uncontrolled bureaucracy," Trotsky raised the call for a new party to lead a *proletarian political revolution* to oust the Kremlin oligarchy.

The Pipes School of Falsification

Yet Pipes insists that Trotsky and Sedov "frequently said and wrote" that Stalin should be assassinated. While presenting not so much as a shred of evidence, Pipes insinuates that this is substantiated by "documents cited by Volkogonov," who as director of the Military History Institute under Gorbachev had unique access to the Soviet archives. Anyone in the U.S. who has reviewed their own FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act knows that "revelations" found in secret police files have to be taken with a huge grain of salt. And given the prevailing economic chaos and deprivation in the former Soviet Union, it is possible these days to hire virtually anyone from among the disaffected intelligentsia to write anything—and find "supporting evidence" for it in the archives.

Yet even Volkogonov offers nothing to support Pipes' outlandish assertions. Volkogonov cites two secret police reports by the notorious Stalinist agent Mark Zborowski—who infiltrated the Paris headquarters of the Left Opposition and became an assistant to Sedov—claiming that Trotsky's son called for Stalin's assassination. Volkogonov himself does not give much credence to either of them. Of the first, dated 8 February 1937, he writes: "Possibly the report was a fabrication designed to add fuel to the prosecution's arguments at the forthcoming trial." Yet, as Volkogonov notes, this supposedly inflammatory "evidence" was never even used in the Moscow show trials. Zborowski's second report, dated February 1938, claimed that Sedov had repeatedly (but not "since 1936"!) "stressed that the murder of Comrade Stalin was necessary." Speculating that this too was either an outright fabrication, or that "Zborowski was simply fantasizing" or that Sedov might even have "become obsessed by the idea of murdering Stalin," Volkogonov concludes: "Whatever the explanation, there is not a single shred of evidence that the Trotskyists carried out or prepared for any high-profile act of terrorism."

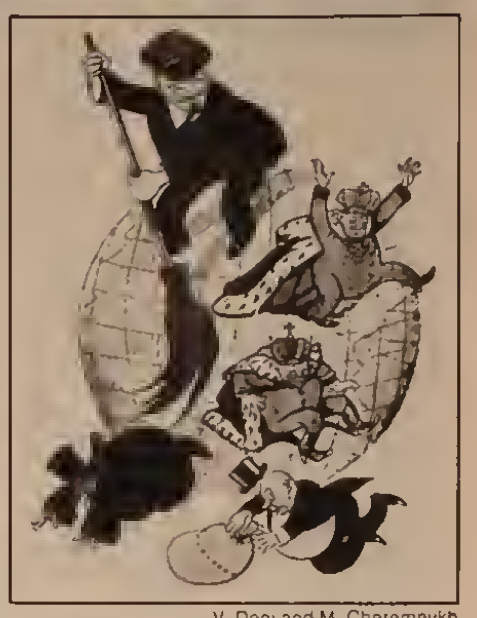
Volkogonov dismisses two other, equally spurious pieces of archival "evidence" on this question. Referring to a January 1938 report by the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C., purportedly quoting a speech in which Trotsky said that the only way to replace Stalin is "by murdering him," Volkogonov comments bluntly: "Trotsky had said nothing of the kind." Finally, Volkogonov refers to a 19 November 1935 report about a letter supposedly written by a Trotsky supporter:

> "The letter, which contained a proposal 'to kill Stalin,' was seen by the Trotskyists as a blatant provocation. The myth of an attempt by the Trotskyists on Stalin's life provided a satisfactory justification not only for the mass terror in Russia, but also for the activities of the Foreign Section of the NKVD abroad."

These "activities" included the murders of Trotsky, Sedov and their closest supporters. In fact, Trotsky's assassin, an NKVD agent named Ramon Mercader who had wormed his way into the Bolshevik leader's household in Mexico City, claimed he perpetrated the murder because Trotsky had planned to liquidate Stalin. From Mercader's lips to Pipes' ears!

Planeta

May Day 1917: Revolutionary workers march through Petrograd with banner reading, "Arm the People! Long Live the International!"



V. Deni and M. Cheremnykh

1920 Soviet poster depicts Bolshevik aim of world revolution: Lenin sweeps away capitalists, royalty and clerical reaction.

It's just as well for Pipes that honesty is not one of the requirements for tenure in Harvard's hallowed halls. Pipes' own writings are positively littered with lies. In his *Concise History*, Pipes writes, for example, that Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the first head of the Cheka, was motivated by a hatred of Russians "in the spirit of Polish nationalism." In fact, Dzerzhinsky's entire political career prior to 1917 was spent as a leading cadre and organizer of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches' SDKPiL, which was so hostile to Polish nationalism that it even wrongly opposed Poland's right to independence. Pipes also asserts that American Communist John Reed "joined the Comintern but soon quit, disenchanted with its authoritarian practices." Even someone who has seen the Hollywood film *Reds* knows this to be a lie: Reed remained a Communist until his death in 1920 and was buried with full honors in the Kremlin.

A truly breathtaking example of the Pipes school of falsification is his charge that the Bolsheviks were no better—or even worse—than the tsarist White Guards when it came to anti-Semitism, and that the "only prominent figure" in Russia to condemn the 1919 Ukrainian pogroms "outright and unequivocally was the head of the Orthodox Church." Even the most hard-bitten anti-Communist Zionist would laugh at this. The Russian Orthodox hierarchy was and always has been a spearhead of anti-Semitic agitation. As we detail in our article, "Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Jewish Question" (*Spartacist* No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94), the Jewish masses flocked to Bolshevism precisely because it was the only force which fought against the Ukrainian nationalist and White Guard pogromists. Where the rules of Trotsky's Fourth International insist on the need "to be true in little things as in big ones," Pipes' apparent rule of thumb is to *lie* about all things concerning the Russian Revolution.

Trotsky and the Spectre of Revolution

Pipes is not the first anti-Communist to regurgitate Stalinist lies about Trotsky. In the 1930s, when Trotsky was still alive and seen as a palpable threat by the imperialist rulers, numerous bourgeois commentators acted as apologists for Stalin. *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty and U.S. ambassador Joseph E. Davies were among the prominent bourgeois figures who, as Trotsky put it, "assayed the Moscow trials as unalloyed gold." The conservative Kremlin *vozhd* (leader) was, after all, seen as a "reasonable" alternative to the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition. Stalin's support to "democratic" imperialism via the so-called "People's Front" and his brutal suppression of the 1936-38 Spanish

continued on page 10

Pipes...

(continued from page 9)

workers revolution more than amply vindicated Trotsky's characterization of him as the "gravedigger of revolution." Indeed, in a 1936 interview with American journalist Roy Howard, Stalin explicitly disavowed the early Communist International's aim of world socialist revolution as a "misunderstanding" (see Trotsky, "The Stalin-Howard Interview," March 1936).

Today as then, Trotsky is singled out for opprobrium and slander precisely because he remained "the eternal revolutionary"—at war not only with the entire capitalist order but with the Stalinist police-state perversion of the Bolshevik Revolution—an object lesson in the supposed futility and evil of revolutionary struggle. In his introduction, Volkogonov writes:

> "To the end of his life, Trotsky did not see that many of the fundamental tenets of Marxism, which he never doubted, were profoundly wrong. But it was precisely the false ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of class war that lay at the root of the future tragedy, and it was the process of making these postulates into immutable principles, to which Trotsky remained faithful all his life, that led the country to its historic failure. A political portrait of Trotsky, therefore, is also an account of the fate of freedom in Russia, without doubt a tragic story."

For Volkogonov, Pipes, et al., there is nothing tragic about the millions of working people throughout the former Soviet Union who are today on the brink of starvation as a result of capitalist counterrevolution, nor about the countless people slaughtered in nationalist bloodletting and in Yeltsin's brutal invasion of Chechnya. In the eyes of the apologists for imperialist reaction, the only "tragedy" is that the working class managed to seize power from their rapacious capitalist overlords in 1917—and the bourgeois rulers intend to prevent a repeat of workers revolution at any price.

Pipes and Volkogonov both work off a template etched out years earlier, most notably by British Cold War historian Leonard Schapiro, that Lenin's Bolsheviks were a gang of power-mad fanatics intent from the outset on creating a one-party tyranny (see "Leonard Schapiro: Lawyer for Counterrevolution," *Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). This falsification of history is woven from lies, half-truths and deliberate obfuscations, willfully confusing, for example, the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—the Marxist terminology for the class rule of the workers, as opposed to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which exists in even the most "democratic" capitalist society—with a dictatorial form of government. They paint the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin as a power feud between two personally ambitious politicians, both "typical Bolsheviks, obsessed with violence, dictatorship and coercion," in Volkogonov's words.

Basil Blackwell Inc

Left Opposition leaders in Russia, with Trotsky at center, 1927. First issue of James P. Cannon's *Militant*, 1928, announced support for Trotsky's fight for revolutionary internationalism, against Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration.

Volkogonov's own contribution to this arsenal of counterrevolutionary literature is to add a voice of "authenticity," less for his knowledge of the Soviet archives than as a former "Communist" turned anti-Communist, serving a purpose similar to the "god that failed" diatribes by embittered ex-Stalinists in the 1950s. Already in 1988, when the Gorbachevite intelligentsia was promoting Bukharin as the real alternative to Stalin, Volkogonov denounced Trotsky as "the dictator who never was" (see "Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification," *WV* Nos. 464 and 466, 4 November and 2 December 1988).

Contrasting the powerful three-volume biography of Trotsky written by Polish Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher in the 1950s and '60s with Volkogonov's book, writes Daniel Singer in a trenchant review in the *Nation* (25 March), is "like reading Proust in the original and then in comic-strip form." Volkogonov's assessment of the Left Opposition's defeat—that "the functionaries and Party members preferred to give their allegiance to successful leaders, and Trotsky came across in the political battle as a loser"—sheds little light on the situation inside the CPSU in the 1920s but says much about the outlook of its author. Volkogonov was the quintessential bureaucratic careerist: a loyal Brezhnevite under Brezhnev, an advocate of pro-capitalist "market reforms" under Gorbachev and, finally, a key aide to Boris Yeltsin in the new counterrevolutionary regime. As Yeltsin's "military adviser," Volkogonov oversaw the would-be tsar's bloody tank and artillery assault on the Russian parliament in October 1993, which killed hundreds of people. So who is "obsessed with violence, dictatorship and coercion"?

AP

Reuters

Anti-Trotsky "biographer" Dmitri Volkogonov (above) was Yeltsin's military adviser during bloody assault on Russian parliament in October 1993.

Volkogonov cannot and does not address the profound questions of international strategy which rent the revolutionary workers movement in the 1920s and '30s. He devotes barely two pages to a slipshod presentation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, two paragraphs to a garbled account of the Left Opposition's fight against Stalin's disastrous capitulation to Chiang Kai-shek in China in the 1920s, and not a word to the 1926 British General Strike, when Stalin amnestied the sellout policies of the Labourite Trades Union Congress misleaders. Volkogonov denies the real "tragedy," in his words, of the Bolshevik Revolution—its betrayal and undermining by Stalin and his heirs.

To seriously take up the very real prospects which existed for extending the October Revolution would fly in the face of Volkogonov's philistine dismissal of Trotsky's fight for world socialist revolution as at best a "mirage," a "false prophesy." This reflects Volkogonov's own schooling in the Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." And, as his evolution shows, it is not much of a political leap from opposing the spread of revolution in the name of "socialism in one country" to opposing "socialism" even in Russia from the standpoint of capitalist reaction.

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Enlightenment

But even Volkogonov's repeated anti-Bolshevik diatribes are too tame for Pipes, who chastises him for not being able to "quite rid himself of sympathy for Communist ideals" (*New York Times*, 24 March). As evidence, Pipes offers the following statement by Volkogonov: "The search for a system in which the people exercise real power and where humanism and justice prevail does not have to end because it failed universally in its 20th-century Communist guise." For the likes of a Richard Pipes, even this tepid exposition of 18th-century liberalism is "pinko," "com-symp" talk. To be *consistently* counterrevolutionary, argues Pipes, it is necessary to root out even the rationalist ideals of the Enlightenment. In *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution*, Pipes rants:

> "Communism failed because it proceeded from the erroneous doctrine of the Enlightenment, perhaps the most pernicious idea in the history of thought, that man is merely a material compound, devoid of either soul or innate ideas."

Once again, Pipes' thinking is hardly original. Early on in the Cold War, liberal Israeli philosopher J.L. Talmon characterized Bolshevism as a "totalitarianism of the left" derived from Jacobinism, the radical-democratic wing of the French Revolution. In his book, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (Norton, 1970), Talmon argued that "the history of the last hundred and fifty years looks like a systematic preparation for the headlong collision between empirical and liberal democracy on the one hand, and totalitarian Messianic democracy on the other." But Talmon conceded that "the starting-point of totalitarianism of the Left has been and ultimately still is man, his reason and salvation," and thus it has "the character of a universal creed, a tendency which totalitarianism of the Right altogether lacks." Writing in the shadow of the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust, he was at least compelled to distinguish between Communism and fascism.

Not so Richard Pipes, who criticizes Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* for attaching "exaggerated importance...to anti-Semitism as an attribute of totalitarianism." Pipes repeatedly and grotesquely equates Lenin with Mussolini and Bolshevism with Nazism. He even tries to blame the Holocaust on the Russian Revolution (albeit as an "unanticipated and unintended" consequence)! In a truly demented amalgam, he rails that "Lenin hated whomever he perceived as the 'bourgeoisie' with a destructive passion that fully equaled Hitler's hatred of the Jews." But for Pipes, Hitler was clearly the "lesser evil"! "Only Bolshevik Russia at the height of Stalinism qualifies as a fully developed totalitarian state," he lectures, because "Neither the Fascists nor the Nazis destroyed their respective social structures"—i.e., they maintained capitalism. Such rantings led liberal British journalist Jonathan Steele to observe that, now that his "enemy is a corpse," Pipes has gone from "history as polemic" to "history as tirade" (*Guardian Weekly*, 21 January).

In fact, Pipes' arguments are a carbon copy of German "revisionist" historians like Ernst Nolte in the so-called *Historikerstreit*, who seek to justify the Nazi regime as the last bulwark of "Western civilization" against the "Bolshevik hordes." Thus in his first "revisionist" piece, in 1980, Nolte writes: "Auschwitz is not primarily a result of traditional anti-Semitism and was not just one more case of 'genocide.' It was the fear-borne reaction to the acts of annihilation that took place during the Russian Revolution" (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* [Humanities Press, 1993]). But Pipes is not just some crackpot right-wing academic. Born into a wealthy Jewish family in Poland, Pipes parlayed his hatred for communism and Russia into a career at the most sinister levels of the U.S. government. His job at Harvard was pretty much a sideline to his real work braintrusting U.S. imperialism's drive to eradicate the Soviet Union. A *Boston Globe* (18 May 1991) article described Pipes as a "lifelong Cold Warrior" who was "the brains behind Ronald Reagan's 'evil empire' doctrine."

In 1976, Pipes was chairman of the CIA's "Team B," which justified an American nuclear first strike by claiming that the USSR was striving for strategic superiority. Five years later, he served as head of East European and Soviet Affairs in Reagan's National Security Council. His attacks on the Enlightenment as the "original sin" of communism

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were given flesh and blood by the CIA's support for the Vatican-inspired Solidarność in Poland and the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. He has been an Executive Committee member of the "Committee on the Present Danger" since 1977 and seems to have a seat on the boards of virtually every "intelligence review" and right-wing "think tank" in the country.

Not all "post-Communist" imperialist ideologues share Pipes' venom for the Enlightenment. Francis Fukuyama, the State Department planner who proclaimed that the West's triumph over the USSR represented "the end of history," for example, foresees a universal evolution toward liberal capitalist democracy based on "the principles of liberty and equality" which "animated the French and American revolutions" (Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* [Free Press, 1992]). Fukuyama sees in the French Revolution the ascendance of the bourgeoisie to power and the institutionalization of bourgeois property rights, whereas Pipes sees in it the uprising of the plebeian masses, the *sans-culottes*, and the spectre of radical social upheaval. The bicentennial of the French Revolution in 1989 was marked by an outpouring of "revisionist" denunciations of this key liberating event (see "In Defense of the French Revolution," *WV* Nos. 484 and 486, 1 and 29 September 1989).

But the difference between Fukuyama and Pipes is not primarily a matter of differing interpretations of French history. Rather, what is at issue is different policies for the American ruling class here and now. The "death of communism" has only made Pipes and his ilk salivate for "rolling back" the entire liberal and humanist political tradition. His *Concise History* and the two volumes of which it is a distillation, *The Russian Revolution* (1990) and *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (1993), seethe with contempt not only for the socialist aims of the working class but for the rationalist and democratic ideals of the early bourgeoisie. Pipes solidarizes with Hippolyte Taine and Edmund Burke—whose reactionary rantings against the French Revolution were inspired by aristocratic contempt for "the mob." Pipes praises "the genius of Burke" for condemning the destruction of "existing institutions," i.e., the decadent French monarchy.

Pipes attacks the French *philosophes* for laying the ideological basis for Robespierre's terror. In fact, some of the most prominent *philosophes*, like Voltaire, were not democrats, much less Jacobins, but rather argued for an "enlightened despotism." Pipes evidently prefers *unenlightened* despotism, like the "relatively benign" dictatorships of Pilsudski's Poland and Salazar's Portugal. He dismisses any thought that the downtrodden Russian peasantry saw serfdom "as an intolerable injustice" while devoting a whole chapter in *The Russian Revolution* to the Bolsheviks' "regicide" of the brutal, blood-drenched tsarist royal family—an act which, he rants, meant "crossing the threshold of genocide"!

Prieur

Paris masses storm the Bastille, 14 July 1789. Pipes denounces French Revolution and rationalist Enlightenment.

Pipes longs for "the sixteenth century, before science had overwhelmed both religion and the philosophy of humanism." He castigates the idea "that man is not a unique creature endowed with an immortal soul." He rails at Alexandra Kollontai for her "unconstrained sexual license." He fumes that Trotsky's depiction, in *Literature and Revolution*, of the heights to which humanity will rise in a truly communist, classless society shows that Marxists "aimed at nothing less than reenacting the Sixth Day of Creation and perfecting its flawed product." He fulminates against a Bolshevik decree separating church and state and denounces another mandating "open admissions" to education, recalling that this was also "advocated by some American radicals in the 1960s."

"Sexual license," separation of church and state, open admissions? Richard Pipes is not a scholar of history, but an ideologue for the agenda of the far right. Abroad, U.S. imperialism does not much care whether its client states practice liberal democracy or authoritarian despotism, so long as they remain "safe" for exploitation. Domestically, Pipes' "historical" ravings fit right in with the reactionary onslaught against abortion rights and the drive to dismantle even the most minimal social welfare measures in the name of opposition to governmental "social engineering." It is a measure of the times that Supreme Court justice Antonin Scalia, supposedly charged with safeguarding the Constitution and its mandate for separation of church and state, publicly vituperates against the "worldly wise" who "will not have anything to do with miracles" and "do not believe in the resurrection of the dead."

Spartacist

Monument outside Kremlin Wall erected after Bolshevik Revolution to honor previous generations of revolutionaries.

Materialism vs. Obscurantism

Fevered attacks on the Enlightenment are not solely the domain of the far right these days. British Labourite Robin Blick traces the "seeds of evil" to Enlightenment radical Jean-Jacques Rousseau, denouncing "Rousseau's disciples and Lenin's mentors, the Jacobins" (see "Robin Blick: Menshevik Dementia," *Spartacist* No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). And the supposedly liberal leader of Czechoslovakia's "velvet" counter-revolution, playwright/president Vaclav Havel, declared that "the end of Communism...has brought an end not just to the 19th and 20th centuries, but to the modern era as a whole...an era of belief in automatic progress brokered by the scientific method" (*New York Times*, 1 March 1992).

Havel's sneering dismissal of the scientific method aside, human progress has been far from automatic. Indeed, as Karl Marx noted, only with socialism "will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain" ("The Future Results of British Rule in India," July 1853). As the *Communist Manifesto* explained almost 150 years ago, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." But ideologues of counter-revolution like Pipes believe that if they can exterminate communist ideas, they will thereby wipe out the movements of the exploited and oppressed for emancipation and social justice. Against such reactionaries, Lenin wrote in "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" (March 1913):

> "The enemies of democracy have, therefore, always exerted all their efforts to 'refute,' undermine and defame materialism, and have advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to the defence or support of religion....
> "Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (i.e., his various views and doctrines—philosophical, religious, political and so forth) reflects the *economic system* of society."

Enlightenment rationalism was the ideological expression of the struggle of the nascent, and then revolutionary, capitalist class to destroy the feudal barriers to capitalist development. Similarly, Marxism—scientific socialism—is the expression of the historic interests of the proletariat, the only revolutionary class in modern capitalism, to break the fetters of the outmoded and decaying capitalist mode of production—constrained by the bourgeois nation-state—and replace it with the international collectivization of the means of production. Reflecting the retrograde character of its class rule, the bourgeoisie today embraces the reactionary outlook it once combatted.

Approaching the 21st century, a considerable sector of the imperialist ruling class seems prepared for a leap back to the social thinking of the 16th century. And what were the ancestors of Richard Pipes and his fellow vicarious lords doing in the "glorious" pre-Enlightenment period before "science overwhelmed religion"? They were serfs slaving in the fields or Jews locked up in the ghettos, consigned to a life of unremitting toil and nasty oppression.

Of course, capitalist imperialism is not about to return to the Middle Ages. Rather, what is being promulgated is an ideological justification for regimenting the population and reversing a whole array of social welfare measures achieved by working people and minorities in the postwar era. The destruction of the Soviet Union has led to an intensification of interimperialist rivalry. Accompanying this is an intensified drive by the competing capitalist ruling classes to force down wages and eliminate the so-called "welfare state." As always, the first target of such attacks are minorities—in the U.S., primarily black and Hispanic people; in West Europe, dark-skinned immigrants. Thus, there has been a sharp rise in racist reaction and national chauvinism in the past few years.

The continued existence of capitalism can only lead to yet another world war—this time likely ending in the nuclear annihilation of civilization—as the imperialist powers scramble to redivide their spheres of influence. At the same time, a new generation of youth, unencumbered by the baggage of Stalinism, is moving into struggle against the horrors and racist injustices of capitalist imperialism. To fight for a decent future, they must learn from the lessons of the past, particularly of the greatest victory for the working class and human progress to date, the Bolshevik Revolution. And the key lesson is the need for intransigent Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties as sections of a reforged Fourth International. As we wrote in an earlier article (*Spartacist* No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94):

> "In its accelerating slide into decadence, imperialism has not only succeeded in destroying the socialist gains of the Russian Revolution, but ever more aggressively assaults the democratic conquests of the French Revolution.... Today, the Trotskyists stand not only as the true heirs and continuators of Bolshevism, bearing a program to gain proletarian state power and free humanity from the miseries of racism, war, colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation, but also as the defenders of the rational and universalist values of the Enlightenment and the gains achieved in centuries past by the bourgeoisie's victory over feudalism." ■

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Mexico...

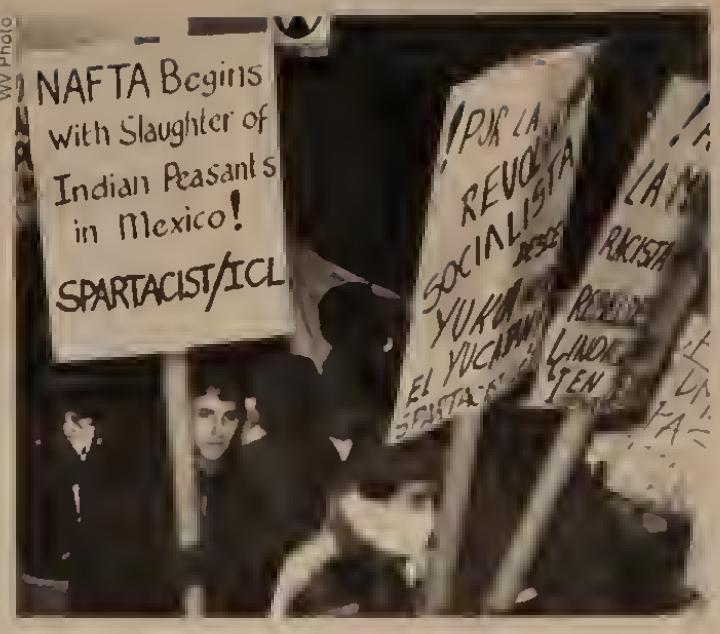
(continued from page 1)

the alleged Zapatistas Javier Elorriaga and Sebastián Entzin, it was sending a clear message intended to intimidate all those who want to fight to change the misery, exploitation and racism of the current world served up by capitalism. This is a message of state terror directed especially to the organizations of the working class and against the youth. This same state terror was brutally carried out on May 23 against the teachers in Mexico City. The Spartacists say: Freedom now for Elorriaga, Entzin, and all the alleged Zapatistas! Freedom now for the SUTAUR eleven! Stop the repression!

Workers here do not need a lot of examples to demonstrate the havoc wreaked on their standard of living by the brutal economic offensive of capital and the imperialist plunder of NAFTA, nor to be shown how the misery of the countryside pushes millions of peasants and indigenous peoples into desperation and death by starvation. They have known these things for a long time and are fed up! As Lenin taught, the main aim of a revolutionary Marxist party is not to merely detail grievances and describe the difficulties and anxieties of the everyday life of the working class. Its objective is to organize the vanguard of the working class, through revolutionary propaganda, to lead the proletarian revolution to overthrow the state power of the capitalist class—to lead a victorious socialist revolution that will organize the resources of society and productive labor for the benefit of humanity and not the enrichment of the capitalists.

ESPARTACO

Newspaper of the
Grupo Espartaquista de México



WV Photo

Spartacists protest outside Mexican consulate in New York City against bloody army repression in Chiapas, 1994.

AP

Doranles/Sygma

Zapatista supporters march on International Women's Day in Chiapas. Petty-bourgeois Zapatista movement seeks to be radical face of bourgeois-populist PRD of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas.

From the combative strikes of Cananea, Sicartsa, Ford, Volkswagen, and SUTAUR to the indigenous rebellion in Chiapas, we have seen in the last few years unceasing attempts—many of them heroic—by the oppressed to fight against the exploitation of the capitalist system and the calamities it generates. The burning question is why those defensive struggles of the working class in Mexico and the rest of the world have not been able to halt the bourgeoisie's repressive assaults and its economic offensive. The answer lies completely in the role played by the current political leadership—traitorous, opportunist and anti-proletarian—foisted on the backs of the working class.

With the collapse of Stalinism, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the imperialists' noisy, triumphalist "death of communism" campaign, pseudo-leftist groups in Latin America have completely embraced the old Menshevik and social-democratic program of the "democratic revolution." The task now, they say, is not the struggle to place the working class in power, but to share power with the bourgeoisie and to seek democratic "posts" in state institutions. This policy has been recognized within the workers movement over the last century as *reformism*: not to fight for the historical objectives of the working class but to be content with crumbs from the table of the bourgeoisie.

In fact, the last period has seen a wave of social discontent and popular anger throughout Latin America's principal cities against the International Monetary Fund's plans. In Europe, the French workers strike, even with its traitorous leadership, taught their arrogant rulers a lesson. In Mexico, there are protests and mobilizations almost every day. This past May Day, for example, witnessed a demonstration so huge that it took several hours to pour into and occupy the *Zócalo*. That human tide epitomized the spirit and will to fight on the part of millions of workers who await the opportunity to raise their heads in struggle.

The outbreak of an acute crisis in the union bureaucracy and its corporatist control was particularly clear this past May Day when, for the second consecutive year, the encrusted *charro* bureaucracy of the Labor Congress (the umbrella federation of pro-government unions) called off its embarrassing official parade. It is unable now, as it had done in the past, to manipulate the working class and to force it to its knees before the bourgeois rulers. The corporatist trade unionism characterized by its "*centrales-cárcel*" ["confederation prison house," a popular description of the iron grip of the federation on its constituent unions], and exemplified by the pathetic old man Fidel Velazquez at the helm of the CTM, represented a fundamental pillar holding up the ruling PRI regime in recent decades. This was the legacy that General Lázaro Cárdenas, with the help of the Stalinist Mexican Communist Party, bequeathed to future bourgeois governments to keep the working class in chains.

This corporatist pillar is rapidly fracturing, and the most prominent split—although not the only one—is the faction of the 21 "*forista*" unions, led by the "neo-charro" bureaucracy headed by Hernandez Juarez of the telephone workers union and Elba Ester Gordillo of the teachers union. These "neo-charros" have long since sensed the crisis which the plans of the IMF would cause for the big bureaucratic confederations, whose enormous power was based on their stranglehold over important sections of the unionized working class. Now these "neo-charros" seek with their "independence" and more radical and demagogic language to better betray their own unions; they fight for a form of "free unionism" more in accord with neo-liberal monetarist plans which seek the destruction of all the social gains won by the working class through great struggles.

The volatile situation is demonstrated by the May Day march and the mobilizations that have followed it, by the brutal repression of the Mexico City teachers, as well as by the dirty war waged by the army and paramilitary groups against peasants in Guerrero and the indigenous people of Chiapas. The powers-that-be rely on the absence of a genuinely revolutionary party of the working class, which would give leadership and a socialist, working-class program to all the mobilized workers, the peasant masses and the indigenous peoples who can no longer tolerate the situation. But as recent events demonstrate, the working class continues to be subordinated to the "charro" and "neo-charro" bureaucracy as well as to the bourgeois politicians of the opposition PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution).

The Zapatista Front: Cardenism with a Radical Mask

This January, the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) issued its "Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Forest," announcing its transformation into a Zapatista National Liberation Front (FZLN). The declaration calls on "various forces and citizens to build a broad opposition front that unites the democratic will against the state-party system: the National Liberation Movement" (*La Jornada*, 2 January). The announcement of its gradual transformation from an armed group into a "civil and peaceful organization" was hailed by the main bourgeois parties (the PRI, the right-wing PAN and the bourgeois-populist PRD) with the expected reservations and greeted with jubilation by almost the entire spectrum of leftist and pseudo-Marxist organizations that politically tail the PRD.

In the early days of January 1994, when the government threatened a bloodbath against the uprising, the Spartacists were the first to demand "Stop the massacre! Army out of Chiapas!" We hailed the heroic Chiapas insurgents "with the red flag of the world proletarian revolution," while pointing out the central importance of the working class—with its organized social power—forcefully entering the arena of struggle. We said at the time: "It is clear that the uprising in Chiapas can be a spark that animates the oppressed and extends to the heavy battalions of the working class, generating a class battle with revolutionary perspectives. The question of questions is program and leadership" (*Spartaco* No. 5, Spring 1994).

Because of its social composition, its petty-bourgeois nationalist program and its method of guerrilla struggle—alien to the organization and struggles of the working class—the EZLN does not represent (nor does it claim to represent) the revolutionary socialist leadership that the proletariat urgently needs in order to struggle successfully against capital. For the very same reason, neither can it win a military war against the bourgeois state. For its own survival, the Chiapas insurrection urgently requires the combative mobilization of detachments of the urban proletariat in order to check the repressive machinery of the capitalist state. No paper agreement will be able to hold back the repressive forces of the state and its dogs of war when they go into action. The Mexican proletariat must embody the old working-class principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all" and urgently mobilize in solidarity with the indigenous uprising in Chiapas!

The fundamental point is that the only realistic way forward for the struggles of the impoverished peasants and indigenous peoples in a semicolonial country like Mexico, marked by its dependence on and economic and political oppression by imperialist capital, is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. This is a program for a revolution where the industrial working class mobilizes its powerful social muscle and leads a revolutionary alliance with the millions of oppressed in the countryside as part of a socialist revolution throughout the American continent. Only socialist revolution can offer a future and point the way forward for the struggle of the oppressed and exploited in the countryside.

In the present epoch, there is no "third road" of "democratic" revolution (whether labeled "anti-PRI" or whatever) which does not point to future frustration and a terrible defeat for the masses. The Nicaraguan revolution is a case in point. When the Sandinistas brought down the murderous Somoza dictatorship in 1979, they refused—because of their petty-bourgeois program—to take the road of expropriation of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. Instead, they fought for a "mixed economy" which only meant years of hardship and misery for the masses. The bourgeoisie wrested power away from them through a miserable electoral defeat which transformed the Sandinista guerrillas into the current servants and guardians of the lands and capital of Nicaraguan president Chamorro & Co. This same perspective has brought all the guerrilla groups into profound crisis, which, like the Colombian M-19 or the Salvadoran Farabundo Marti group, have ended up entering the same bourgeois state institutions against which they once took up arms.

Now, as in 1988 with the emergence of the National Democratic Front (FDN) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, writers and journalists of the old nationalist left, along with a whole gamut of pseudo-socialist and pseudo-Trotskyist organizations which also bought the lie of the "death of communism," have spilled untold amounts of ink to paint the FZLN as a unique alternative—novel and fresh, both organizationally and ideologically—that offers new hope in the face of increasing misery and repression by the PRI government. Special mention here is merited by the magazine

Ruben R. Ramirez

Dunleavy/Maryknoll

Left: February 1995 strike at RCA Thomson plant in Ciudad Juarez. *Maquiladora* workers' combativity is fueled by poverty-level wages, miserable living conditions.

Viento del Sur (South Wind)—made up of a bunch of intellectuals (ex-Posadistas, ex-Mandelites, ex-Morenoites, etc.) frustrated and disillusioned by Cardenism. Now, following the same petty-bourgeois impressionist method which led them to join the FDN in droves in 1988, they seek to give the PRD a more radical face.

With its Fourth Declaration, as well as its previous calls for the formation of the National Democratic Convention and the National Liberation Movement, the EZLN has given the PRD a new pat on the back and impetus to its old plan to resurrect the National Liberation Movement (MLN) founded by General Lázaro Cárdenas. The EZLN's disastrous and fatal opposition to the political independence of the working class is known in the Marxist movement as the popular front. This policy was combated by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in 1917 and by Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky. The popular front seeks to preserve the basic structures of the bourgeois state (police, army, prisons, courts, etc.) in the face of growing workers mobilizations and the ensuing crisis of the bourgeois regime (the "abandonment" of its nationalist principles, as the PRD currently describes it). This bourgeois policy of class collaboration led directly to the Pinochet military dictatorship in 1973 in Chile and, further back in history, was to blame for the rise of Franco in Spain in 1936 and the bloody defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927 at the hands of the butcher Chiang Kai-shek.

Falling Wages

Index of Mexican wages, adjusted for inflation: May 1985=100

Source: UCLA North American Integration and Development Center, based on Banco de Mexico statistics

Wall Street Journal

IMF austerity, 1994 NAFTA treaty mean plummeting wages for Mexican workers.

POS-Z: Opportunists and Coffee House Guerrillas

In the late January issue (No. 213) of *El Socialista*, the cynical opportunists of the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS-Z—Zapatista Socialist Workers Party) complain of what they call "the EZLN capitulation." Insisting that the EZLN's decision to abandon armed struggle is the reason for this capitulation, they say: "What must be remembered is that the EZLN leadership was tempted in this direction only a few months after its revolt began, when it called for the formation of the Convención Nacional Democrática (CND), thus deciding to set aside the strategy of armed struggle and discouraging, or rather warding off, new revolts that were already hatching in different parts of the country." Any unprepared reader might think that the exalted Morenoites of the POS-Z have been hardened supporters of the guerrilla struggle. Not at all—this is only a new Morenoite trick to hide their own opportunist appetites and their scandalous history of parliamentary cretinism and rotten alliances.

Far from raising the Marxist criticism of the method of guerrilla warfare, as a petty-bourgeois method alien to the working class, the Morenoites of the POS-Z "discover" that it is the abandonment of guns—and not the Zapatistas' nationalist petty-bourgeois program—which has led the EZLN to capitulate to the bourgeoisie and its state. With this they try to hide their own political capitulation to the Cardenista popular front, exemplified by their innumerable appeals to Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to struggle against the foreign debt or to lead mobilizations. Now, we see the POS-Z Morenoites distributing a ridiculous and cowardly flyer on May Day calling for the workers to cover their ears (!) when Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas got up to speak. They say: "The POS-Z calls on the workers, in a peaceful and orderly way, to reject Cárdenas' speech in the Zócalo—simply do not listen to him and leave the meeting, or don't applaud." What a show of petty-bourgeois cowardice!

We see the height of their opportunism in the same issue of their paper, where despite their belief that the EZLN adapts to a "strategy of a government for reforming the regime" and a bloc where "workers and their exploiters are able to unite," they say: "Regarding the EZLN, the POS-Z, without entering into it, will seek accord with this front on those issues where agreement exists, principally in those actions which favor the working class" (*El Socialista*, No. 213). Yet, while sitting in cafés criticizing the EZLN for their call to join the Zapatista Front (but not for its popular-frontist program), they still want to hold onto their invitation to appear in the next photo-op with EZLN spokesman Subcommandante Marcos. This has nothing to do with the principle of Trotsky's Fourth International: to always speak the truth, no matter how bitter, and to call things by their name.

Militant Group: "Marxist" Kangaroos

While the Morenoites of the POS-Z juggle "orthodox" Marxist language in an attempt to justify their capitulation to the radical face of the Cardenista popular front, the pseudo-Marxists of the Militant group (known for selling little PRD flags at demonstrations) simply and plainly entered the bourgeois PRD. Their crude justification, typical of opportunists, was that "we must be where the masses are." The Militant group over and over again tramples on the basic principle of Marxism and Leninism: the political independence of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard.

Now, as "compañeros" of PRD founders Cárdenas and Muños Ledo and as supporters of former PRIista López Obrador in the current internal fight for the leadership of the PRD, these pseudo-Marxists put forward a call in their newspaper saying: "The PRD and the FZLN must struggle to transform the unions" (*Militante*, March/April 1996). In other words, they call on a bourgeois party and a popular-frontist guerrilla organization to do what is the job of the working class alone. This is not an accidental political position, since this group and the international current to which it belongs (the Militant tendency) have always acted as a tail within reformist parties like the British Labour Party or the Spanish PSOE. Just like newborn kangaroos, these fake-Trotskyists have always sought to lodge themselves within the pouch of other reformist parties, enemies of the working class.

In a really dirty and blatant act of intellectual plagiarism and misrepresentation, in the *Militante* of March-April 1996, these pseudo-Marxists "killed" whole paragraphs of one of Trotsky's classic writings on the trade unions in order to justify their politics of betrayal and capitulation, which are in total opposition to the basic Trotskyist and Leninist conception of the political independence of the revolutionary party and the working class.

The Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) fight to educate the working class in the central importance of the revolutionary party as the sole weapon for victory over the bourgeoisie in the class struggle. That is why we are committed as a Leninist organization to exposing the currents which abuse the name of Marxism by capitulating to forces hostile to the proletariat. The present situation opens up big opportunities for the working class to free itself from the ball and chain of the *charro* trade-union federations. The recent fissures within the *charro* leadership can be an excellent opportunity, if the working class puts its trust in a program and revolutionary party determined to take up the struggle.

The current glorification of "trade-union struggle" is another danger which Marxists must combat in order to build a bridge from defensive economic struggles to a political struggle for working-class power. The promotion of "revolutionary syndicalism" as a substitute for building a Leninist party offers only a dead end to the workers. This was the case with the terrible defeat inflicted on the combative SUTAUR workers, whose MPI political leadership displays a false and cheap anti-electoral "radicalism," while in practice always opposing political combat against the PRD. The Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Juventud Espartaquista (Spartacist Youth) are committed to forging the nucleus of a Leninist party which fights for international socialist revolution. ■

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Bay Area...

(continued from page 16)

parent who has since the incident moved in with relatives elsewhere in the San Francisco Bay Area. Yet the state has refused to let the boy return to his mother, and is instead keeping him in Juvenile Hall "until suitable group housing can be found."

The treatment of Toliver's son contrasts sharply with a similar case in San Francisco 25 years ago known as the "crucifixion murder." When two brothers, seven and ten years old, in the wealthy white neighborhood of Pacific Heights confessed to the grisly killing of a 20-month-old child in 1971, they were never charged with a crime. Instead, they were placed in foster care and given therapy, while a gag order was issued to protect the brothers' privacy and their futures. But today in the largely poor and heavily minority city of Richmond, the D.A., the cops and the media are whipping up a racist frenzy against a troubled little black kid with a learning disability.

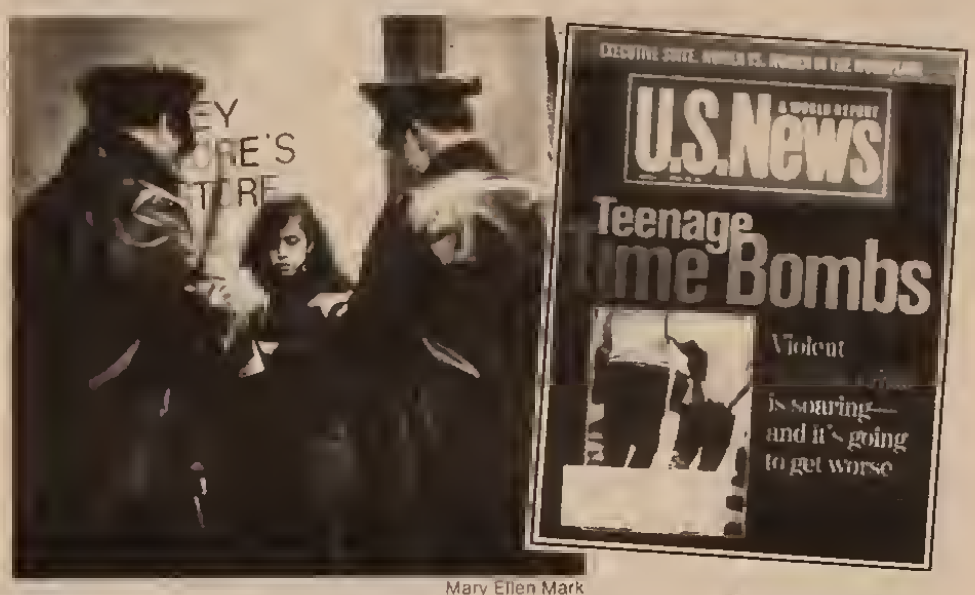
Rotten Schools, No Jobs, More Prisons

A decaying capitalist economy has left Richmond with only crumbling remnants of the shipbuilding and related industries which drew blacks from the South during and after World War II. Surrounded by the hostile, mostly white commuter suburbs of Contra Costa County, Richmond has seen resources stripped away over the years. In 1991, the schools were taken over by the state, which imposed some *$30 million* in cuts. The county D.A. boasts of bringing more people to trial per capita than any other county in the state, zealously applying California's "three strikes and you're out" law to send minority defendants away for 25 years to life for the pettiest of charges, in one case for shoplifting $37 worth of merchandise from Montgomery Ward. Deputy D.A. Douglas Pipes headed "a special unit that sought reparations from parents whose children were locked away as wards of juvenile hall" and that hounded "hard-luck cases, including a blind woman barely eking out a living on disability" (*Express*, 3 March 1995).

The treatment of young kids as "hardened criminals" is part of a national trend described in the *New York Times* (12 May): "In the most drastic changes to the juvenile justice system since the founding of the first family court a century ago, almost all 50 states have overhauled their laws in the past two years, allowing more youths to be tried as adults and scrapping longtime protections like the confidentiality of juvenile court proceedings. The thrust of the new laws is to get more juveniles into the adult criminal justice system, where they will presumably serve longer sentences under more punitive conditions."

In the process, legal assumptions about children going back centuries are being thrown out the window. Under English common law, children under seven could not be charged with committing a crime; under a "presumption of infancy," children from 7 to 14 were deemed too young to know right from wrong. The turn of the century in the U.S. saw the introduction of juvenile courts, which were supposed to be civil rather than criminal in nature and whose role was conceived as prescribing treatment rather than meting out punishment. Now the director of Virginia's Department of Juvenile Justice baldly declares, "The thinking behind the juvenile court, that everything be done in the best interest of the child, is from a bygone era."

This reactionary, racist offensive—carried out under the cruelly hypocritical rubric of "family values"—is bipartisan to the core. One of Clinton's campaign promises is to try children as adults. Meanwhile, in the California state assembly, there are three separate bills in the works to greatly expand the number of youth who can be prosecuted as adults. Already so many kids are being put away that the California Youth Authority's prison system is overflowing. In fact, California has the highest juvenile incarceration rate in the country.



Mary Ellen Mark

Minority youth are being criminalized by a society that offers them no education, no jobs, no future.

Accompanying this is a vicious vendetta against parents whose children fall afoul of the cops and courts. Last year, there was the notorious case in South Carolina in which a vindictive judge forced a mother to be chained to her daughter around the clock for 30 days. Recently in the Detroit suburbs, a mother and father were convicted of criminal misdemeanor charges for "failing to control" their 16-year-old son (*New York Times*, 10 May). At the same time, there has been an escalating drive to impose indiscriminate curfews on teens around the country. In a campaign stop in New Orleans last week, Clinton hailed a New Orleans curfew which forces teenagers to be off the streets by 8 p.m. on school nights and by 9 p.m. during the sweltering summer. This vindictive ruling class seems intent on literally turning homes into prisons and kids and parents into prisoners!

The racist assault on youth goes hand in hand with the speedup on death row. Some states, like Arkansas—where, as governor, Bill Clinton rushed home during the 1992 election campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man with a mental age of 12—have black teenagers on death row. In some states it is legal to execute children as young as ten; others have no limit. The youngest person on record to be executed was a 13-year-old black youth in South Carolina during the Jim Crow period of legal segregation—the racist death penalty is indeed *legal lynching*. The racist equation "black equals criminal" used to refer to the overwhelming bulk of black teenagers, who got out of lousy schools and had no prospects for a job; now it's been expanded to start at age six! How long before we see black grade-schoolers on death row?

"War on Crime" Targets Entire Working Class

The criminalization of youth nationally is an extension of the ruling-class drive to strengthen the repressive machinery of the state, carried out under the cover of the "war on crime" and "war on drugs." In fact, as we have said from the outset, and as is now widely acknowledged, the "war on drugs" deliberately targets minorities. A particularly blatant example of this is that the penalty for possession of crack cocaine is equal to that for possession of *100 times* that amount of the drug in the powdered form preferred by white yuppies—evidence, as well, of how the bourgeoisie seeks to split the population along racial lines. In California, today accelerated by the three-strikes laws, the anti-drug witchhunt has put nearly four in ten black men in their 20s in jail, on probation or on parole. Now there are moves in Sacramento to abolish unanimous verdicts in jury trials. The Department of Corrections now projects that more than one out of every 150 citizens will be jailed within a decade—prison building is booming.

America's racist rulers are pushing for more cops and prisons, and for more repressive legislation, in order to buttress the state machinery to intimidate and crush any resistance by the whole working class, whose living standards are falling while profit margins rise. It is in the vital interests of the integrated labor movement to fight the "war on crime" and its attacks on blacks and other minorities.

Margot/AP

Ignacio Bermudez, with older son, reached out to family of black six-year-old jailed for beating his infant son, defying racist D.A. vendetta.

From the start, the local powers-that-be have sought to exploit the Richmond tragedy to foster divisions between blacks and Latinos. They have been hampered by the courageous and decent response of the anguished father of the victim, Mexican immigrant worker Ignacio Bermudez Sr. "I don't want to see anything happen to that child because he also has a mother and she would suffer very deeply as we are suffering," he said in his first public statement after the incident. Outside the courtroom, both blacks and Latinos have protested the decision to prosecute the boy, while Bermudez and Lisa Toliver have publicly embraced.

Yet at a May 2 rally in support of the kid and the Bermudez family, Charles Muhammed, president of the Iron Triangle Neighborhood Council and a Nation of Islam minister, called on the police to investigate the 18-year-old Bermudez daughter, who was babysitting at the time (and was briefly out of the room when the baby was injured)! The NOI seeks to aid the capitalists' attempts to split working people along racial lines by driving a wedge between Richmond's black and Latino residents. This flows directly from the NOI's reactionary doctrine of racial separatism, in which they parasitically feed off of the segregation of blacks on the bottom of American society.

It is precisely integrated class struggle that the ruling class fears, as demonstrated by their alarm over the multiracial 1992 upheaval in L.A. over the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King. The campaign for the racist, anti-immigrant Prop. 187 two years later sought to pit blacks against Latinos and Asians. But as we warned at the time, "Immigrant-bashing and anti-black racism go hand in hand" (*WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994). Prop. 187 laid the basis for the racist assault on affirmative action currently under way in California—both have been spearheaded by Governor Pete Wilson.

The attacks on blacks and Latinos take place in the context of the decay of capitalism and the deindustrialization of America. With no jobs to offer for black youth, the bourgeoisie no longer bothers with education and health care for the lowest layers of the working class. Instead of schools and hospitals, they are building prisons where the minimum wage is *30 cents* per hour. All across California—as across the nation—urban hospitals are closing or suffering drastic cutbacks in cruel disregard for the medical care of the poor and minority population.

For the racist exploiters, there's not much left to do except put more and more blacks in prison, at increasingly lower ages, and throw away the key. We need an integrated revolutionary workers party that can sweep away the whole rotten edifice of capitalism and provide decent jobs, health care and education for all. Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Contents include:

- What We Stand For
  Labor Black League for Social Defense
- Attack on Blacks, Immigrants, Women
  Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!
- International Outcry Wins Stay of Execution
  Battle for Mumia's Freedom
- **Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal**
- Farrakhan's Reactionary Dead End
  Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters
- A Tribute
  Conrad Lynn, 1908-1995

$1 (48 pages)

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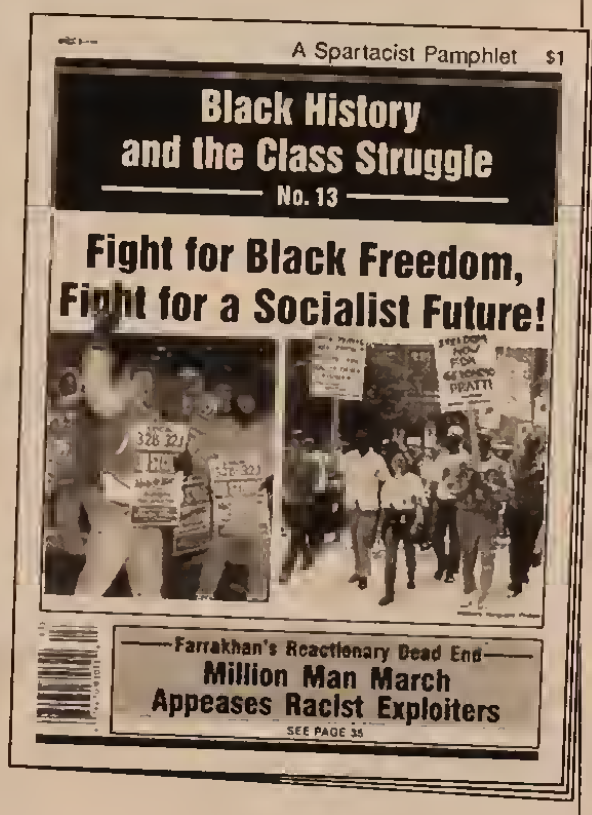

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Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

actions. Last month, Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) führer Richard Costello vituperated against the Police Advisory Commission—a powerless "watchdog" body appointed by the mayor—when it gently slapped eight cops on the wrist with ten-day suspensions. The cops were implicated in the 1994 beating death of Hispanic tow-truck driver Moises DeJesus and had earlier been exonerated by police brass. Echoing Costello's tirade were District Attorney Lynne "Madame Death" Abraham (the arraigning judge in Jamal's 1982 frame-up) and Mayor Ed Rendell (the D.A. in 1982), who each held news conferences to rail at the commission.

It infuriates the F.O.P. and city officials that even under the threat of execution, Mumia has continued to speak out against racism and repression, including through his syndicated newspaper column and his powerful book of prison writings, *Live from Death Row*, which is now out also in paperback. As shown by the worldwide protests for Mumia last summer, for millions of workers and youth his case has become a rallying cry against the racist American *in*justice system—and a symbol of what the barbaric death penalty is all about.

Systematic Cop Coercion

Veronica Jones was a 21-year-old mother of three young children at the time she was threatened by the two detectives. At the 1982 trial, she testified that the prosecution's "star witness," Cynthia White, had been offered a deal by the cops to say that Jamal was the shooter. Like Jones, White was working the street as a prostitute on the night of the shooting. The cops promised to let White "work the area" without police harassment if she would testify that Mumia shot Faulkner. At the trial, White was the only witness to claim that she saw this, while Jones' testimony about the cop coercion was stopped by Judge Sabo.

In her recent statement, Veronica Jones describes how the cops coerced her:

> "Approximately one week before I testified, I was visited in jail by two white plainclothes detectives. I was initially shocked at seeing them since the jailers had told me my lawyer was visiting. The detectives began by speaking, not of the facts of my case, but of the Jamal case. They told me that if I would testify against Jamal and identify Jamal as the shooter, I wouldn't have to worry about my pending felony charges. I repeatedly told the detectives that I didn't see the shooting, but only heard the shots and then saw two men run away. But this didn't satisfy them. The detectives threatened me by reminding me that I faced a long prison sentence—15 years on gun charges—all the while persisting that I testify to their version of events. Frightened, I told them I wanted my lawyer present. When they finally left I knew that if I did anything to help the Jamal defense I would face years in prison.
>
> "It was only a matter of a few days that I was brought to court.... Both detectives who had threatened me earlier were in plain view, standing in the rear of the courtroom. When asked by Jamal's attorney to confirm what I had first told the police—that I saw two males run from the scene after the firing stopped—I steadfastly denied it for fear that I would be punished for helping the defense."

After changing her testimony, Jones was released on bail and ultimately given probation. Jamal's defense attorneys learned nothing of the jailhouse intimidation of this witness until now. At the May 22 press conference, Mumia's lead counsel, Len Weinglass, noted: "It was the prosecution's theory in the case that only Mumia and his brother were present when Officer Faulkner was shot." This "theory" of the prosecution was a tissue of lies.

Jones' testimony corroborates the assertion made by Jamal and his defense team that the 1982 trial was a political frame-up engineered by the Philly cops in collusion with the D.A.'s office. As Mumia's co-counsel, Rachel Wolkenstein, stated: "The trial court sought to dismiss the evidence of widespread police misconduct as implausible, but recent revelations demonstrate that such misconduct is pervasive in the Philadelphia Police Department. Jamal's trial was riddled with police and prosecutorial misconduct: withholding of evidence and the existence of exonerating witnesses from the defense, along with fabrication of evidence, coercion and intimidation of witnesses."

The new testimony adds even more weight to the accounts of several other witnesses who originally told the police that they had seen a man or men run from the scene. William Singletary testified at Jamal's post-conviction relief (PCRA) hearing last summer that the shooter fled the scene and that Jamal was not the shooter. According to Singletary, police destroyed his statement at the time and forced him to sign a false one. The jury at Mumia's 1982 "trial" never heard Singletary's testimony.

Another eyewitness, cab driver Robert Chobert, testified last summer that at the original trial, after receiving a promise from the prosecution to help him reinstate his suspended driver's license, he retracted his statement that he saw the shooter run away. Witness Dessie Hightower testified at the PCRA hearing that cops subjected him to a grueling five-hour interrogation and a "lie detector" test because he insisted that he had heard shots and then had seen a black male run from the scene. Deborah Kordansky similarly told police at the scene that she saw a man running after hearing shots—the defense could not call her to the stand in 1982 because the cops and prosecution withheld her address.

The police/prosecution collusion in framing up Mumia points to how the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prisons—is not some neutral arbiter but an apparatus for repressing minorities and working people. In this election year, the contending capitalist parties—Clinton's Democrats and Dole/Gingrich's Republicans—are seeking to outdo each other in escalating racist repression, from hiring more cops to building ever more prisons to accelerating and widening the use of the death penalty. Addressing a national F.O.P. gathering recently, Clinton crowed about having put 44,000 more cops on the streets since his 1992 election and screamed for an automatic death sentence for anyone accused of killing a cop. Yet various liberals and reformists have appealed to Clinton's Attorney General, Janet Reno—who conspired with Clinton to kill 86 people in the attack on the Branch Davidians near Waco, Texas in 1993—to intercede to assure "justice" for Mumia.

Mumia and his lawyers continue to pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom. But as we wrote in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (see *WV* No. 625, 30 June 1995): "From the time the Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal's case more than eight years ago, we have emphasized that the fight to save him cannot rely on the capitalist courts but rather must look to the mobilization of the masses, centrally the social power of the labor movement." Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Funds are urgently needed! The defense investigation continues. Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. ■

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Racist Philly cops besiege hospital workers Local 1199C offices, denouncing union support for Mumia Abu-Jamal, July 1995.

Victory to Bay Area Janitors Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, June 3—Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 1877 (Justice for Janitors), representing over 5,000 janitors in four counties, today began a "rolling strike" against contractors that service many companies in the Bay Area, including over 75 percent of Silicon Valley. The union voted two days ago to strike the 25 firms, but are only targeting a handful of worksites at a time.

These heavily immigrant, largely Latino workers are striking to bring their wages *up to the poverty level*. They currently start at $6.25 an hour and are demanding an increase to $7.28 over four years. They are also demanding a master contract for all contractors (instead of the current three) and family medical coverage. Mostly part-time, temporary workers, the janitors are a combative, multiracial workforce that has fought hard to win union rights against tough odds in Los Angeles and the Silicon Valley. Most Silicon Valley companies are fabulously wealthy as sales, profits and stock prices in America's high-tech homeland soar. Hewlett-Packard's CEO makes more than the combined salaries of the 150 union janitors who clean his headquarters!

Victory depends on the organized solidarity of the other unions. *To win requires picket lines that nobody and nothing crosses!* No deliveries, no mail, no UPS or FedEx packages, no stationary engineers, no garbage pickup! Instead of limited "rolling strikes," janitors should all go out together, including Local 87 in San Francisco whose contract expires next month!

Meanwhile, the pro-Democratic Party SEIU misleaders are trying to force a contract with a wage freeze and layoffs onto Kaiser health care workers in Local 250. What's needed is united struggle linking black, Latino and immigrant workers in a fight for decent jobs and free health care for all!

Fighting labor solidarity can not only deal a stinging defeat to the contractors and their rich clients, but also lay the basis for integrated class struggle to smash the capitalists' bipartisan racist offensive, including divide-and-conquer schemes like Prop. 187. *Victory to the janitors strike!*

WV Photo

SEIU janitors rally in Oakland, May 30.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

New Evidence of Cop Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Freedom Now for Mumia!

WV Photo

Attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal announced at a press conference in Philadelphia on May 22 that a key witness at Jamal's 1982 trial for the murder of policeman Daniel Faulkner has come forward with powerful new evidence of Mumia's innocence. The witness, Veronica Jones, has submitted a statement revealing that days before she took the stand in 1982, she was threatened and coerced into lying for the prosecution at the trial. Jones was in jail at the time, facing 15 years for felony armed robbery charges, when two Philadelphia detectives came to her and got her to repudiate her original true statement to police that she saw two men flee the scene immediately after the shooting. Mumia could not have been one of these men, because he was sitting, bleeding from a wound inflicted by Faulkner's gun, when police arrived at the scene. Veronica Jones' false testimony at the trial seriously undermined Jamal's defense.

On the basis of this new evidence of police coercion, Jamal's defense team has applied to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to have his case remanded to the Court of Common Pleas to take additional testimony. Last summer, Jamal's petition for a new trial was refused by Judge Albert Sabo—the same "hanging judge" who oversaw Jamal's 1982 frame-up conviction. This February, Mumia's attorneys filed an appeal of this decision before the state Supreme Court. Over three months later, state prosecutors filed a 192-page brief in response to the appeal.

For 14 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has battled against a frame-up conviction for a killing he did not commit. The forces of racist "law and order" targeted Jamal from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1969, to his later work as an award-winning journalist and courageous spokesman for the oppressed and his subsequent support for the MOVE organization. The cops and their allies seized on the shooting of Faulkner in December 1981 to railroad Jamal to death row.

Williams/Philadelphia Inquirer

Ramona Africa outside Philadelphia courthouse where civil suit is being tried against city officials who helped carry out 1985 MOVE massacre.

Less than four years later, in May 1985, the Philly cops, FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms carried out the horrendous bombing which killed eleven MOVE people, including five children, and burned an entire black neighborhood to the ground. The MOVE massacre is once again under the spotlight as the trial continues in the civil suits brought by Ramona Africa, the only adult to survive the bombing of the MOVE home, and two others against some of the city officials responsible for this atrocity.

The latest evidence of the cop/prosecution conspiracy that framed up Mumia emerges against a backdrop of a burgeoning police corruption and brutality scandal demonstrating that what was done to Jamal is standard operating procedure for the Philadelphia Police Department. Cop frame-ups, shakedowns and brutalization of blacks and Hispanics have been so rampant for decades that in 1979 the U.S. Justice Department was compelled to file suit against the police and city administrations—the first action of this kind by the federal government. Now, a series of investigations over the past year has uncovered a widespread practice of intimidating witnesses and beating, robbing and framing up "suspects." And as the fascist ravings of former L.A. detective Mark Fuhrman during the O.J. Simpson trial last year showed, this is the case throughout the whole capitalist "justice" system. Most notorious in Philadelphia is the 39th police district, where revelations of such practices have already resulted in the reversal of 116 drug convictions and the imprisonment of five cops—and that's only the tip of the iceberg.

The Philly cops have repeatedly displayed their bonapartist appetite to slip even the most nominal restraints on their

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Bay Area D.A. Jails Six-Year-Old Child

Racist Rulers' War on Black Youth

OAKLAND—In a grotesque twist to the ever increasing campaign to criminalize black youth, prosecutors in Richmond, California have charged a *6-year-old child with attempted murder*. The child was arrested for the near-fatal beating of a 5-week-old baby, Ignacio Bermudez Jr., when the boy and two eight-year-old companions entered a neighbor's home to steal a tricycle. If the Contra Costa County district attorney has his way, this terrible tragedy will be augmented by the crime of putting the kindergarten kid away for up to eleven years in the juvenile criminal "justice" system, while his two companions face up to six years for stealing a Big Wheels tricycle.

The Richmond boy, from the impoverished black and Hispanic "Iron Triangle" neighborhood, is reportedly the youngest person in the country to ever be charged with attempted murder. In justifying this outrageous charge, Deputy D.A. Harold Jewett called the small child "a very angry young man." When the boy's attorney, John Burris, requested that he be placed in the custody of Child Protective Services, Jewett ranted that the six-year-old was "dangerous" and a "threat to the public." The judge agreed to jail the kindergartner in Juvenile Hall (*Oakland Tribune*, 27 April).

As Burris pointed out, "This is a boy who is still nested in the world of cartoons and X-men.... Reality is not his strong suit" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 May). In court, the child sat doodling on paper, without a clue as to what was going on around him. No child this age is capable of grasping life and death. Yet requests that he be placed in a therapeutic setting were summarily denied. Instead he has been kept "in a cell-like room where the floor is uncarpeted concrete," in a locked ward with "metal walls and a caged recreation area" (*Contra Costa Times*, 12 May). The iron fist of capitalist injustice is intent on teaching ghetto youth a lesson. We demand that all criminal charges against these three kids be dropped now!

The local bourgeois press has joined in the hysteria by digging up old, unproven accusations against members of the boy's family in order to paint his short life as a hopeless picture of crime and violence. The big business media engages in racist demonization of residents of America's ghettos and barrios in order to obscure the reality that the nightmarish social conditions in the inner cities are the product of capitalist society in decay. The young child's mother, Lisa Toliver, is a working single

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 648 5 July 1996

KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Klan Protesters!

When a gang of KKK nightriders tried to stage a race-hate provocation in downtown Chicago on June 29, they found themselves sprawled on the pavement of Daley Plaza and their fascist flag and Klan paraphernalia seized by outraged anti-racist protesters. The 15 racist terrorists of the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," armed with bolt-studded shields and flagpoles wielded as clubs, were countered by a spirited demonstration of nearly 100 union members, leftists and youth. The *Chicago Tribune* (30 June) reported that "Thomas Robb, leader of the group that traveled from Harrison, Ark., had blood on his shirt from cuts he suffered to his face."

The anti-fascist protest, initiated on less than 24 hours' notice by the Partisan Defense Committee

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WV Photos

June 29—KKK racist on the ground, protected by Chicago cop (left), as anti-Klan protesters turn out to stop race-hate provocation.

Black Churches Torched Across the South

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

The epidemic of church burnings sweeping the South has provoked revulsion and outrage among wide layers of the population and is rightly seen as a deadly threat by every black person in the country. In the past 18 months, scores of Southern black churches have been burned down in suspicious circumstances. In ten of these cases, the nightriders underlined their message of race-hatred by setting the fires around Martin Luther King Day. A number of other burned churches had integrated congregations of black and white believers, making them symbols of "race-mixing" in the eyes of racist terrorists like the Klan. This wave of terror recalls the targeting of black churches during the civil rights movement, such as the infamous 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham.

It is patently obvious that white-supremacist organizations, feeding off the climate of racist attacks on blacks and minorities, are involved in a large number of these attacks. A case in point was the torching last summer of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in Greeleyville, South Carolina and the Macedonia Church in nearby Bloomville. Just before the fires, a Klan rally near the Macedonia Church singled out black churches as places where people learned how to get on welfare. A KKK flyer depicting a hooded Klansman and a skull and crossbones was tacked to the church door. After the fires, the Klan opened a storefront recruiting center in Greeleyville.

Federal Government— No Friend of Labor, Blacks, Poor

The escalating wave of racist terror is not restricted to the South or to churches. Last December, three Nazi skinheads from the U.S. Army's elite 82nd Airborne Division in Fort Bragg, North Carolina wantonly gunned down a black couple in nearby Fayetteville. In May, a lynch mob attack led by an off-duty cop in Westhampton, Long Island almost killed a young black man, Shane Daniels. Meanwhile, the KKK has recently raised its ugly head in several Northern cities.

NBC News

North Carolina church in flames last month, one of scores of Southern black churches torched in past 18 months.

The racists burning down black churches are out to destroy what remains of the limited rights gained by blacks in the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s. After resisting pressures for months from the NAACP and other black groups, Clinton and his "Justice" Department last month formed a special federal task force to investigate the church burnings, cynically aimed at securing his hold on the black vote in the November elections. But for months, even as the number of black churches burned down soared, the leaders of both capitalist parties maintained a studious silence.

Furthermore, as the frequency of church burnings rises, more and more denials are heard from government spokesmen that there is any widespread "conspiracy" involved. Obviously, we have no way of knowing if all the burnings of these often old, ramshackle buildings were the result of racist arson. But the sharp rise in the number of black churches burned in the past 18 months is undeniable. According to the Center for Democratic Renewal, there were an average of eight burnings per year of Southern black churches between 1990 and 1994. That number increased to 18 in 1995. And so far this year, some three dozen black churches have been torched, even as the overall number of church fires in the U.S. has been declining. Imagine the immediate outcry there would have been if scores of *white* churches were being reduced to cinders!

From the moment federal agents moved in, they made it clear that their "investigation" was directed at...the

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At Cleveland Conference

Labor Party Advocates Don't

After years of holding meetings to plan more meetings to discuss the "feasibility" of forming a labor party, in early June "Labor Party Advocates" (LPA) held a four-day founding convention in Cleveland, Ohio. The result was a newly christened "Labor Party." But while the name has changed, the LPA's game is the same—to act as a "labor" appendage for Clinton's Democrats. What we wrote last year remains no less true today: "These 'labor party advocates' don't even...advocate forming a labor party. They just want to talk about it, *in order to pressure the Democrats*" (*WV* No. 622, 5 May 1995).

This was made crystal-clear at the "founding" conference. A featured speaker was former California governor and quirky Democrat Jerry Brown. The "Labor Party" has vowed not to run any candidates in the '96 elections. And at the opening press conference, LPA bigwig Robert Wages, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), assured the union officialdom that the new "party" will do nothing to upset the AFL-CIO's political action machine, COPE (Committee on Political Education), which squanders millions of union members' dollars to support the Democrats.

WV Photo

Longtime OCAW union bureaucrat Tony Mazzocchi addresses founding conference of non-"Labor Party," shill for Clinton's Democrats.

The LPA was formed six years ago by longtime OCAW International official Tony Mazzocchi, who took notice of rumblings among unionists who were increasingly disaffected by the Democrats. Mazzocchi and Wages never intended to build a workers party in *opposition* to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Rather the aim was to organize an independent-sounding "labor" vehicle to suck workers disgusted with the Democrats' record of anti-union attacks back into the "lesser evil" Democratic Party fold. In this, Mazzocchi was taking a lesson from his early years as an activist for the American Labor Party (ALP), which was formed in New York in 1936 as a vehicle to garner votes for Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt among socialist-minded workers.

Some 1,400 delegates—many of them low-level union officials—from around the country came to the Cleveland convention. Very few of the delegates were black or under the age of 30. The founding program had been worked out well in advance, with control over voting firmly in the hands of Mazzocchi, Wages and the top officers of four other unions. The program these bureaucrats presented was consciously crafted to avoid "controversial and divisive" social issues—like racial oppression, abortion and the American rulers' imperialist exploitation and oppression of colonial and semicolonial peoples around the world.

This is not surprising, since Mazzocchi & Co. push poisonous economic protectionism which pits workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters abroad. At the conference, the LPA leadership even had a band singing such grotesque lyrics as: "They're sending all our jobs down Mexico way." As we noted last year, "Any 'third party' constructed around such policies would look dangerously like Ross Perot's 'United We Stand America,' with its demagogic appeals to the 'angry white male' vote of anti-black racism and immigrant bashing."

Yet none of this fazed Mazzocchi's fake-socialist cheerleaders, who positively enthused over the formation of this "Labor Party." The Freedom Socialist Party offered its "congratulations," burbling that "six years of organizing by Labor Party Advocates is about to pay off." The San Francisco-based Socialist Organizer group hailed the founding as "a giant step forward for labor and all working people in this country—and for workers around the world." Labor Militant—whose British patrons were hurled for decades inside the pro-imperialist British Labour Party—pledged their all to "make the Labor Party stronger."

The dyed-in-the-wool reformists of Labor Militant are notorious for their position that the racist, strikebreaking cops are "workers in uniform." At the conference, they cheered wildly for an amendment calling for a 50 percent cut in military spending—i.e., to *support* a budget of over *$140 billion* for U.S. imperialism's armed forces. We say: Cops out of the labor movement! Not one person, not one penny for the imperialist military!

The various reformist "socialists" showed their willingness to bend over backward to suck up to the pro-Democratic labor tops during the policy discussions at the Cleveland conference. Supporters of the social-democratic Committees of Correspondence and Socialist Action were instrumental in tailoring the demands of a caucus of black delegates to avoid anything which might embarrass Clinton: there was not a hint of opposition to the racist death penalty or of the need for union-based mobilizations against KKK terror. And while Marxists fight for free abortion on demand, Jane Slaughter from *Labor Notes*, which is supported by the reformist Solidarity group, actually took the convention floor to *denounce* a proposed amendment calling for the right to "safe and legal abortion"! When one delegate put forward a motion explicitly rejecting support to the Democrats, Communist Party supporter Norm Roth vehemently denounced this as "divisive." The amendment was easily defeated. So much for the LPA's "alternative" to the big business Democrats!

A genuinely independent party of the working class—committed to a revolutionary struggle for a workers government to replace the capitalist system—will not be built through hot-air conferences and reformist maneuvers but in the course of sharp, tumultuous class struggle. Central to forging such a party is the fight against black oppression, the bedrock of racist American capitalism. The labor lieutenants of capital will oppose any move toward a truly *class-struggle*, multiracial workers party every step of the way. That is why such a party will only be built in bitter political combat against Mazzocchi, Wages and the rest of the entrenched bureaucratic misleadership of the unions. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Cannon on the Party Press

In 1944-45, James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, and other key leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were in prison for their opposition to the imperialist Second World War. While in the federal prison at Sandstone, Minnesota, Cannon kept abreast of developments in the then-revolutionary SWP. This excerpt from one of his prison letters in January 1945 has particular bearing on a number of fights with former Workers Vanguard *editor Jan Norden, especially in reasserting the fundamental principle that the party press is the property of the party as a whole.*

The Press: My pal here who knows newspaper technique very well because he has studied it assiduously in the textbooks of experts, made some sharp criticism of recent makeup innovations in the paper and explained precisely what is wrong about them. I proposed that he write up his criticisms and send them in. He answered: "That would be a waste of my time. I sent in other suggestions and no attention was paid to them; they were not even acknowledged." These remarks were the harshest criticism I have heard—one is almost tempted to say, the harshest criticism one could hear—of the administration of the paper.

Resentment or insensitivity toward criticism is one of the most terrible weaknesses a leader can be afflicted with. I believe one of the characteristic marks of a real leader is the capacity to listen attentively to criticism. Those who can't do that shut themselves off from one of the best ways of learning. One who resents criticism inspired by good will is simply impossible, too childish for the role of leader. But even criticism inspired by malice sometimes contains a kernel or half-kernel of truth which one may profitably heed and appropriate. I personally learned more than anyone knows precisely this way....

"This paper does not belong to you." That motto should be printed on the minds of every member of the staff, if not on the office walls. The spirit which impels a man to regard the party office, post or institution in which he works as "his own," and to resent criticism of his handling of it, is a petty-bourgeois spirit, a form of the private-property spirit.

—James P. Cannon, *Letters from Prison* (1968)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Polish Trotskyists Demand:

Stop Racist Deportations of Gypsies!

The following protest statement, translated from Polish, was issued on June 22 by the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski, section of the International Communist League, in response to a vile racist roundup and deportation of Roma and Sinti (Gypsy) refugees by the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) government. Capitulating to an orgy of anti-Roma chauvinism, self-styled leftists like the Polish cothinkers of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (and the U.S. International Socialist Organization) have refused to lift a finger against this pogromist attack. Uniquely among the Polish left, our comrades of the SGP have fought to mobilize the workers movement against anti-Semitism and anti-Roma racism.

Der Spiegel

Gypsy families near Warsaw are being subjected to Gestapo-style raids by Polish border guards.

In the pre-dawn hours of June 19, dozens of Warsaw police and Polish Border Guards launched a Gestapo-style attack on a Roma settlement in Zoliborz (a northern suburb of Warsaw). In an assault prepared for months in advance, the cops seized 126 men, women and children from their beds and set fire to their encampment, burning their homes to the ground and destroying their possessions. Within 24 hours most of the Roma families were dumped at the Ukrainian border with nothing more than the clothes on their backs and whatever they had managed to save from the attack. Sixteen others have been imprisoned awaiting "documentation." The bourgeois press was filled with praise for the cops and chilling calls for "decontaminating" and "disinfecting" the charred and subsequently bulldozed remains of the Roma settlement (recalling the systematic burning of "Jewish beds" during the Nazi Holocaust). The "success" of this operation will definitely encourage the capitalist state to more such attacks, and embolden it in its assault on the working class as a whole. The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski calls for urgent mass mobilizations by the workers movement to demand: *Hands off Roma/Sinti refugees! Stop the racist deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!*

Platforma
SPARTAKUSOWCÓW

Socjaldemokraci dokonują pogromu przeciw Romom!

Zatrzymać deportacje Romów/Sinti!

Polish Spartacists' protest statement headlined: "Social Democrats Launch Anti-Roma Pogrom! Stop Deportation of Roma/Sinti!"

Directly responsible for this racist crime are the Social Democrats of Polish president Aleksander Kwasniewski's SLD, whose counterparts in the SLD-controlled city government planned and coordinated the police pogrom. Bearing their share of political responsibility for the actions of this "socialist" government of the International Monetary Fund are fake leftist groups, notably supporters of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (*Dalej!*) and the British Militant Tendency (Ofensywa), who supported Solidarność' capitalist counterrevolution and then openly or backhandedly called for workers and anti-racist youth to vote for the SLD as a "leftist" alternative to the reactionary Walesa & Co. We communists, Trotskyists, who opposed Solidarność' reactionary course from the outset, openly denounced any political support to the pro-capitalist SLD.

The deportation of the Roma is part of a plan which includes the opening of new "deportation centers" financed through an agreement with the German Fourth Reich to keep "undesirable immigration" out of Fortress Europe (see "Stop Deportations of Gypsies from Germany," *Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 4, Summer-Fall 1993). This grotesque racist attack underscores the hypocrisy of the official ceremonies scarcely two weeks from now commemorating the Jews who died in the Kielce anti-Semitic pogrom of 1946, the last chapter of the Nazis' "Final Solution" (supported by the Polish fascists), in the course of which 500,000 Roma and Sinti were also murdered.

Parroted by much of the "left," the ruling class promotes reactionary Polish nationalism, anti-Semitism and hatred of minorities to disorient and divide the working class. As our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote in 1993: "The organized workers movement, together with immigrant organizations, has the power to defend democratic rights and the right to live of all the oppressed. That power can and must be mobilized to stop the deportations of Roma and Sinti." Urgently necessary is the fight for a revolutionary workers party to combat *all* forms of capitalist oppression on the road to smashing the rotten capitalist system and establishing workers power in Poland and from Vladivostok to Lishon! ■

Germany

Defend Vietnamese Immigrants!

The following is translated from a June 26 protest statement issued by the Committee for Social Defense, associated with the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

Amid a campaign of state racist terror against immigrants and refugees and exactly three years after the Bonn parties (the ruling Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats) gutted the right to asylum, the government is now announcing the deportation of 2,073 Vietnamese. In doing so it cynically appeals to the so-called "Repatriation Agreement" that Germany extorted from the Vietnamese government (SRV) on 21 September 1995 under the threat of stopping any and all "development aid." This agreement stipulates that by the year 2000 approximately 40,000 of the 97,000 Vietnamese residing in Germany will have to be "returned" in accord with "yearly quotas," explicitly including deporting people against their will. The Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), along with the Spartakists, demands: Not one deportation! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Defend the Vietnamese!

Many Vietnamese were well-trained contract workers in the DDR (East German) deformed workers state. With capitalist *Anschluss*, their plants were devastated, and then they were forced out of their hostels and into homelessness. Left without a job or a place to live, they were then declared to be "illegal cigarette smugglers." Today the Vietnamese, along with Roma (Gypsies) and Kurds, are the target of a racist campaign carried out in the name of a "fight against organized crime." In 1995, after weeks of this witchhunt aimed at justifying intensified repressive violence by the bourgeois state, police chased 38-year-old asylum-seeker Vo Huan Cuong to his death under a train. He had been in Germany for just four months. The police who pursued him stood laughing and joking beside his body. In a report earlier this year, Amnesty International declared that this police terror, especially as directed against Vietnamese, is the result of "horrible, inhuman and humiliating treatment."

The Bonn government even succeeded in getting Vietnam's "repatriation" obligation inserted into the preamble of the cooperation agreement between the European Union and the SRV. The revolting face of this German-dominated "Fortress Europe" à la Maastricht is ever more obvious: the state's implementation of the racists' cry for "Foreigners Out." The rulers are now carrying out the demand of the Nazi gangs during the state-instigated Rostock pogrom of August 1992, when 115 Vietnamese workers and their families were terrorized for days, barely surviving an arson attack on their dormitory. The KfsV fights for the workers movement to form worker defense groups jointly with immigrant organizations to smash the Nazi/skinhead gangs.

This year we celebrated the 21st anniversary of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants over U.S. imperialism. Everyone who stands on the side of the world's exploited and oppressed will recall with joy and triumph the images of April 1975, when the last packed helicopters departed in panic from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon. But neither have the vengeful imperialists forgotten these images. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and under the unyielding pressure of world imperialism, the revolutionary gains of the besieged Vietnamese nation are mortally threatened, while the market "reforms" pursued by Hanoi's Stalinist leadership are taking the country in the direction of capitalist counterrevolution.

Through a so-called "Reintegration Agreement" in 1992, Vietnamese were sent back to Vietnam, where they had little chance of surviving in a country being starved out by the imperialists. And those remaining here in Germany were forced into petty crime and a lumpen existence by an anti-Communist and racist campaign of vengeance. The organized workers movement, joining with immigrant organizations, has the power to defend the democratic rights and the very right to live of all the oppressed. This power can and must be mobilized to stop the deportation of the Vietnamese! ■

Spartakist

Berlin protest against deportations of Vietnamese contract workers in 1993. Signs read: "Workers Resistance Against Fourth Reich!" and "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"

Pabloism of the Second Mobilization

A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism

Jan Norden, who for 23 years was the editor of *Workers Vanguard*, was expelled from the Spartacist League/U.S. by a meeting of the Political Bureau on June 8 for willful violation of the most fundamental condition of membership in a Leninist party: that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity of its members. Marjorie Stamberg, a longtime member of the *WV* Editorial Board, was also expelled for refusing to accept the democratic-centralist discipline of the revolutionary party.

Norden, who had until recently been a member of the International Executive Committee and International Secretariat of the International Communist League, as well as of the SL/U.S. Central Committee and Political Bureau, had for some time evidently taken a large proportion of his political activity underground. For some eight months, he had stopped asking the party for reimbursement for bills incurred in discharging his political responsibilities from his home by phone, or through fax and computer equipment that had been supplied by the organization. At the same time, he continued to submit bills for all other material he felt he needed for whatever political work he was doing.

Of course, this doesn't explain much. The anarchist Bakunin was expelled from the First International for financial chicanery. But that tells one very little about the differences between Marxism and anarchism. In Norden's case, his organizational pathology reflected a shamefaced political defection from the program of revolutionary Trotskyism, not fought or argued forthrightly as such, but rather expressed in an increasingly desperate search for, and accommodation to, social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation. After a long and exhaustive internal struggle, Norden's revisionist course had been so thoroughly exposed that, despite his years of authority in the party, in the end he left with only his longtime political collaborator and personal companion, Stamberg, and his protégé Negrete.

Trotsky noted in *The Lessons of October* (1924) that sudden changes in the world situation always provoke disorientation and confusion within the revolutionary party, especially within its leadership. The period from 1989 to 1992 was marked by profound changes and historic defeats for the working class internationally as capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe and the Soviet Union. Buying into the imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the left generally is rapidly repudiating even any pretense of Leninism, seeking "regroupment" in larger reformist formations together with social democrats and ex-Stalinists. Our small revolutionary international is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. But unlike our centrist and reformist opponents, who wallow in their opportunism while glibly denying any internal problems, we strive to be candid in assessing the tasks and difficulties facing us and are unique in bringing this before the international working class and the left.

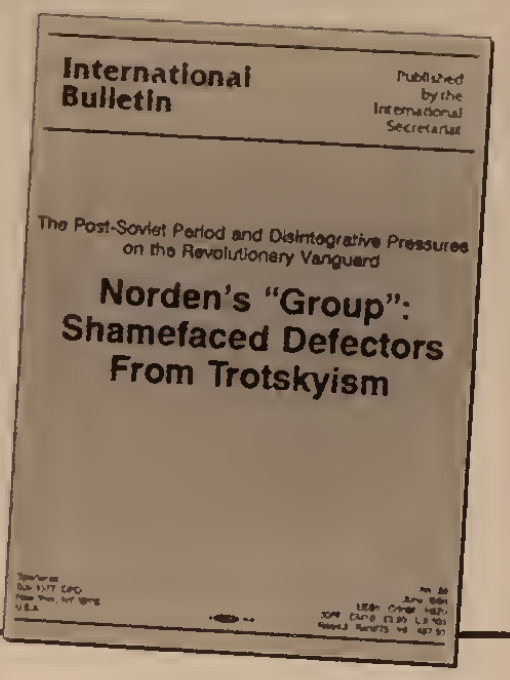
This is because unlike other self-proclaimed Trotskyists, who have long forsaken the goal of international proletarian revolution, we fight for a new October Revolution. But the disproportion between this purpose and the current political consciousness of the working class, youth and the left internationally is great. Today, even most subjective leftists view as rather esoteric the idea that a proletarian revolution, like that successfully pursued by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917, is the key to the liberation of mankind. This is due in no small measure to the crimes of the Stalinists, and the Social Democrats before them, who made a mockery of the program and ideals of revolutionary Marxism.

As we wrote in a "Perspectives and Tasks Memorandum" adopted at a meeting of our International Executive Committee (IEC) last January and reprinted in a recently published *International Bulletin* ("Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism"): "Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat, and the absence of the Soviet Union as an active and defining factor in politics, have led to disorientation and appetite to follow alien political programs and forces."

An early manifestation of the liquidationist pressures on the ICL in this period was the 1994 minority faction in our Canadian section of Y. Rad and Marie Hayes, who frantically cast about the world for forces other than the proletariat to lead "the struggle." This included glorifying various ex-Stalinist formations, like the Russian nationalist, fascist-infested "red-brown coalition"; looking to the murderous Algerian military regime to combat Islamic fundamentalism (while simultaneously retrospectively saluting Khomeini's mullahs as the "ally" of the Iranian workers in 1979); and calling for support to the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress in the 1994 South African elections.

Rad/Hayes' overt proclivity toward unsavory nationalist formations rapidly led them out of our international. Though not as extreme, the pressures of the period have also been manifested in fights over the relevance and purpose of a revolutionary Leninist vanguard in virtually every section of the ICL. These fights have been essential not only as a political corrective but in sharpening our revolutionary program for intervention into those struggles that are erupting and that will break out in the future against the ruthless offensive being waged by the capitalist rulers internationally. But for Norden the disproportion between what we strive for and the current consciousness of the working class had become a yawning, unbridgeable abyss.

He and Stamberg evidenced a deepening pessimism about the ability of our party and its revolutionary program to have any impact in the "New World Order," expressed in their ever more frequent broadsides against the ICL's supposed "abstract" or "passive" propagandism. This was matched by an increasingly hostile alienation from the party leadership, in which Norden had been no mere ornament. Stamberg, an alternate member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee, long preceded him in an increasingly frenzied alienation. She was the Spartacist candidate for mayor in the 1985 New York City elections—and it would have been hard to find a better one. But for some time now, she had bridled against a perceived leaden "bureaucracy" that stood in the way of her often "rad-lib" appetites. Over the last year or so, it became increasingly evident that she had essentially quit, at least in her head, as she shed various areas of political and organizational responsibility.



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Reuters

Where Norden's appetites wandered: to geriatric remnants of former East German Stalinist bureaucracy now in social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism, and to Castro's Cuba.

The Pathology of Impressionism

Norden had always had strong tendencies toward impressionism and vicarious adventurism, animated by an often-fatuous optimism about the capacity of forces very distant from Trotskyism, or from the proletariat for that matter, to "struggle" in some successful measure against the depredations of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Within the framework of a political collective, these appetites could not only be curtailed but could also provide for a healthy tension in determining political line and intervention. At the same time, there were occasions when that balance tipped over, introducing distortions in our propaganda.

From the question of the survival of Sandinista Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism in the 1980s, to the capacities of the army of Saddam Hussein's Iraq to inflict serious damage against the imperialists during the Persian Gulf War, Norden always stood at the extreme end of a tendency to impressionistically overdraw (and often fantastically so) the military factor. Correspondingly, this meant conjuring up an anticipated flood of anti-imperialist struggle while seriously downplaying the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material economic reality. As Trotsky noted, impressionism on military matters can lead either to the idealistic view that revolutionary fervor will make up for any military handicap or conversely can fuel a rightist impulse that any struggle is hopeless. On the latter score, early on in his time in the party, Norden viewed the 1973 Indochina "peace accords" as the end of the war against U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

The defects in *WV*'s coverage of the Gulf War were particularly addressed in a document by comrade Ralf Eades.

Bleibtreu/Sygma

Cuban general Ochoa, executed by Castro regime after Stalinist show trial in 1989.

of the Spartacist League/Britain, titled "Cold War Impressionism, *Workers Vanguard* and the 'Gulf War'." Noting the overblown statements in *WV* articles on Iraq's military might and its ability to inflict serious damage on the forces of U.S. imperialism, Eades asked: "Would it have been a capitulation to 'smoke and mirrors' imperialist propaganda to wake the workers of the world to the revolutionary defence of Iraq, to halt, derail, smash by class-struggle means the crushing one-sided slaughter being *prepared* before our disbelieving eyes?"

Norden's lightminded attitude toward the military might of U.S. imperialism was reflected in the ironic tone of a front-page article on a U.S. missile attack on Baghdad in *WV* No. 579 (2 July 1993). Comrades' criticism of this article, and of the way the paper was managed, was "met with a furiously defensive, turf-conscious, hypersensitive, arrogant, cliquist, anti-Leninist response" ("The Post-Soviet World: Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S.," *Spartacist* No. 51, Autumn 1994). This outburst was an expression of Norden's stated position in favor of "one-man rule" over the party press (and over any aspects of our international work in which he was personally involved).

In practice this meant creating a parallel apparatus, centered on *Workers Vanguard*, to that of the central party administration. Norden's personal power ambitions meant that he was constantly chafing against the Bolshevik practice that the press is subordinated to the party leadership collective. These issues came to a head in a sharp fight at a Political Bureau meeting in September 1993. The PB passed a motion noting that the Editorial Board "was beginning to act in a self-conscious and independent fashion." Nevertheless, as long as Norden accepted the discipline of the party and the corrective measures ensuing from internal political struggles, he remained as editor of *Workers Vanguard*.

Norden also had a Stalinoid bent particularly vis-à-vis Castro's Cuba which was expressed, perhaps most grotesquely, in initial attempts to alibi the Stalinist show trial and execution of General Ochoa on charges of international drug dealing. Ochoa had fought with Castro against the Batista dictatorship and led the Cuban troops in Angola against the forces backed by the U.S and South Africa. Norden was finally persuaded that the Ochoa trial was a classic Stalinist purge. But in the article "Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba—The Execution of General Ochoa" (*WV* No. 500, 20 April 1990), Norden insisted on "disproving" Washington's claims that the Havana regime was involved in the drug trade by upholding Castro's integrity: "For Castro to lie about this would be to invite an invasion."

Of course, the White House's drug charges against Castro were part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's relentless drive to crush the Cuban Revolution. But to assert, as Norden did, that Castro couldn't lie about this was a statement of blind faith in the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy. This was fought out, resulting in a clarification in *WV* No. 501 (4 May 1990). But even in the face of the bitter reality that Cuba's isolation following the collapse of the Soviet Union had led to a devastating erosion of the gains of the revolution and growing impoverishment and inequality, Norden's infatuation with Castro's Cuba did not abate.

Reporting on Cuba to an August 1993 meeting of our International Secretariat, just after Castro had made an enormous concession to the forces of capitalist restoration by introducing the dollar into the Cuban economy, Norden and Stamberg echoed the Stalinoid cheerleaders in North America who proclaim that "The Cuban Revolution is going to make it." Stamberg enthused that "the regime has a lot of authority...most people want to fight, they are clear, they are class conscious." In fact, as another comrade later replied, "They are *not* class conscious. It's populist consciousness; it's exactly the consciousness that the Stalinists have instilled." While calling for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism, Marxists understand that the Cuban Revolution can only be "saved" by fighting for workers revolution throughout the Americas and proletarian political revolution against the nationalist Castro bureaucracy.

With the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990, quantity turned into quality. Norden's attraction to Castro's Cuba was paralleled by his fascination with the East German deformed workers state of Erich Honecker. When the DDR went down, presaging the subsequent collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Norden began to become politically unhinged.

From Impressionism to Revisionism

With the collapse of the Honecker regime and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the DDR was engulfed in a developing political revolution. The impulses of the East German masses were directed not toward capitalist reunification but rather to building what they considered to be a decent socialist society on the foundations of the DDR's nationalized economy. This produced an exceptionally open situation for Trotskyist intervention. The ICL undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in the history of our tendency, drawing upon the personnel and other resources of all sections.

We published and circulated tens of thousands of copies of a daily newssheet, *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* (*Arprekorr*, Workers Press Correspondence), centrally fighting to forge a Leninist-egalitarian party to establish a government of workers councils (soviets) in the DDR as a springboard to a unified German *workers* state based on a perspective of a Socialist United States of Europe. We later learned that our call for workers and soldiers councils had been widely discussed within units of the East German National People's Army (NVA), leading to the formation of incipient soldiers committees particularly in the northeast. Our political impact was shown when 250,000 turned out for the 3 January 1990 united-front demonstration, to which the SED had acquiesced, in East Berlin's Treptow Park to protest the fascist desecration of a memorial to Red Army soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. Spartakist spokesmen addressed the crowd from the platform, denouncing the ruling Stalinist SED bureaucracy and advancing a program of proletarian internationalism. The spectre of organized working-class resistance to capitalist reunification manifested at Treptow alarmed the West German imperialists and their Social Democratic frontmen, who turned up the heat in their campaign to stampede the DDR into reunification.

The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in the DDR gave the green light for capitalist restoration in East Germany. Two months later, the parties of West German imperialism swept the March 1990 East German elections and the DDR deformed workers state was swallowed up in a reunified capitalist Fourth Reich. The document of the Second International Conference of the ICL in 1992 noted:

> "As Treptow later showed, from the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution."

Norden was centrally involved in our intervention in Germany, both in editing many issues of *Arprekorr* and in the political deliberations of our international leadership. But he could not face the reality of capitalist *Anschluss*. Unable to accept the verdict of history—that mass resistance does not follow in the wake of historic defeats—Norden began to look around for a "fightback" on the terrain of the ex-DDR. This perspective was predicated on looking for a split among the Stalinist remnants of the old DDR regime, now grouped in the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), who would supposedly lead such a fight.

To prepare for future struggles, through building the necessary proletarian internationalist leadership, the most conscious workers in the former DDR needed to acquire a political understanding of Stalinism and the collapse of the East German deformed workers state. Such a Trotskyist analysis was cogently put forward in documents by Joseph Seymour ("On the Collapse of Stalinist Rule in East Europe") and Albert St. John ("For Marxist Clarity and a Forward Perspective") which were published in English-language *Spartacist* No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91. But these documents did not appear in a German-language edition of *Spartacist* until 1994! Instead, taking advantage of his German language capacity and his role in the International Secretariat, Norden urged on our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), a policy of endless economist sorties into the working class of the former DDR, launching a campaign in 1991 to agitate for mass strikes. This posture of imminent "mass resistance" negated the critical factor of *consciousness* which only a Leninist vanguard could introduce.

Reboure/AP

"Highway of death," horrid scene of U.S. military's one-sided slaughter of Iraqi soldiers withdrawing from Kuwait, 1991. Norden downplayed deadly power of U.S. imperialism.

Norden's ignorant and anti-Trotskyist perspective, that working-class struggle would lead a wing of the PDS to split and "fight" against the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution, had a disorienting impact on the SpAD, which itself could not face the grim reality of the destruction of the DDR. When his fantasy of economist "fightback" didn't work out (which must have been devastating for Norden, given his skewed, ahistorical expectations), Norden turned his attention to a perspective of recruiting "anti-fascist youth" through yet another "get rich quick" scheme.

The increasingly murderous fascist attacks on immigrants in Germany which came in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution provoked a significant radicalization of youth who sought to stop the Nazi terrorists. Exemplary united-front actions against the fascists, demonstrating in action our revolutionary program based on the centrality of mobilizing the social power of the working class, was surely one means to win the best of these leftist youth to Trotskyism.

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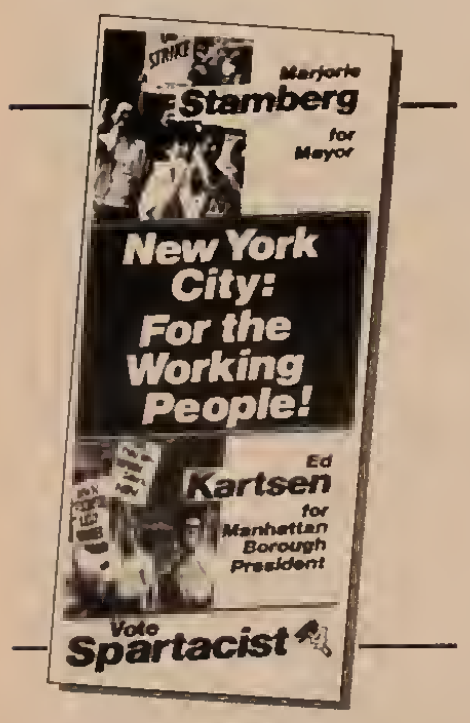


In 1985 Marjorie Stamberg ran an exemplary campaign as Spartacist candidate for mayor of NYC.

Spartacist Forum

The Struggle for Trotskyism in the Post-Soviet World

Speaker: Jon Brule, SL Central Committee

Update on Mumia Abu-Jamal:
Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel and Jamal co-counsel

Thursday, August 1, 7 p.m.

P.S. 41, 116 W.11th Street
(at 6th Avenue)

NEW YORK CITY For more information: (212) 267-1025

A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica

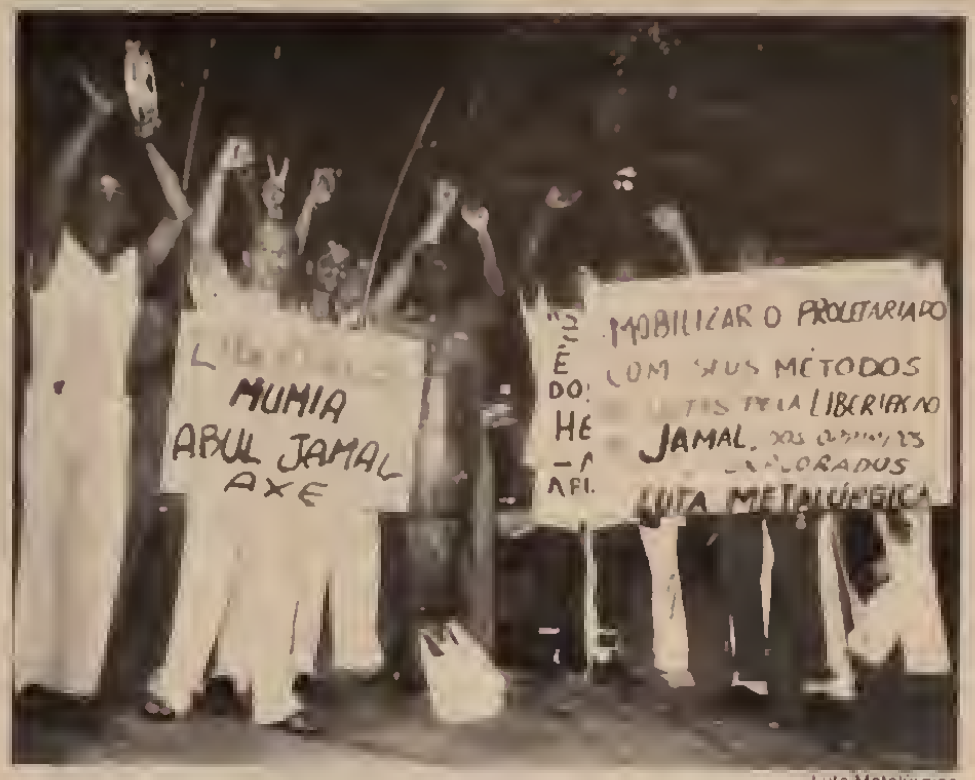
The International Communist League has dissolved its fraternal relations with the Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB) group. In a June 17 letter to LM by the ICL's International Executive Committee (IEC), we explained:

> "For many months now the ICL has fought to bring the actual practices of Luta Metalúrgica/LQB into accordance with the revolutionary political program expressed in the Declaration of Fraternal Relations endorsed by both of our organizations in September 1994. In particular, since our January 1996 IEC meeting there have been sharp political struggles against LM's trade-union opportunism and centrist subordination of the revolutionary program to a policy of endless unprincipled blocs and amorphous combinations in the trade unions....
>
> "As the LM/LQB is evidently adamant on its opportunist course, we therefore dissolve fraternal relations and separate our organizations. We look forward to opportunities for common struggle."

LM originated as a proletarian formation with a militant history in the steel industry center of Volta Redonda. In 1989, this group joined the Brazilian Causa Operária group (a tendency allied with the pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Obrero of Jorge Altamira in Argentina) but split in 1994 centrally over CO's centrist accommodation to the popular front. CO called for a vote to the "workers' candidate," Lula, in the bourgeois formation, the Frente Brasil Popular, a class-collaborationist alliance between Lula's Workers Party (PT) and various "progressive" capitalist politicians (see "Brazil: IMF Candidate Wins Election," *WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994).

It was LM's opposition to the Lula Popular Front and also its understanding of the centrality of the fight against racial oppression—ignored by the rest of the Brazilian left—as a *strategic* question for socialist revolution in Brazil which laid the basis for our establishment of fraternal relations in the fall of 1994. Fraternal relations are a dynamic process of testing the apparent programmatic agreement through common work and debate of differences. A lengthy and difficult process in any case, this process was rendered more difficult in Brazil because of geographic distance, language difficulties and low level of communications technology. We sought to deepen our ties to LM, overcoming differences or potential differences, through patient and pedagogical discussion.

Recognizing that there is no stasis in fraternal relations, i.e., if we weren't moving forward we were sliding back, the ICL brought one of LM's leading representatives to an authoritative gathering of our International Executive Committee in January. We then invested significant resources to maintain an ICL representative in Brazil for many months to pursue an agreed-upon agenda for common work. This centered on the need to publish a party propaganda organ, to extend our presence to a major metropolitan center, and to seek to win recruits from the younger generation, including in the steel industry where LM has earned authority.



Luta Metalúrgica

Luta Metalúrgica initiated united-front protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Volta Redonda, August 1995.

In the months prior to the IEC meeting, LM was centrally involved in an amorphous and unprincipled lash-up, Municiparios em Luta (MEL), which had recently won the leadership of the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. At the January IEC meeting, the ICL first learned that this union includes police! For the past six months, our relations with the LM/LQB have been dominated by the interrelated issues of fighting to oust the cops from the union and of breaking the LM group from its ingrained practice of unprincipled combinationism in the unions. Despite a formal advocacy of the class independence of the workers, LM combined with non-Marxist and even sinister elements and braintrusted the MEL slate without ever mentioning in their election propaganda the question of removing the cops from the municipal workers union. Moreover, this election program, which sounded quite left-wing, was so sparsely distributed that a majority of the cops in the union voted for the MEL slate!

While LM opposed the bloc between Lula's PT and various bourgeois politicians, a "union" between workers and cops is actually a purer form of popular front than that which exists at the parliamentary level: the mass organization purportedly for defense of the workers' class interests is directly tied to the armed bodies for the defense of capital. The most dangerous form of popular front, especially common in neocolonial countries, is that between the leaders of the workers movement and "progressive" commanders of the armed forces. The outcome has been measured in rivers of blood, from the Chinese Communist Party's bloc with the Guomindang (Kuomintang) in the mid-1920s, to the Indonesian Communist Party's bloc with Sukarno and the Muslim generals in the mid-1960s, to the agreement between Allende's Unidad Popular and "patriotic" generals like Pinochet in Chile in 1970-73. In microcosm, a similar bloc exists in the Volta Redonda municipal workers union.

AP

Poor peasants gunned down by military police in northern Brazilian state of Pará in April. Cops are the murderous fist of the capitalist state.

In a February 23 letter to LM, we noted: "The fight for removal of the cops from the unions is the equivalent of the call for no vote to Lula: it is the concrete expression of the Marxist principle of the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state." Furthermore, we warned that LM's stated position on the black question is undermined by and stands in contradiction to its actual current practices:

> "Among the political issues that draw Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL together is our emphasis on and fight for a proletarian-centered strategy to smash racial oppression. Comrades, consider what this means in concrete terms. If tomorrow the need were posed for the municipal workers union to take the lead in organizing labor/black defense, such a mobilization would be obstructed, vitiated or made impossible by the presence in the unions of the forces which carry out racist massacres like those of Candelária, Vigário Geral and Carandirú, who massacre peasants in Rondônia."

Just a few weeks after we sent this letter, military police carried out a massacre of peasants in El Dorado dos Carajás (see *WV* No. 644, 26 April). At the same time, cops in the municipal workers union were exposed in the bourgeois press for their continued participation in death squads responsible for the murder of street children.

The urgent issue of ousting the cops from the labor movement came to a head when the state itself threw down the gauntlet through an ominous raid on the March 13 municipal workers union meeting by the notorious military police. In defense of our fraternal comrades and of the union, and based on our principled stand for the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state, the ICL mobilized its resources for an international campaign of solidarity. Organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, this campaign drew the support of labor unions and militants from South Africa to Tokyo to demand that the cops keep their hands off LM and the union itself. Since the battle was brought to LM, they have waged a principled and difficult struggle against the police presence in the union.

However, in the crucible of this campaign, our political differences were sharply revealed even as we made a united stand with LM against state repression. Despite abstract agreement with the need to forge a Trotskyist nucleus in Brazil, LM subordinated necessary party work—such as publishing a newspaper to openly make their case to the workers and expose the witchhunters—to preserving their control of the union from the top through the unelected position of "union adviser."

Yet the MEL slate included the chief witchhunter himself, one Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes, who has made himself the spokesman for the cops. Scandalously, this pro-cop provocateur is working under the direction of an ostensible Trotskyist group, the Liga Bolchevique Internacional (an affiliate of the Argentine PBCI)! In a joint leaflet issued by the ICL and LM/LQB (reprinted in *Espartaco* No. 8, Spring-Summer 1996) we wrote: "This is a dirty matter: a recent letter (1 March 1996) from the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI) to Arthur (coup-plotter against MEL) instructs him to attack Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL because we defend blacks and homosexuals.... The fake-leftists like Arthur and the LBI spit on blacks and women and embrace the repressive forces of the state."

Fraternal relations were at an impasse over the two most fundamental issues for revolutionary Marxists: the state and the party question. In another letter to LM on June 11, we wrote:

> "The job of Marxists is to have a program that conceptually opens the road to a working-class revolution. Luta Metalúrgica, in its program and treatment of the state and its armed bodies of men threw up roadblocks to this program of working-class revolution, sowing confusion among the workers by running for the leadership of a union with cops in it and without specifically and forcefully addressing this crucial question in the union election campaign. The point is not to feel miserable about this, or annoyed with us for insisting on the question. The point is to do something about it....

"A solid core of genuine Bolsheviks must be forged in a clear political struggle for the political independence of the workers movement from the bourgeois state, even if the risk is losing influence at the top of this union at this time. Continued delay in subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union's leadership can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the 'leftists' who do their bidding. More importantly, the struggle for Marxist clarity and revolutionary political consciousness will be set back. The trustworthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the *base* of the union—among the actual workers."

Trade Union Consciousness vs. Revolutionary Consciousness

Leninist work in the trade unions is directed *at the base*, to programmatically win the most advanced workers to an understanding of their class interests—embodied in the revolutionary program—and to building the revolutionary leadership that is needed to fight for those interests against the exploiters and fake-left misleaders. The famous "21 Conditions" for admission into the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky were aimed precisely at separating genuine communists from reformists and centrists by insisting on the fight to *implement* a communist program, not to merely express abstract agreement with such a program while violating it in practice. Similarly, the entire thrust of the Organizational Resolution of the Communist International was to direct and organize communist cells in the unions, not to engage in maneuvers and unprincipled blocs at the top.

A negative example is seen in the practice of the Stalinized American Communist Party (CP) which let its powerful base in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the late 1930s dissipate. Pursuing its popular-frontist strategy of "left-center coalitions," the CP focused on maneuvers for positions of influence with pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats at the top of the unions. Having frittered away a substantial amount of their working-class support, they were then largely destroyed by the McCarthyite witchhunt in the late 1940s and early '50s which followed the promulgation of the Marshall Plan, the Truman government's anti-Soviet assertion of U.S. imperialist domination in West Europe. Even some of these Stalinists came to publicly regret their neglect of their base.

A base of support for a revolutionary party in the trade unions cannot be built and maintained simply through trade-union militancy. A central aspect of Leninism is the understanding that socialist consciousness is not a linear extension of the economic struggle between workers and employers at the point of production. Advanced workers must be won to the program and perspective of leading all sections of the exploited and oppressed in overthrowing the bourgeois order and reconstructing society on a just and egalitarian basis. As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, polemicizing against the Economist trend which glorified the day-to-day struggles of the workers:

> "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity....
>
> "Consequently, *however much we may try* to 'lend the economic struggle a political character,' we *shall never be able* to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of Social-Democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for *that framework is too narrow*....
>
> "Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without*, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of *all* classes and strata to the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between *all* classes. For that reason, the reply to the question as to what must be done to bring political knowledge to the workers cannot be merely the answer with which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers, especially those inclined towards Economism, mostly content themselves, namely: 'To go among the workers.' To bring political knowledge to the *workers* the Social-Democrats must *go among all classes of the population*: they must dispatch units of their army *in all directions*."

A.T. Solovyov

Lenin addressing Third Congress of Communist International, 1921. Only under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party can the working class overthrow the capitalist system.

LM's stubborn trade-union narrowness is a *travesty* of Leninism. A fraction of communist workers in the trade unions cannot substitute itself for the party and its propaganda. The Communist International outlined important political reasons for a division of labor between union and party formations. While fighting for leadership within the unions, communists seek to build the strongest possible unity of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. The task of the communist vanguard, however, is to sharpen the differences between competing political tendencies in order to bring the workers to communist consciousness and assemble the cadre, through splits and regroupments, in a Leninist party whose purpose is to lead the workers to state power. As one ICL comrade summed up in a discussion with Luta Metalúrgica, "Profintern = Unity; Comintern = Split." (The Profintern was the Red International of Labor Unions associated with the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.)

Instead, LM partakes of the opportunist practices of the Brazilian fake "left" where each contender typically measures its strength by the number of unions it controls. Thus political program is blunted in the service of trade-union opportunism, and the unity of the union as a class defense organization is compromised by sectarian maneuvers in which the workforce is divided into competing union formations controlled by different political parties. As Trotsky wrote in "Communism and Syndicalism" (October 1929), "The question of the relationships between the party, which represents the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it is, is the most fundamental question of revolutionary Marxism."

LM carries with it the baggage of its experience in centrist politics and trade-union maneuvers. Through the period of fraternal relations, LM encountered something in the ICL which their prior political experience could not have prepared them for. For the ICL, a political program is not socialist camouflage or an abstraction to be belied in practice, but a guide to communist intervention in all spheres of life.

For Revolutionary Regroupment, Not Centrist Conciliationism!

The dissolution of fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica is also a political consequence of the defection of our former comrades Norden and Negrete (see article page 4). Unfortunately for LM, it was these very comrades who for a long period of time served as the ICL's links to LM. As fraternal relations moved forward through patient pursuit of political debates and common work on the ground led by comrades who better represented the ICL, Norden and Negrete capitulated to LM's former posture and attempted to blunt the ICL's intervention at crucial junctures.

But the real harm done to LM by Norden and Negrete came right from the inception of fraternal relations. Our international tendency has been built through splits and fusions with other leftward moving formations. That is why we emulate Lenin's Bolsheviks in devoting so much attention to polemics as we seek to win over those subjectively revolutionary militants who are in or around our fake-Trotskyist competitors. Substantive programmatic agreement tested in practice through exemplary interventions and involvement in mass struggles, vigorous internal debate, rigorous cadre education: these are the methods of Bolshevik party building.

In contrast, with Norden and Negrete at the helm of our party work in Latin America, the approach to Luta Metalúrgica had more in common with oily bourgeois diplomats than Leninist internationalists. Both egomaniacs and facile pens, Negrete and Norden each later acknowledged that they personally wrote the Declaration of Fraternal Relations themselves! This document presumed and portrayed a broad, deep and synthetic programmatic agreement that simply did not exist. Moreover, fraternal relations was clearly viewed not as a substantive process to achieve a real transformation and the crystallization of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, but rather as "press release Trotskyism" for external consumption. The declaration was immediately released into print before the International Executive Committee had even discussed it or voted on it!

Our relations with LM in this regard contrasted sharply with our relations with the Japanese Rekken group. A 1986 agreement establishing fraternal relations was a modest document focused on the party question which included certain concrete tasks such as translating into Japanese selected fundamental documents of our tendency. This document was only made public a year later (see *Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88) after a period of testing demonstrated that the agreement was real.

The methods of Negrete and Norden have more in common with our centrist opponents like Workers Power, whose "international" is built with the same phony methods. Lofty statements are written for public consumption and to create an umbrella of "orthodoxy" to shield the very alien political practices carried out on the ground. Moreover, Norden's ability to spin out voluminous

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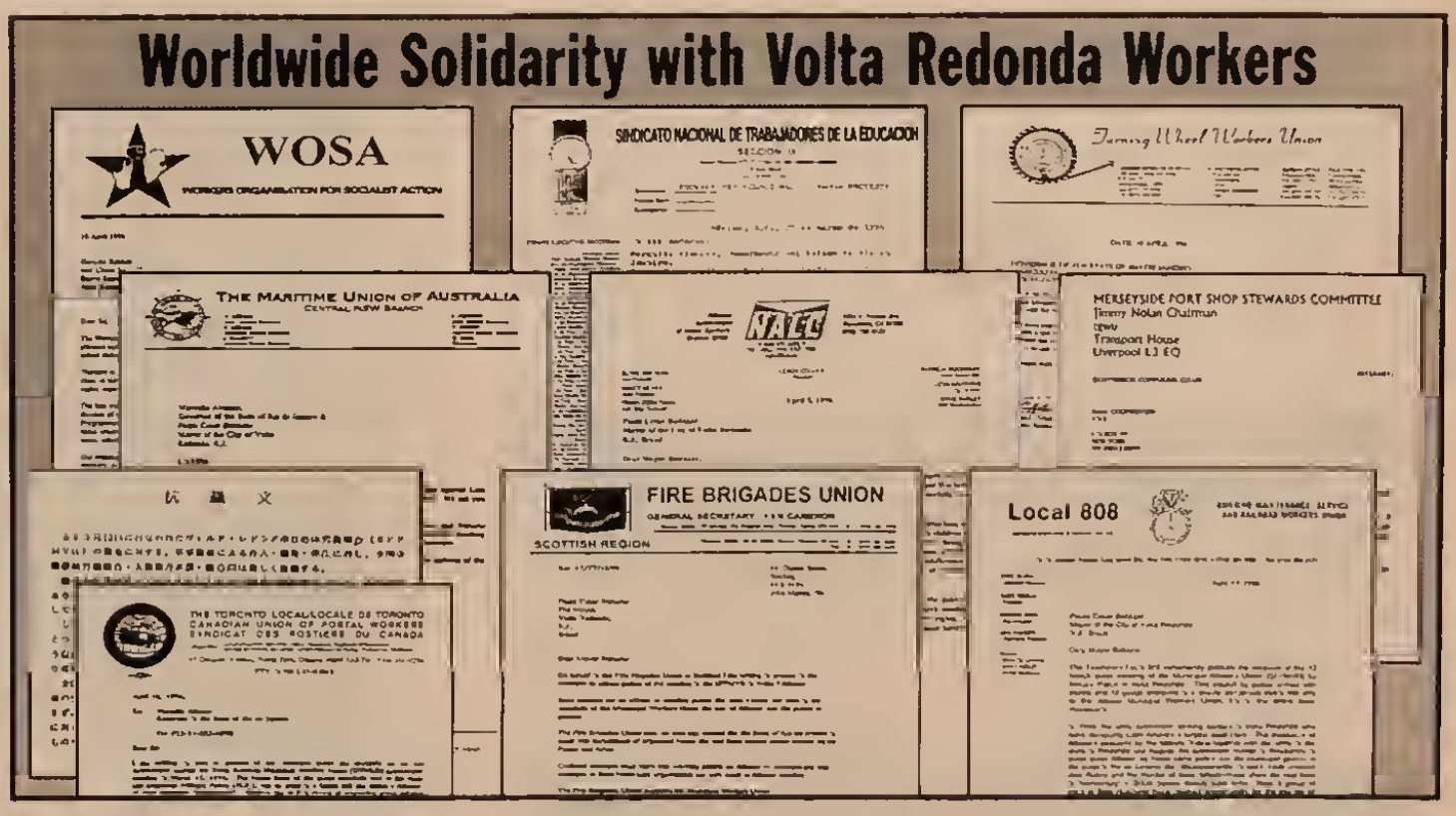

International solidarity with Brazilian trade unionists in Volta Redonda against sinister invasion of union meeting by military police.

Ann Arbor: Drop Charges Against Anti-Klan Eight!

Five hundred anti-Klan protesters came to the Ann Arbor, Michigan city hall June 22 to confront some 15 robed race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan. The anti-Klan demonstrators were met by an eight-foot-tall chainlink fence posted with a cop warning: "If you touch the fence, you will be maced." The Klan's friends in blue didn't limit their brutal attacks to those who ventured too close. The police staged repeated forays into the anti-Klan forces, lobbing tear gas canisters into the crowd and spurring a frightening and dangerous melee in which one person's leg was broken. Eight protesters—seven adults and one juvenile—now face charges after the cop riot. Obscenely, of the seven adults charged, while the five whites were released on their own recognizance, the two blacks were forced to post bail. Drop all charges against the Ann Arbor Eight!

Ann Arbor, June 22: Cops protect Klan vermin, attack anti-fascist protesters.

It was vitally necessary that the Klan's attempt to spread its race-terror in Ann Arbor was confronted by anti-racist youth, minorities and other outraged people. A team of Spartacist supporters drove up from Chicago for the anti-Klan demonstration. In 1982, over 2,000 determined protesters drove a gang of Nazi punks out of Ann Arbor, sending the little Hitler-lovers with their dreams of swastikas and gas chambers packing. That successful mobilization was organized by the Committee to Stop the Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League. It was a united front centered on the labor movement, which was able to bring together auto workers, Jews, blacks, students, everyone targeted by the KKK's murderous rage. This united front allowed everyone to express their own opinions while uniting their forces in a successful mass action.

However, the June 22 protest was "no 1982," as a longtime Ann Arbor activist, whose union local endorsed the SL-initiated mobilization against the Nazis at that time, told *WV*. In contrast, the June 22 protest was *dis*organized by two small centrist groups, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Trotskyist League (TL), who announced separate demonstrations, along with a coalition of numerous other organizations in "Ann Arbor Organizing Against the Klan." The fake socialists of the RWL and TL provided no leadership even at the most minimal level. The protest became sheer chaos as the anti-Klan demonstrators found themselves in a head-on clash with the cops without preparation—no first aid, no water, no marshals, no instructions for a tear gas attack, no one at the "emergency" phone number.

The root cause of the demonstration's disorganization was the fact that the RWL and TL are themselves politically disarmed in the face of the cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state and the KKK's protectors. The RWL in particular has a long history of misleading anti-fascist militants by directing them into dangerous police "pen" traps; in Ann Arbor they argued that if a cop pen existed (it didn't), they would enter it.

The KKK and the Nazis can and must be swept off the streets. The lesson of how the cops protected the Klan must be brought home to the demonstrators in Ann Arbor who came out to try to stop the KKK. Funds for the defense of the Ann Arbor Eight, earmarked "Anti-Klan Defendants," should be sent to: Free Mumia Coalition, c/o IWW, 103 W. Michigan, Ypsilanti, MI 48197. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 1)

and Labor Black Struggle League, gave warning that KKK terror will not ride in Chicago! A number of black people passing by eagerly joined the demonstration. Some left groups like the International Socialist Organization and Progressive Labor Party arrived at the scene after the Klansmen had met the concrete.

Chicago police reacted predictably, protecting the vile Klan provocation by attacking protesters with pepper gas and mace and arresting nine. Those arrested included trade unionists, several supporters of the Spartacist League, a "Refuse & Resist" activist as well as anarchists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program. Outrageously, one militant was hit with a "public morals violation"...for rubbing his posterior with the seized Klan flag! It was only the cops' cordon and their vicious assault on the anti-Klan demonstrators that kept the nest of Klansmen from being swept out of the area entirely.

As the anti-Klan protest was ending, several youths leaving the area were brutally set upon by the cops, who threw them to the ground and banged their heads against police cars. Some arrested protesters were kept locked up for close to three hours in an airless paddy wagon with the engine running—with the temperature that day near 100 degrees! The racist violence of the cops is all too familiar to Chicago's minority population. Just two weeks earlier, an army of cops had been mobilized to beat up on mostly black basketball fans celebrating the Bulls' championship, arresting 650.

With Southern black churches being burned down at a rate not seen since KKK terror raged against the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the attempt to stage a Klan provocation in the center of Chicago was a deadly threat against blacks, immigrants, Jews, gays—all minorities—and a dagger aimed at the integrated labor movement. In the context of the drive against welfare and affirmative action, of massive increases in police powers and prisons and accelerated use of the racist death penalty pushed by the Democrats and Republicans alike, the Klan is seeking acquiescence to its presence in order to gain legitimacy. Given the right-wing political climate in the U.S., the danger is that the Klan be considered the "boys next door."

The anti-racist demonstration was an important affirmation that *the KKK cross-burners will not be tolerated in Chicago.* As Labor Black Struggle League spokesman Lisa Brockmeier stated in the *Chicago Tribune*, "We want them to know they are not welcome in Chicago. If we let them in here, then where is the next black church burning going to be?" In 1994, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a union-based, united-front demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, with Chicago ATU transit workers at its core, which showed the power of labor, mobilized at the head of all the oppressed, to defeat Klan terror. ATU members were again among those who came out in Chicago on June 29 to stop the Klan.

WV Photo

Chicago anti-fascist protester at June 29 demo knows which side the cops are on.

The city's Democratic Party administration headed by Mayor Richard Daley Jr. sought to provide a safe haven for the Klan provocation by agreeing to their march plan at least a week ahead of time and then keeping it secret, while the big business media blacked out any news of the matter. As they get ready to host the Democratic convention this summer, with memories of the antiwar protests outside the 1968 Democratic convention fixed in their minds, Chicago's political establishment clearly feared the potential for a massive, militant outpouring by the Klan's many intended victims. To avoid even the most minimally embarrassing protests over Clinton's renomination, the city is beefing up its repressive forces, intending to keep demonstrators miles away from the United Center sports arena where the convention will be held.

In a union town like Chicago, with its huge black and Hispanic population, there should have been thousands on the street to ward off the Klan threat. As the history of the "open shop" South shows, racist Klan terror goes hand in hand with smashing unions. The lack of a massive response to the KKK in Chicago can be laid squarely at the door of the misleaders of the labor movement, who are completely tied to the Democratic Party machinery, and of the demagogue Louis Farrakhan, who preaches the fool's gold of "black capitalism" and mirrors the Klan's racial separatism. This is suicidal for the oppressed black masses! Representing the tiny layer of the black "elite," most black radio stations refused to air appeals to turn out against the Klan.

The trouncing of the Klan in Chicago is a victory for all working people. The key to this successful anti-racist action was the communist leadership provided by the Spartacist League and LBSL, which after hearing of the planned fascist provocation immediately began efforts to mobilize area unions and black and leftist organizations. In June 1982, a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration brought out over 3,000 trade unionists, blacks, Jews and youth in Lincoln Park to stop a provocation by Nazi scum against a Gay Pride Day march.

Trade unions, black community groups and all opponents of racism must demand the dropping of all charges against the anti-Klan protesters! The Partisan Defense Committee has initiated a call for a united-front protest picket on July 23 at 8 a.m., when hearings for the largest group of defendants begin, at the Circuit Court of Cook County, 1121 S. State Street. Be there to show your solidarity!

Send statements demanding that the charges be dropped against all those arrested on June 29 to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies of the protest statements and urgently needed financial contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee.

CHICAGO: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931;

NEW YORK: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone: (212) 406-4252, fax: (212) 406-2210. ■

KKK TERRORISTS TROUNCED!

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Klan Protesters!

Political discussion • Refreshments • Music
Meet anti-Klan activists! • Build the defense!

Thursday, July 11, 7 p.m.
UE Hall, 37 S. Ashland

Sponsored by:
Labor Black Struggle League and
Partisan Defense Committee

CHICAGO **For information call: (312) 454-4931**

Black Churches...

(continued from page 1)

victims! Pastors were accused of torching their own churches and forced to take lie detector tests while entire congregations were fingerprinted. Bishop Melvin Talbert, president of the National Council of Churches (NCC), declared: "Without exception, the victims of these hate crimes said they felt intimidated by the very forces they had hoped would provide them with protection." In fact, the FBI and other federal police agencies are racist to the core: the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) had to remove two agents from Clinton's federal task force when it came out that they had attended a Klan-infested "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" last summer in Tennessee.

Black community leaders and liberals applauded a bill extending federal authority to investigate and prosecute church burnings which was unanimously passed in Congress. But a look at its sponsors makes it clear this legislation has nothing to do with fighting racist terror. A cosponsor of the House bill is right-wing Republican Henry Hyde—who has spearheaded the assault on welfare and abortion rights—joined by black Democrat John Conyers. In the Senate, liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy joined hands with die-hard racist Republican Lauch Faircloth. Such legislation, like all moves to strengthen police powers, is ultimately directed *against* minorities and working people.

Today, many black leaders are calling for greater federal intervention in the South. "If it means the National Guard, so be it," declared Mac Charles Jones of the National Council of Churches. "If it means declaring a state of emergency, so be it." Such illusions in the "democratic" credentials of the U.S. ruling class are truly suicidal. To see what a military "state of emergency" would mean for black people, look at the National Guard's indiscriminate gunning down of black residents of the Watts area of L.A., Detroit, and other cities when black anger exploded in the ghetto revolts of the late 1960s. And don't forget that Bill Clinton, Janet Reno, the BATF and the FBI incinerated 86 men, women and children of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect outside Waco, Texas!

The way to fight race-terror is not through suicidal appeals for federal intervention in the South. The fight against racial oppression and for black freedom must be taken up by the only force that can win, the multiracial working class. The working class has a vested interest in smashing the Klan—the race-terrorists are not only implacably hostile to black rights, but are also deadly enemies of labor. This was demonstrated last summer when the KKK burned a cross outside an Alabama poultry processing plant on the eve of a union recognition vote.

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Integrated congregation of burned Little Zion Baptist Church in Boligee, Alabama. Klan killers target "race-mixing."

As the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, affiliated with the Spartacist League, declared in a June 16 leaflet following the attack on Shane Daniels:

> "The key is revolutionary leadership. To achieve any real victories, provide decent jobs, quality education, health care for all and a future for the working people and impoverished ghetto masses requires a fight to break the ties that bind the unions to the two ruling-class parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. To put a stop to the system that breeds lynch mobs, to avenge all the victims of racist terror, we need to forge a revolutionary workers party that will unite all workers—black, white, Asian and Hispanic—to sweep away this racist, corrupt capitalist system and build an egalitarian socialist society."

Racist Rulers Wage War on Black Masses

With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the ruling class has been emboldened to drive back social gains which were won through decades of struggle by workers and all the oppressed. And heightened competition among the rival imperialist powers (especially Germany, Japan and the U.S.) is driving the bourgeoisie to squeeze ever-greater profits out of the working class. The KKK nightriders and other fascist scum—guard dogs of racist capitalist rule—are encouraged by this general climate of attacks on the working class and minorities, supported by both Clinton's Democrats and Dole/Gingrich's Republicans. This was noted in a Washington, D.C. sermon by Reverend H. Beecher Hicks Jr.:

> "Through these burnings a message is being delivered: Social programs will be scrapped, affirmative action is a thing of the past, scholarships will end, congressional redistricting plans will be struck down and all our efforts toward racial harmony have come to naught. The message to African Americans is to return to those 'thrilling days of yesteryear' and stay in your place."
>
> —*Washington Post* (23 June)

The racist rulers are eliminating or slashing to the bone the few meager social welfare programs which still exist: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Head Start, Legal Services, Medicaid, Medicare—even Social Security is on the chopping block. In the 1992 elections, Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it"—and that is precisely what he is doing. In the past three years, *37 states* have been granted waivers from federal AFDC rules. Welfare recipients are being forced into slave-labor "workfare" operations which serve to undermine municipal and government employees unions. At the same time, the Supreme Court has been striking down university affirmative action programs, eliminating set-asides for black businessmen, and overturning "redistricting" plans aimed at creating electoral districts to favor black candidates for public office.

Meanwhile, the jails and prisons are being filled to overflowing with black and Hispanic youth through the racist "war on drugs." From the gutting of public housing programs, to racist attacks on affirmative action, to the dismantling of busing and massive cutbacks in inner-city education, the racist creed "separate but (un)equal" is the law of the land. And the chasm between rich and poor, already the greatest of any major industrial country, has continued to widen as families at the bottom end of the spectrum are crushed under a growing mountain of debt.

Young Socialist

National Guard mobilized against striking black sanitation workers in Memphis, 1968. Reliance on federal troops to protect black rights is suicidal.

Troops vs. Blacks in the Civil Rights Movement

Black churches in the South have historically been a special target of fascist terror, striking at the heart of impoverished, small town and rural black communities. The church in many of these areas is a social center where children are taught and where the important events in life from birth to death are marked. Spiver Gordon, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), believes that his church in Greene County, Alabama was singled out for burning because of its close association with the civil rights movement.

Waves of church burning erupted during the reactionary period that followed World War I and again during the civil rights movement, when black churches served as organizing centers for voter registration drives, bus boycotts and other campaigns against Jim Crow. In June 1964, civil rights workers Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman were assassinated as they returned home from investigating the burning of a black church in rural Mississippi. At the same time, black religious leaders acted as the "moderate" wing of the civil rights movement, increasingly counterposed to young radical activists.

Liberal civil rights leaders like the SCLC's Martin Luther King Jr.—who was derisively called "De Lawd" by young black radicals—based their strategy on appeals to the federal government to intervene against the Jim Crow local authorities in the South. Similarly, just as they called for federal troops to the South in the 1960s and to defend busing in Boston in the 1970s, phony "socialists" like the Socialist Workers Party today raise the call for "Federal troops to protect Black churches!" (*Militant*, 1 July). But it is precisely the history of the civil rights movement which clearly demonstrates the dangers of appealing for military intervention in the South by the federal government. In those cases in which federal troops moved in during the civil rights era, it was not to defend blacks but rather to *crush* nascent movements of black self-defense.

In Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957, a racist riot in opposition to a school desegregation order sparked a massive black upheaval. Blacks poured out of their homes with arms to defend their community, and groups of black youth battled and dispersed white racist mobs. President Eisenhower ignored repeated appeals for intervention from the NAACP and other black leaders, but quickly responded to the panicky local racist authorities. Troops were rushed into Little Rock to prevent the total rout of the retreating racists and to restore "law and order."

In Amite County, Mississippi in 1961, a black sharecropper working with the young civil rights leader Robert Moses was gunned down by a white state legislator. A black witness to this crime told Moses he would testify in court if he was given federal protection. A Justice Department official who was told of this not only refused to offer protection but informed the local police of the name of the witness, who was soon found murdered!

continued on page 10

New York Times

Memorial at 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham commemorating four young girls murdered in 1963 bombing. Heinous bombing was engineered by FBI's Klan "informant" Gary Rowe.

Black Churches...

(continued from page 9)

In Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, which took the lives of four black girls, galvanized the city's black population. Refusing any longer to heed M.L. King and "turn the other cheek," they began to establish armed street patrols and observation posts in the ghetto for self-defense. It was the sight of armed black patrols that led President John Kennedy to deploy troops to Alabama.

In Selma, Alabama in 1965, President Johnson sent the army to "defend" a civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. However, the troops were precipitously withdrawn when the marchers reached Montgomery, leaving the protesters defenseless. One of them, Viola Liuzzo, was murdered while shuttling marchers back to Selma. The carload of racists who shot Liuzzo included Klansmen and...an FBI informer, Gary Rowe.

Rowe is representative of the parasitic relationship that exists between government forces and racist and fascist organizations. During the five years he was on the FBI's payroll, he was directly responsible—with his bosses' full knowledge—for most of the major incidents of Klan terror in Alabama. He organized the May 1961 attack by 1,000 Klansmen which left freedom riders lying in pools of blood in Birmingham bus terminals. He participated in the hideous bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. He set off shrapnel bombs in a black ghetto, shot a black man in cold blood on the streets of Birmingham, and carried out countless beatings and stabbings.

Throughout Rowe's FBI-sanctioned reign of terror, black misleaders from King's SCLC to the NAACP were united in demanding intervention by the federal government. Yet this is precisely what they had. While federal marshals stood by and watched as racists beat black students entering integrated schools, the FBI's top informant in the Klan was in the crowd, swinging his chain. As Patsy Sims relates in *The Klan* (1978): "In the midsixties FBI informants held top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups and headed one state organization. At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers." These agents and "informers" acted as loyal dual agents of both organizations, keeping the feds well informed of Klan activity *while perpetrating race-terror.*

The same interpenetration of federal security forces and fascist terror squads was manifested in the November 1979 massacre of five leftists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina. From the outset the government aided and abetted the KKK/Nazi death squad, from the BATF agent who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations, to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade going to the murder site, to the Greenshoro cop who brought up the rear.

Nevertheless, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party now calls for its own version of federal intervention in response to the church burnings, moaning that Clinton's actions are "not enough" and that the KKK must he "disarmed" and "outlawed" (*Workers World*, 20 June). Crying for federal marshals or calling to "Ban the Klan" plays right into the hands of the main enemy, the racist ruling class. Moreover, "anti-terrorist" laws supposedly directed against the fascists invariably end up being used against the left and labor movement. We fight instead to mobilize the power of the labor movement to keep the KKK/Nazis off the streets, as we have in a number of united-front actions from Detroit in 1979 to Springfield, Illinois in 1994. When the Klan tried to stage a race-hate provocation in Atlanta in 1989, the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League built a 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization based on the support of area unions and community organizations. In response, the state and local authorities unleashed a literal army of cops and National Guardsmen to protect the fascists.

As Marxists, we understand that the state is an instrument of oppression of one class by another, "an engine of class despotism" in the words of Marx and Engels. In the final analysis, the bourgeois state consists of special bodies of armed men—the military, police and prison guards—which serve to defend private property and guarantee unfettered exploitation of the working class. The true nature of the state is revealed

WV Photo

Norfolk longshoremen march against segregation, for school busing in 1983. Labor movement must champion black rights.

with brutal, swift and deadly force when the capitalist class feels its rule is challenged by a revolt of workers and other oppressed. Marx and Engels sought to instill in the workers movement the crucial understanding that the police, army and state bureaucracy could not be made to work in the interests of the exploited, but had to be smashed.

For Organized Self-Defense Against Racist Terror!

Self-defense against racist terror is and was a burning necessity for the black movement in the South. An example was set in 1959 in Monroe, North Carolina by Robert F. Williams, whose courage in organizing armed self-defense against the Klan earned him the enmity of the liberal NAACP, which disowned him even as the FBI hounded him out of the country. He found refuge first in Castro's Cuba and then in Mao's China.

At the time, Williams was an exception among civil rights activists, who generally adhered to the program of "nonviolence" preached by King and his SCLC. However, the movement was radicalized by, among other factors, repeated federal interventions under liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy and then Lyndon Johnson *against black struggle*. The organization of armed self-defense against the KKK took a significant step forward in 1964 with the rise of the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice, which soon spread to Mississippi and Alabama (see "Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). In 1966 the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then the main organization of young civil rights activists in the South, raised the slogan of "black power" in defiance of both the white liberal establishment and King and the black preachers.

We wrote at the time: "The concepts implied in the SNCC slogan of 'Black Power' are radical enough to have caused the bourgeois press and politicians to shower vicious abuse on it, precisely because the slogan is a groping for solutions *outside* the framework of the capitalist society" ("SNCC and Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966). We sought to give the slogan of "black power" and the underlying mood of militancy a *working-class axis* around such demands as unionization of Southern labor, mobilizing the power of labor to defend against racist terror, and a break with the Democrats to form a Freedom-Labor Party.

In the mid-1960s, black militants in Lowndes County, Alabama associated with SNCC did break with the Democratic Party of the racist ruling class and, openly advocating armed self-defense, set up the Black Panther Party. In response, the feds framed up the SNCC leaders on a gamut of phony charges—arson, conspiracy, criminal syndicalism. Inspired by the Lowndes County organization, black radicals in the North set up the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, centered in California and extending to various Northern cities. It was in good measure to suppress such movements that the bourgeois rulers began pushing their drive for gun control—echoed by pacifists and reformists—which is aimed at disarming workers and minorities.

The militant Panthers took the full brunt of the FBI's COINTELPRO murder conspiracy. Through nearly 300 FBI operations against black groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s—233 of them against the Panthers alone—virtually every militant black leader was either physically eliminated or slammed in jail. Former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is still in prison, framed up for a murder which the government *knows* he did not commit.

The Panthers represented the most radical expression of black militancy in this period. However, they remained confined within the self-defeating framework of ghetto-based black nationalism, glorifying "lumpen rage" while rejecting the racially integrated working class as the central agency for social revolution. The Panthers' own political shortcomings and the feds' murderous vendetta—wiping out a whole generation of radical black leaders—helped bring to the fore such a misleader as Louis Farrakhan, an anti-woman, anti-Semitic bigot and preacher of "black capitalism" who speaks for those who dream of becoming the exploiters of "their" people. Farrakhan's Million Man March last year was a reactionary appeasement of the racist rulers, laying the blame for conditions in the ghettos on the "personal responsibility" of black men and calling on them to "atone."

Finish the Civil War!

The texture of Southern society was formed by the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction (symbolized by the Compromise of 1877) following the Civil War. In the decades following 1877, the political and civil rights accorded blacks in the aftermath of the Civil War were progressively stripped away. And while the Civil War destroyed chattel slavery, blacks were left economically disenfranchised as virtual serfs, toiling as impoverished sharecroppers and rural laborers under the boot of white landowners.

Black people constitute an oppressed race-color caste integrated into American society while forcibly segregated at the bottom of it. The fight for black liberation, a central question of the American revolution, can only be resolved through the program of revolutionary integrationism, requiring the overthrow of the capitalist system by the working class standing at the head of all the oppressed. This is why we say that it is necessary to finish the Civil War through socialist revolution.

The KKK is likewise a product of the betrayal of Reconstruction by the Northern capitalists, who after the Civil War became the senior partners of the white Southern landowners and businessmen. Formed in the South by former Confederate officers, its purpose was the destruction of black rights through the lynch ropes and torches of white racist mobs. The Klan was revived in 1915 with the lynching of an Atlanta Jew, Leo Frank. The fascist terrorists of the KKK are not only implacably hostile to black rights and equality; they are also deadly enemies of working-class struggle.

In the South, more so than in other regions of the country, it is especially clear that the support of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and black liberals to the Democratic Party perpetuates violent racist oppression and the brutal exploitation of the working class. A campaign to unionize the South in the late 1940s, called "Operation Dixie," failed because the union tops would not combat the local Dixiecrat regimes, with their cracker sheriffs, lynch-law "justice" and nightriding Klansmen. In the subsequent decades, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy made no serious attempt to organize the large and growing industrial working class in the region into racially integrated trade unions.

As a consequence, the South has not only remained a bastion of political reaction but has increasingly become a sphere for the superexploitation of labor by American as well as foreign capital. A major factor behind the gutting of the union movement in this country over the past few decades is the massive transfer of industry from the North and Midwest to the "open shop," low-wage South and Southwest. The number of factory workers in North and South Carolina, taken together, is now greater than in any state in the union except California. Concentrations of integrated industrial workers, along with predominantly black ILA longshore and other unions in the South, can be the basis for organized workers defense guards against the nightriders and strikebreakers.

The labor tops, with their cringing acceptance of the bosses' rules—like the anti-union Taft-Hartley law—are utterly incapable of unionizing the growing ranks of industrial workers in the South. As we stated over a decade ago in the *WV* special supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (March 1984):

> "To organize the open shop South, for example, will mean pitched battles with the Ku Klux Klan and cracker sheriffs. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight? In white racist America the fate of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. The bureaucracy's accommodation to the racist status quo set the stage for the union-busting offensive of the Reagan years. And there will be no effective defense against this union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights."

For this perspective to become a reality will mean a sharp political struggle to oust the sellout labor lieutenants of capital, forging instead a militant, anti-racist and anti-capitalist leadership within the unions as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. As long as capitalism remains, fascist murderers like the Klan and Nazis will be coddled and even cultivated by the bourgeois rulers, who hold the nightriders in reserve for defense of their profits and property. Socialist revolution is the only road to black freedom. ■

Luta Metalúrgica...

(continued from page 7)

statements in multiple languages from a remote international center while ignoring the real problems (disgustingly patronized by Negrete as "cultural differences") gave Luta Metalúrgica the false notion that the ICL was a federated combination, not a genuinely democratic-centralist international tendency. The ICL is not dominated by big sections with the smaller ones reduced to the status of mere onlookers, nor is the work of any one section its own national property. Rather, our internationally determined priorities are keenly followed and discussed by the cadre throughout the tendency.

Rather than recruit LM to Trotskyism, Norden and Negrete hoped to reel in LM as a showcase Latin American section whose "base" in the unions they could brag about in international propaganda. Unfortunately for the comrades of Luta Metalúrgica, their adventure with Negrete and Norden came late in the stage of Norden's degenerative Pabloite disease. A motion voted by the International Secretariat at its 11 May meeting noted in part, "Norden and Negrete's attempt to blunt the necessary sharp political fights with LQB/LM in Brazil manifests the same centrist appetites exposed in Norden's conciliation of the German KPF. Norden and Negrete's false fight against 'syndicalism' in the LQB/LM was designed to alibi LM's trade-union opportunism which was most egregiously revealed in the elementary question of opposition to the encroachments of the bourgeois state on the labor movement." A study of fraternal relations with LM prior to the January IEC meeting is a textbook case in how *not* to build a communist international.

Normally on the road to a healthy fusion, the groups that are fusing let down their guard and become more candid and generally open as their common political purpose begins to render their separate organizational structures increasingly redundant. Negrete and Norden kept LM isolated from internal discussions within the ICL, conveniently and especially regarding the fights with Norden over Germany. In an attempt to advance candid discussions and spur LM to adopt Bolshevik organizational norms, which were wholly lacking, we proposed an exchange of internal minutes of our leading party bodies. But the nascent process of internal differentiation within the group, combined with the political opposition of the individuals who were previously their main links to the ICL, and the growing conflict between LM's professed aims and its actual work, inculcated an organizationally protective reflex. The exchange of internal documentation was refused by LM, and they drew a hard line on maintaining their opportunist course in the unions.

As a group consisting mainly of advanced workers and political autodidacts which was primarily defined by empirical opposition to the popular front on its own national terrain, and as former leaders of mass workers' organizations at the local level, it was difficult for LM subjectively and conceptually to transform themselves into a propaganda group. In the best-case scenario, it would take a substantial time to assimilate our methods of work as a Trotskyist fighting propaganda group. But we were very prepared to try, including allocating our limited cadre and financial resources to work in Brazil. It was our sense that this group had the *potential* to forge a vanguard cadre of communist workers, something seen only a few times before in the history of the Trotskyist movement, as with the Belgian miners or Minneapolis Teamsters in the 1930s. As we wrote to LM in March:

> "Lenin's Bolshevik Party was built through the fusion of 'declassed' intellectuals and the most advanced layers of the proletariat. The practice of the various centrist organizations in Brazil, and not only there, is the antithesis of Leninism. Theirs are two-tiered parties in which a layer of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, posturing as the 'great thinkers,' lord it over the working-class members. This is simply a reflection of their opportunist politics which seek not to advance the consciousness of the proletariat but rather cater to backwardness and the influence of their 'own' bourgeoisie. The comrades of LM represent the vanguard elements of the proletariat. *You comrades* must become the nucleus of a Trotskyist party in Brazil. We wish to assist this political transformation."

WV Photo

NYC labor/black mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, August 1995. Communists seek to win workers to revolutionary program in opposition to pro-capitalist labor tops.

Political Program is Primary

This is a reactionary political period but one nonetheless presenting opportunities for communist intervention and growth of our party which are, however, spread unevenly around the world. Brazil is among the places where there is a lot of ferment among the workers, and among the students, and our commitment to a class-struggle fight against racial oppression and to build a party as a Leninist tribune of the people has enormous appeal. Still, it is a period where the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought the identification of the workers' class interests with the ideals of socialism to a nadir on the world stage. Rather uniquely on the left, the ICL swims against the stream and insists on the validity of revolutionary Marxism as a program for struggle today.

Indicative of the flawed character of the Declaration of Fraternal Relations was its failure to even mention *permanent revolution*. Yet this is a key question for Marxists in Latin America! Without a conception of the centrality of the proletariat and the need for a Leninist vanguard to bring the workers to state power as the liberators of all the oppressed in society, the workers will be condemned to repeated cycles of "anti-imperialist united fronts"—i.e., popular-frontist blocs with their own bourgeoisie (surely camouflaged with lots of rhetoric against Yankee imperialism)—and to military coups and unbridled police-state terror.

Regarding the primacy of a correct political program, the ICL noted in its June 11 letter to Luta Metalúrgica:

> "The ICL too has had to recognize and remove roadblocks we too created and which would have blocked the road to working-class revolution if we had not recognized our errors. A good and very recent example is the fight with and in our Canadian section to advocate independence for Quebec. If the forces within our organization had failed to block the comrades capitulating to Anglo-chauvinism within our Canadian section, then we would have had to forge a new party to lead the proletarian socialist revolution in Quebec and English-speaking Canada. Instead, very sharp internal debate, organized cadre education, and extensive discussion won the Canadian comrades over to the program that is *essential* for a Marxist perspective in Canada today....
>
> "The Bolshevik party too encountered many roadblocks, including within the party itself, and Lenin's writings are filled with urgent polemics to remove the obstacles to revolution which often turned up right in the Bolshevik Party Central Committee. To return to the point that the job of revolutionary Marxists is to have a program that conceptually opens the road to a working-class revolution, it is interesting to note that the Bolsheviks barely made it to the October 1917 Revolution. The Bolsheviks stumbled into the February 1917 revolution with a program which was inadequate for October. Specifically, the Bolsheviks' concept of the coming Russian Revolution was the errant theory of two-class rule expressed in their program for a 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.'
>
> "The party, led by Lenin and aided by the more radical Petrograd committee, semi-empirically overcame the limitations of this 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' because their political appetite was clearly for proletarian power and that's what they fought for despite the theoretical ambiguity. But in fact the Bolsheviks never adopted Trotsky's correct and essential theory of permanent revolution. This theoretical failure, and the failure to explicitly repudiate the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry,' then became a conduit for the forces later posturing as the Bolshevik 'old guard' (e.g., Stalin) to attack Trotsky, the theory of permanent revolution, and the revolutionary internationalist premises and implications of the Bolshevik Revolution itself. Some fifty years later, and after the ultimate capitulation to imperialism by the Stalinist bureaucracy in giving up proletarian state power, one can bitterly appreciate what a very large roadblock this programmatic error had become over time."

We do not have Lenin and Trotsky, but we have their experience to assimilate, particularly as a methodology.

We will of course continue to defend LM and its supporters against attacks by the bourgeois state and pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. We remain open to common work with this group. We will also continue working to build a Trotskyist organization in Brazil, the nucleus of a revolutionary proletarian party in this strategically important Latin American country. We hope that militants of the LM/LQB will reconsider and reject their present centrist course and on that basis will find their way into the ranks of the ICL. ■

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Defection...

(continued from page 5)

But Norden and Stamberg's idea of "anti-fascist actions" was all photo-op and little political content, as was seen the one time it was implemented, in an entirely tokenistic defense of an immigrant hostel in Berlin in which no damage was done to the fascists and out of which not one youth was recruited.

Continuing to flail about in his desperate search for a split in the PDS, Norden then came to see the main chance to "clean up" through an opportunist orientation to the geriatric remnants of the former East German Stalinist regime in the Communist Platform (KPF), the supposed "left wing" of the PDS. Excited by the increased vote for the PDS in the November 1994 German elections and opinion polls showing widespread "socialist" sentiment among the population of the ex-DDR, Norden argued for a "regroupment" perspective toward the Communist Platform, conceived as a rearguard action to make up for the recruits we didn't get in 1989-90.

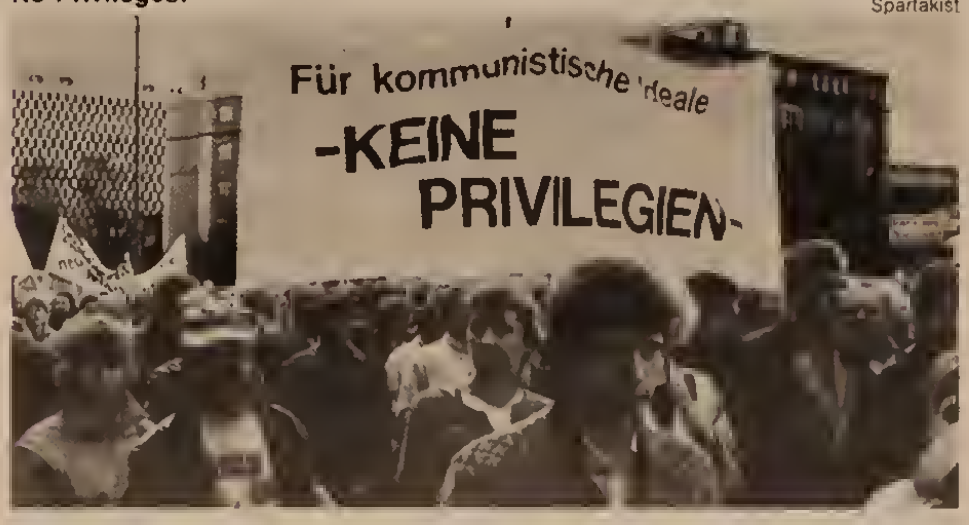
If one were seeking to recruit workers or youth mistakenly attracted to the PDS milieu as a perceived alternative to the West German Social Democrats, that would mean unmasking and combatting the KPF/PDS as a political prop for Social Democracy. Instead Norden pushed the vacuous idea that these Stalinist hasbeens retained "attachments" to the former East German deformed workers state—*which they had sold out!* This was precisely what the PDS purveyed—playing upon the desperation of the East German working people and their nostalgia for the "good old days"—in order to build up its own social-democratic parliamentary base.

Norden's opportunist appetites soon emerged in a flagrant public expression in a January 1995 presentation at Berlin's Humboldt University aimed at the KPF. This speech was a case study in centrism worthy of the late Joseph Hansen, who wielded his able pen to cloak the revisionist degeneration of the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party with reams of "orthodox" formulations. While invoking the program of Trotskyism, Norden presented a *liquidationist* view which *denied the ICL's role as the conscious revolutionary vanguard*; repeatedly intoning that in Germany in 1989-90 "the key element was missing, the revolutionary leadership." He disappeared the central purpose and intent of the ICL's intervention: to organize for a political revolution against the Stalinist regime, which had bureaucratically undermined the DDR deformed workers state and was now preparing to sell it off to the West German imperialists. A workers insurrection to replace the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy with genuine proletarian internationalist rule was key to stopping capitalist counterrevolution.

Instead, Norden reduced our own revolutionary intervention to a litany of ineffective tactics, while "reaching out" to the sclerotic remnants of the former ruling bureaucracy as misguided colleagues who had a "grudging respect" for our efforts in 1989-90—which were aimed at sweeping away their Stalinist regime! According to Norden, the "SED tops" had simply been "paralyzed" at the time and not one of them "could even conceive" of a proletarian political revolution. In fact, the SED tops could not only "conceive" of a political revolution, but did everything in their power to *suppress* one, because they would have been its *targets*. Far from being paralyzed, these Stalinists took conscious, active steps to prevent a workers insurrection.

Der Spiegel

East German Stalinist party boss Erich Honecker (above at center). Collapse of Honecker regime in November 1989 ushered in incipient proletarian political revolution, as demonstrators in Berlin demanded: "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges!"



Spartakist

Centrist Politics, Bureaucratic Practices

After more than six months of internal party discussion and struggle that definitively exposed Norden's revisionist course, which if left unchecked would have destroyed us as a revolutionary Marxist tendency, Norden's opportunist policies were decisively defeated at the January 1996 International Executive Committee meeting. Norden, and Stamberg, completely rejected this decision of the highest leading body of the ICL between international conferences. They declared that any and all criticisms of the "regroupment" orientation to the KPF and Norden's Humboldt speech were completely false. At the same time, Norden arrogantly denied all responsibility for nearly destroying our German section with the concomitant bureaucratic practices he pushed to realize his perspective.

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, noted that there is always a consonance between the politics of centrism and anti-Leninist organizational practices. In Germany, Norden's opportunist pursuit of the geriatric Stalinist remnants in the KPF was complemented by a vicious witchhunt denouncing any comrades perceived as an obstacle to his orientation as a "comfortable social-democratic" layer opposed to "youth recruitment"! Comrades who criticized an article in *Spartakist* directed toward the PDS, in which Norden had grotesquely and gratuitously inserted that the Red Army forces who liberated Germany from the Nazis had "Stalin as commander in chief," were condemned for "capitulating" to the anti-Communism of the Fourth Reich and the popular-front left.

As comrade Albert St. John, who launched the fight against Norden's centrist liquidationism, said in his remarks to Norden at an SpAD conference immediately following the IEC meeting:

> "Your denial of any political or organizational wrongdoing and your arrogant and defiant refusal to accept any responsibility for the consequences of your actions indicates to me that you are no longer being motivated by the program in practice of Trotskyism. Or perhaps more accurately there is a very deep contradiction between your alien political appetites and your formal adherence to the party's program. Now there is a real danger, if you don't try to pull back, that your currently strong centrist impulses will become dominant and thus resolve that contradiction negatively."

Trotsky emphasized in "The Mistakes of the Communist League on the Trade Union Question" (January 1931):

> "...the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the *party* as the vanguard of the proletariat.
>
> "Whatever may be the sources and political causes of opportunistic mistakes and deviations, they are always reduced ideologically to an erroneous understanding of the revolutionary party, of its relation to other proletarian organizations and to the class as a whole."

Norden's accommodation to alien political forces externally and his increasingly visceral opposition to the party "regime" internally were manifestations of a rejection of the need for a Leninist vanguard party. This correspondingly reflected a demoralization in the capacity of the working class to act as a "class for itself," i.e., to become conscious of its social position and power to overthrow the entire system of capitalist exploitation and to become the new ruling class in an egalitarian society.

In place of the Leninist party needed to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, Norden increasingly came to objectify certain political formations and layers—particularly in the former DDR and Latin America—as somehow inherently susceptible to revolutionary politics. In the case of the Communist Platform, Norden saw elements of communist consciousness where none existed. On the Latin American terrain, Norden invested our fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica (LM)—in which he and his understudy Negrete, then a leading member of our Mexican section, initially had a central hand—with a level of political sophistication and broad agreement with the program of revolutionary Trotskyism that simply did not exist.

To defend his own "infallibility" regarding our early dealings with LM, Norden generated a revisionist methodology justifying the sort of rotten-bloc "international relations" pursued by centrist outfits like the British Workers Power group and its "League for a Revolutionary Communist International," in which high-sounding agreements on paper mask all manner of programmatic disagreements in practice. At the same time, Norden and Negrete argued for conciliating LM's non-Bolshevik organizational practices, implying a different conception of the party question for Latin America. Political struggle for genuine programmatic clarity and agreement with LM brought this to the fore.

Negrete in particular tried to alibi a centrist conciliation of LM's practices with the patronizing, anti-Leninist argument that these reflected "cultural differences." This invocation of Latin American exceptionalism represented an adaptation to the nationalism and "caudillo-ism" which politically characterize the Latin American left. In the course of a political struggle within the Grupo Espartaquista de México, it came out that these features also characterized Negrete's regime in our Mexican section. The section was deliberately kept isolated from the vital struggles and debates within our international and every attempt to introduce Bolshevik norms of functioning were resisted by Negrete, who worked to maintain the section as his own personal fiefdom in which he was the unchallenged "all-knowing" leader.

When this situation came to a head and was fought out, Norden and Stamberg rallied to the defense of Negrete, arrogantly declaring that the members of our Mexican section were either liars or dupes who had been lined up by the "International." In return, Negrete attached himself to Norden and Stamberg, like a piece of lint on a pair of serge pants. Toward the end, Negrete fancied himself the modern-day equivalent of a member of Trotsky's Left Opposition being led away to a Siberian gulag. His (typically) long-winded proclamation in defense of Norden and Stamberg's refusal to abide by democratic centralism concluded with the grandiose exhortation, "Down with frame-ups and witchhunting methods! For the communism of Lenin and Trotsky, long live the ICL!" But then Negrete was always, as one comrade quipped, something of a "legend in his own mind."

Disintegrative Pressures on the Revolutionary Vanguard

The ICL is a voluntary organization. But, impelled by his own alien political appetites, Norden increasingly came to see the party and its leadership as some kind of bureaucratic prison with himself as the victim of wanton regime tyranny. The party hadn't changed, nor had Norden particularly. What had changed was the world. As Joseph Seymour, a member of the *WV* Editorial Board, wrote in a letter to Norden, with whom he had worked closely for over two decades:

> "I am very concerned about your increasing alienation from the rest of the leadership. Your political personality has not changed fundamentally over the years though you do seem to have become more impatient for organizational suc-

Spartakist

International Communist League intervened to offer revolutionary leadership in East Germany, 1989-90. Spartakist banner at December 1989 anti-fascist demonstration in East Berlin reads: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

Le Bolchévik

El Socialista

Pabloites of the first mobilization: Ernest Mandel (far left) and mentor Michel Pablo. Right: Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist "caudillo" Nahuel Moreno.

> cesses, especially where you are personally involved in the work. What has changed fundamentally is the world in which we live and function. And therein lies the crux of the problem.... I believe you do not accept that, beginning in the late 1970s, there has occurred a *historic retrogression* in the political consciousness of the working class and left internationally. This development both conditioned the counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc and has been reinforced by it."

As belligerent and frankly bizarre as Y. Rad's factional struggle became (which included Rad's belief in mental telepathy!) at least he forthrightly put forward his political views. Not Norden. He used squid tactics, spilling ink in hundreds of pages of documents that were as obfuscating as they were turgid. Since the beginning of 1995 alone, at least 392 pages of internal material were written by Norden and Stamberg and circulated to all sections and locals of the ICL. Although he had fundamental differences with the program and perspectives of our international, his documents were a study in centrist evasion.

Norden obviously believed the leadership of our international was increasingly going off the political rails. But rather than declaring a faction to fight against this and for a different political perspective and a corresponding new leadership, Norden and Stamberg engaged in cliquist guerrilla warfare against the decisions of the party. Operating on the perception that the party press was his personal fiefdom—"*WV* c'est moi," to paraphrase Louis XIV—"His Editorship" (as Stamberg came to refer to Norden's position) rejected the Leninist understanding that the majority determined the line.

It is said that colleagues of Eduard Bernstein in the German Social Democracy advised him not to put his disagreements with, and rejection of, Marxism in writing. Instead they argued that he avoid a political struggle and simply act on his disagreements. But Bernstein was, evidently, an honest revisionist who committed to paper his reformist view that the "movement was everything" and the "goal" of socialist revolution "nothing." Norden was the opposite. He acted upon and tried to implement the substance of his political differences, which were increasingly antithetical to the program and purpose of the ICL, but would not openly argue for a different program or perspectives.

When caught out he would simply deny everything. But he knew he was operating on the basis of a different set of politics, as evidenced by the fact that he increasingly attempted to operate in secrecy, outside of the scrutiny of the party and its leadership. When asked to submit his phone bills, a common practice among leading cadre of our organization and something Norden had done routinely for at least the last decade, Norden defiantly and categorically refused.

Charges were brought by the International Secretariat against Norden and Stamberg "for violation of the party's discipline of democratic centralism, specifically [their] defiant and categorical denial of a fundamental condition of membership, that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity (i.e. not personal activity) of its members." Norden and Stamberg refused to attend the party trial which had been called to allow them to defend themselves against these charges, dismissing the party's democratic procedures as a bureaucratic "frame-up" and denouncing the request for their phone bills as a demonic ruse to persecute other comrades. As the PB motion expelling Norden and Stamberg noted:

> "In fact, either Norden and Stamberg have nothing to hide because their calls are all to comrades (who whatever their sympathies or antipathies for the politics of Norden and Stamberg have the right to discuss their views with *any* member of the party), in which case Norden and Stamberg's refusal to submit their phone bills (at considerable financial cost to themselves) is a dim provocation designed to engineer their own expulsion; or they have been in contact with political formations outside the organization."

We are still left wondering what game Norden and Stamberg were playing. As to where they are going, the possibilities are wide open so long as the minimum norm of being anti-Marxist is met. In this regard, we have the excellent example of Y. Rad. He left our organization screaming against the supposed "Stalinophobia" displayed in our opposition to the revolting Russian "red-brown coalition" and in our refusal to support the Serbian nationalist forces in the all-sided fratricide in ex-Yugoslavia. A few months after quitting, Rad had made a 180 degree turnaround, denouncing us as "the best defenders of counter-revolutionary Stalinism." Rad retrospectively took up the defense of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, of Yeltsin's 1991 imperialist-backed countercoup in Moscow, and of the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs!

Pabloism of the Second Mobilization

Years ago, Norden was won over from a quasi-syndicalist, New Leftist position to the Spartacist League. He devoted the best decades of his life to working 16 hours a day for the Marxist socialist movement, struggling to expound revolutionary Trotskyism around the globe, particularly through *Workers Vanguard*, the flagship paper of our international. An early expression of Norden's alienation from the party was his increasingly self-conscious view that *WV* was his fiefdom, and corresponding resistance to party intervention and criticism of the paper. Under the impact of the historic defeat represented by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and his increasing rejection of democratic centralism, Norden's episodic impressionism (which always had a centrist bent) became chronic and acute.

Impressionists are prone to wild and quick reversals. A case study is that of Michel Pablo, an adventurer who emerged after World War II as the leader of the decimated forces of Trotsky's Fourth International and whose impressionism liquidated the political program and purpose of Trotsky's International.

V.K. Bulla

Presidium of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1920. Our party stands on democratic-centralist practices of Lenin's Bolsheviks.

In the 1950s, following the creation of deformed workers states in East Europe, Pablo predicted "centuries of deformed workers states" and pursued a "deep entrist" liquidation into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the 1960s, Pablo's heirs in Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) chased after petty-bourgeois guerrillaism and championed "student power." At their 1972 World Congress, the USec rediscovered the working class, writing: "After May 1968 and, more generally, after the revival of workers' struggles throughout Europe, an irreversible turn has taken place in this milieu everywhere in the world." The irreversible was quickly reversed as Mandel & Co. embraced the cause of anti-Soviet social democracy in the 1980s. By the 1990s, Mandel was speaking of the "crisis of credibility" of socialism, and the USec was debating simply throwing in the towel and liquidating their organization outright.

New York Public Library

Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Red Army.

Norden's liquidationist course was a Pablotism of the second mobilization: denial of reality, suppression of the Trotskyist program, vicarious political adventurism and adaptation to alien political pressures, and liquidation of the Trotskyist vanguard as the necessary subjective factor in history. He was given plenty of opportunity to reverse his course. But he rejected any attempt at a political corrective as a mindless bureaucratic abuse simply aimed at "destroying his authority," an authority which he correspondingly invested with papal proportions of infallibility.

It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils around the world. In a period conditioned by the colossal defeats for the international proletariat signified by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and across East Europe, this puts our small forces in a conjuncturally fragile situation.

Across West Europe, the working class has fought back in some of the largest and most militant battles in years, yet for the first time since the Paris Commune, the masses of workers in struggle do not identify their immediate felt needs with the ideals of socialism or the program of proletarian revolution. In the U.S., where the political consciousness of the working class has long been retarded by a ruling class which has effectively fomented first religious and then raw racial hatred as a fundamental prop for capitalist exploitation, the labor movement has been fractured and driven back by two decades of surrender by the trade-union bureaucracy before a massive anti-labor offensive. Many youth who consider themselves to be "radical" are imbued with liberal-democratic idealism which finds its expression in vaguely anarchist sentiments or variants of "green" radicalism.

Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat has generated disorientation, demoralization and appetites to look elsewhere for the "answer." In this context internal political struggle is inevitable, and desperately necessary, to keep our party on the rails. As Trotsky observed in his 1937 article "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

> "Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current...it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

As the recent strike waves in France and Italy and the anti-racist mobilizations throughout West Europe demonstrate, there is a new generation of fighters, both in the working class and among radical youth, to be won to the program of international socialist revolution. The fights to reorient and steel our forces in the face of a "New World Order" are aimed at intersecting new social struggles as they erupt and winning the best elements to the program of communism. ■

Bay Area: SEIU Tops Cripple Janitors Strike

OAKLAND, June 30—Four weeks after SEIU Local 1877 (Justice for Janitors) voted to strike against 24 janitorial subcontractors in four Bay Area counties, the union has announced a tentative agreement with eight large contractors. Local 1877's demands were a mere pittance compared to the massive profits of the high-tech companies whose buildings the janitors clean. The union tops are now settling for even less. The multiracial, heavily immigrant workforce—Latinos, Chinese, Arabs and others—are among the most vulnerable and exploited. They faced a difficult struggle, especially given their dispersal among far-flung job sites. But the union leadership straitjacketed this strike from the start, and now they aim to seal off East Bay and Silicon Valley janitors from their sister Local 87 in San Francisco, which may be on strike next month against some of the same big contractors.

The union was demanding an average 5 percent per year wage increase over four years—which would have brought all janitors up to the abysmal federal poverty level—and family health benefits after six months on the job, as opposed to the current *five years* (or virtually never in this high-turnover industry). Oakland strikers were angry that the tentative deal—which was rammed down their throats, with the bureaucrats sending workers at the huge Kaiser building back to work before a vote—gives the most highly paid a "raise" averaging less than inflation, while the lowest paid will be making only $7.64 an hour four years from now. The time on the job required to qualify for family medical benefits is to drop bit by bit, reaching one year only at the end of the contract. The employers agreed early on to the *union's* proposal for a four-year contract, implying an offer of "labor peace" enforced by the SEIU.

The SEIU bureaucrats' policy of "rolling strikes" pulled out a few hundred janitors in limited areas for a day at a time, only to return the next day to do the work they left behind, with hardly any impact on the companies in the buildings and thus no pressure on the contractors. As the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 June) noted, "After a week and a half, the union's 180 workers in downtown Oakland got frustrated with the on-again, off-again strategy. On June 17, they voted to stay out until they get a contract." About 40 janitors in San Ramon and some others did likewise.

WV Photo

Striking Bay Area SEIU janitors and supporters march through downtown Oakland, June 21.

Their anger and frustration was shared by the rest of Local 1877's 5,000 members, who *want* a real and effective strike, but have been held back by the union tops, both local and International.

This is part of the "corporate campaign," a hallmark of the "new" AFL-CIO misleadership under John Sweeney, former head of the SEIU. The union tops have attempted to bypass the contractors (some of which, like American Building Maintenance, are big operations that trade on the New York Stock Exchange) to make appeals for "economic justice" to the contractors' clients, "image-conscious corporate leaders." At every step, the bureaucrats have stopped this from turning into a real strike against the real employers.

By themselves the janitors do not have a lot of social power. To make their strike really effective means stopping the struck buildings from functioning by bringing out the other unions: stationary engineers, skilled trades, Teamsters, postal workers, etc. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* Central Labor Councils in the Bay Area extended "strike sanction" to the janitors: but aside from empty letters of solidarity, nothing was done. Instead, Teamster UPS and garbage drivers and stationary engineers have been crossing janitors' picket lines, rendering the arrogant bureaucrats' "strike sanction" worse than an empty gesture. Meanwhile, the SEIU issued leaflets appealing to the "conscience" of individual union members. And at the key Richmond UPS facility last week, they bowed to a "two gate" setup and refused to put up picket lines to bring out the Teamsters. The strike has been sabotaged *from the inside*.

In San Francisco, another 4,000 janitors in SEIU Local 87 face employer demands to eliminate both the union's hiring hall and seniority in rehiring laid-off workers. But instead of pulling out the San Francisco janitors and fighting to shut down this financial center of the West Coast, there have been more token "rolling pickets" of several San Francisco buildings by Local 1877, which Local 87 has been observing. The union tops are helping the bosses disperse and isolate the workers' struggles. If the San Francisco janitors go out, they must get the full backing of city workers to *shut down the financial district*.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, historically based on the white, skilled labor aristocrats and wedded to the capitalist class enemy, has a long record of racism and chauvinist protectionism, and doesn't give a damn about low-wage minority and immigrant workers. The AFL-CIO tops and their local flunkeys don't want strikes in this election year. Sweeney and his cronies are spending millions of the unions' money to re-elect Clinton, even though he is viciously *anti*-labor. This strike of an overwhelmingly immigrant workforce is being sacrificed to the AFL-CIO's standard strategy of capitalist party electoralism, this time in support of the virulently anti-immigrant Clinton. Break with the Democrats and Republicans! We need a class-struggle workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a tribune of all the people, to fight for a workers government! ■

McDonnell Douglas...

(continued from page 16)

Boeing in late 1995, "outsourcing" and job security are the main issues in the battle against McDonnell Douglas, where some 1,600 jobs have been slashed at the St. Louis plant in the past three years. Meanwhile, Mac is rolling in profits, raking in over $700 million last year and paying its CEO $40 million—a *thousand times* the pay of a skilled worker. The IAM tops plead for "better contract language" on job security. That's what they got at Lockheed Martin last April, calling off a strike on the basis of a contract that saved a few dozen jobs. Days later, Lockheed announced 1,500 layoffs at their Georgia plant.

Black workers at McDonnell Douglas know best of all that the company's "job security" is a sham. They are victimized by cop violence, segregation and discrimination everywhere they turn and McDonnell Douglas offers up more of the same. Although jobs at Mac pay better than most, black strikers told *Workers Vanguard* that outright discrimination and the lack of in-plant training keep black IAM members tracked into unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Layoffs have hit black Machinists especially hard, and the company's "final" contract offer includes a *cut* in wages for the heavily minority janitorial workers by around $7 an hour.

Moreover, not a year goes by in St. Louis without a cross-burning by racist terrorists. One KKK outfit is headquartered just across the Mississippi in Alton, Illinois. The fascists are not only a deadly threat to black people and all minorities but are also fervently anti-union—more than likely including the strikebreaking Vance Security ninjas among their numbers. The organized working class must be mobilized to smash the fascist scum. The picket lines at Mac—bolstered by thousands of UAW workers from the nearby Ford Aerostar factory and other unionists—should become the core of anti-racist workers defense guards.

Yet the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the IAM tops helps put wind in the racists' sails. IAM president George Kourpias has been pushing an anti-Asian, anti-Communist crusade for punitive economic measures by the U.S. rulers against China. Last February, Kourpias was rewarded for his services to U.S. imperialism by being appointed head of the AFL-CIO's "Committee on International Affairs," which oversees the various CIA "labor" fronts deployed around the world. Labor must break with the agencies of U.S. imperialism—for complete independence of the unions from the bosses' state!

Among the phony "socialists" who have appeared at the McDonnell Douglas workers' picket lines is the Socialist Workers Party. This reformist outfit simply alibis the sellout policies of the union tops. An article in the *Militant* (1 July) says not a word about the IBEW bureaucrats' scabherding and the IAM tops' backstabbing. Moreover, the SWP is notorious for engaging in polite "debates" with the KKK nightriders. In contrast, the Spartacist League fights for labor/minority mobilizations based on the power of the unions to *stop* the fascists. This is part of our fight to win the working class to a struggle to sweep away the capitalist system of racism, union-busting and unemployment.

To win this strike and fight unemployment requires a sharp break with the AFL-CIO traitors, who seek to tie the unions to the bosses and their state, mainly through support to the Democratic Party. What's needed at McDonnell Douglas is a fight for union control of hiring and training, with special recruitment programs for minorities and women; for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to create jobs at the capitalists' expense; and to mobilize against every manifestation of racial discrimination and segregation that relegates blacks to second-class citizenship. The key task is forging a class-struggle leadership, as part of the fight for a revolutionary and internationalist workers party. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 2.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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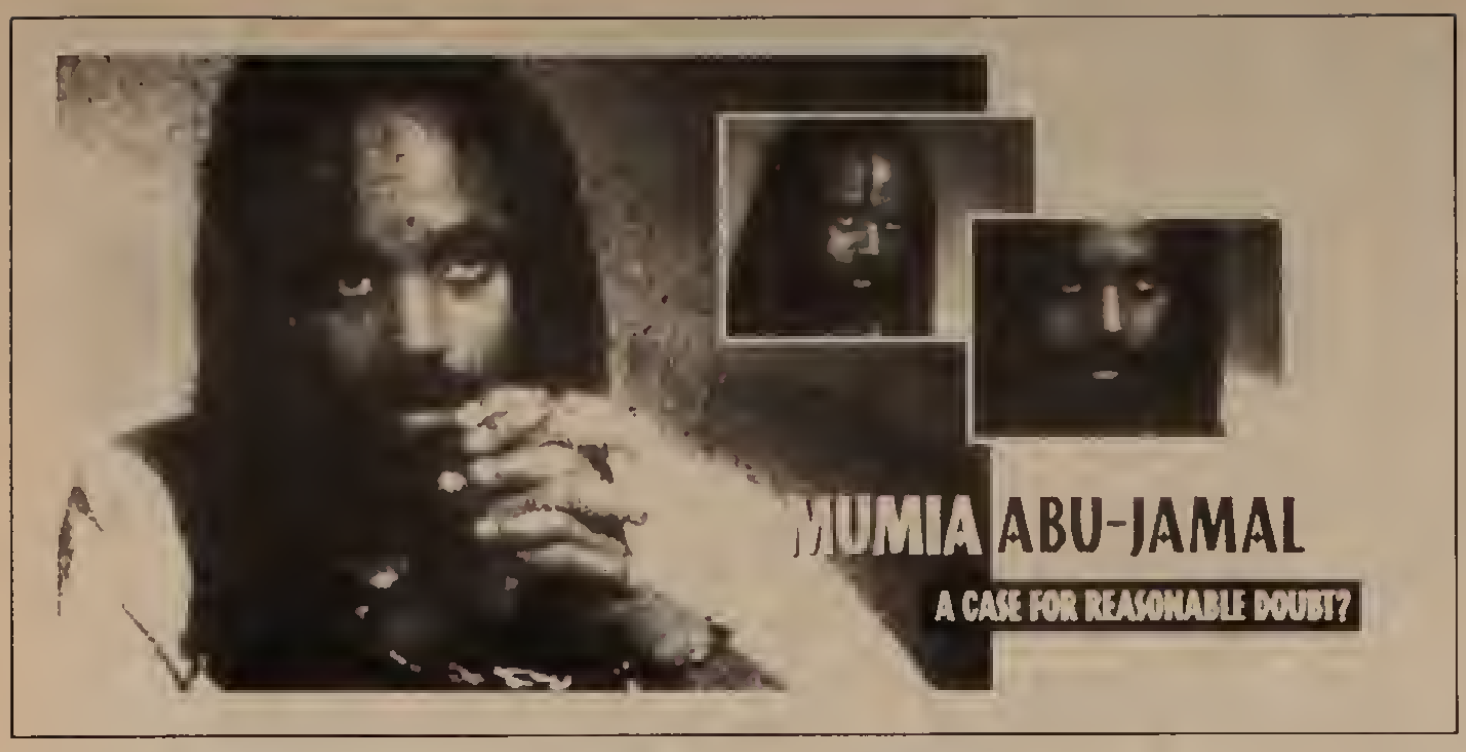

HBO Special
Tune in July 7
10:00 p.m.

On Sunday, July 7, cable television's Home Box Office will air its new documentary, "Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?" at 10 p.m. EDT. The courts and prison officials continue to escalate their campaign to silence Mumia, but his eloquent voice against racist oppression continues to be heard. At 9 p.m. EDT on July 11, the HBO special will be re-broadcast on Court TV, which will also follow up the telecast with a roundtable debate on the issues of Mumia's case.

Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

with a fellow state legislator. At first McGeehan denied calling blacks "n-----s" and other racist epithets, only to admit later he did. McGeehan's filthy, but highly revealing, racist insults come against a backdrop in Philadelphia of still-unfolding stories of widespread police fabrication of evidence against their victims and of systematic racist brutality. These are the people and this is the "justice" system that want to silence Mumia for good.

As the authorities began speeding up their machinery of death against Mumia, starting with the harassment of his paralegals, requests for interviews with Jamal made by German TV 1, Connie Chung and others were denied. Prison authorities told the press that there was "an internal investigation for possible violation of Department of Corrections policy," claiming that Mumia was "running a business" by writing and speaking out about the horrors of death row.

As Mumia testified in the Pittsburgh court, one reason he wrote was "to make money and to use the money to pay, hire and employ lawyers for my appeal, investigators and other support staff." Equally, if not more importantly, Mumia's writings and interviews have generated widespread and intense media coverage which aids defense efforts to locate witnesses and evidence. Given the level of national and international media coverage and support for Mumia, Veronica Jones, a key 1982 trial witness, is now willing to testify about the strong police coercion which caused her to tailor her original testimony in the interests of the prosecution.

However, Benson's ruling in large part also found that opening, photocopying and removing enclosures from Jamal's legal mail is justifiable if prison authorities can claim to "have a reasonable suspicion" that Mumia is engaged in criminal activity or is violating prison rules. Corrections officials of course argued that their rules against inmates conducting a "business" gave them the right not only to open Jamal's legal mail, but to subject him to "disciplinary" actions such as taking away telephone, radio, television and visitor "privileges"—all designed to further isolate and torture Mumia.

In upholding the "constitutionality" of regulating a so-called prison business, Benson has given authorities a "legitimate" basis to open mail Mumia receives from his attorneys, as well as the right to discipline him for future writings. Benson dismissed Jamal's right to paralegal visits, even while acknowledging that the visits were to discuss legal matters pursuant to Mumia's appeal. And while recognizing that raising money for hiring attorneys and generating publicity to find witnesses are natural activities for Mumia, Benson nevertheless held that Mumia's right to free speech ends once he receives any payment for his writings.

Despite the concerted efforts of the cops and courts, Mumia's campaign continues to strike a chord among opponents of racist injustice. On May 19, the New College of California awarded Jamal an honorary Doctor of Law degree, citing his "courageous efforts to expose the brutality, inequity, and racism of the criminal justice system" and "his struggle to challenge the fundamental injustice and inhumanity of the death penalty." In June, the American Booksellers Association awarded *Race for Justice* the first annual "Firecracker Alternative Book" award for the best book in politics. *Race for Justice* reprints the Memorandum in Support for Post-Conviction Relief submitted by Jamal last June to overturn his conviction, and predictably rejected by notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the hearing.

Mumia is fighting for his life in an election year in which both capitalist parties, Clinton's Democrats and Dole's Republicans, are trying to outdo each other in escalating racist and anti-working-class repression. On June 28, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the section of Clinton's 1996 "Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" severely limiting the ability of state prisoners to file *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts—a primary means by which death sentences have been overturned. The reactionary, racist nature of this ruling is clear from the Supreme Court opinion itself, which hearkens back to the intent of the slaveholding framers of the Constitution that *habeas corpus* apply only to federal prisoners. In 1867, as a direct outcome of the Civil War that smashed the Southern slavocracy, these rights were expanded to include all cases of incarceration in violation of the Constitution.

The systematic police and prosecution collusion in framing up Mumia, and many others, shows how the "democratic" capitalist state—the cops, courts and prisons—is an apparatus for repression against working people and minorities. As part of our fight to sweep away this capitalist system of racist repression and injustice, we demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Funds are urgently needed as the defense investigation continues. Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. ■

Philadelphia

MOVE Survivors Win Suit Against City

More than eleven years after the murderous bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in May 1985, three civil suits against the city of Philadelphia and two of its officials for the MOVE massacre ended in a victory for the victims of this act of racist state terror. Eleven people, including five children, were incinerated in that fiery holocaust, and a whole neighborhood burned to the ground. Finally, on June 24, a jury awarded Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the massacre, Louise James (who owned the MOVE home and whose son, Frank Africa, was one of the victims) and LaVerne Sims, sister of MOVE founder John Africa, a total of $1.5 million. Former fire chief William Richmond and police commissioner Gregore Sambor—who were involved in the decision to bomb the house and to then let the fire burn out of control—were each ordered to pay an insultingly paltry $1 weekly payment for the next eleven years.

As Ramona Africa remarked shortly after the verdict, "This is not about money. This is about taking a stand for all people." Nevertheless, as a prominent black Philadelphia lawyer pointed out, the minimal level of the financial recompense for this unspeakable mass murder of eleven black people "says that the lives of these people weren't worth the going rate." The amount of damages awarded was also an indication that the jury bought the government's lie that MOVE members were partially responsible for their own deaths.

The MOVE massacre was the result of a bloodthirsty conspiracy that ran from the Reagan White House to the City Hall of black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, from the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) to the Philadelphia police. The resulting fire was deliberately allowed to rage for five hours, burning the neighborhood to ash and leaving hundreds homeless. For the "crime" of surviving this racist vendetta, Ramona Africa served every day of a seven-year jail term on "riot" and "conspiracy" charges, after suffering severe burns in the blaze which killed her family. Unlike much of the left, the Spartacist League protested this heinous massacre at the time, condemning the MOVE bombing as "the signature of the Reagan years" and vowing to sear this atrocity into the memory of the working class. Likewise, we organized urgent protest demonstrations immediately after Clinton and Reno's 1993 Waco holocaust.

Criminal charges have never been and will never be leveled against any of the truly criminal perpetrators of this mass murder, from Reagan to Goode to the various other local, state and federal officials involved. Goode, along with then district attorney and now mayor Ed Rendell, was granted immunity even from this civil suit.

AP

Ramona Africa, sole adult survivor of 1985 MOVE massacre, announcing jury verdict.

As we stated in reporting on the trial in May, "That it required civil suits to bring any of those guilty of the mass murder of MOVE onto the stand is itself an indictment of American bourgeois 'democracy' and its 'justice' system" (*WV* No. 645, 10 May). It will take an American workers revolution to avenge the massacre of MOVE and destroy the machinery of racist capitalist injustice.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Free Mumia Now!

Jamal Wins First Round Against Prison Gag Order

WV Photo

On June 6, U.S. Magistrate Kenneth Benson ruled in a civil suit brought by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal that prison officials violated Mumia's First Amendment right to free speech by denying him access to reporters. Benson's 67-page "report and recommendation" on the lawsuit in U.S. Federal District Court in Pittsburgh also ruled that Mumia's Sixth Amendment right to counsel had been violated. The latter ruling referred to the fact that prison authorities had copied and turned over the contents of Jamal's legal mail to the offices of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, a staunch proponent of the barbaric death penalty, who signed Mumia's execution order last June. At the same time, Benson's report allows for substantial future curtailment of Mumia's efforts to write and to speak out as the "voice of the voiceless" and undermines his ability to fight for his life and his freedom.

In court, Mumia and his attorneys in this case, Jere Krakoff and Tim O'Brien, showed unequivocally that the Pennsylvania prison system waged a furious campaign to punish and isolate him for fighting against his death sentence. The Corrections Department retaliated against Jamal because his powerful writings expose their racist system of repression. As Mumia told the court, "I wrote not just for myself, but for everyone on death row, thousands now." This is what Mumia has been doing since the age of 15, when he was targeted by the FBI's infamous Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) because he was an articulate Black Panther Party spokesman. At the time of his arrest in 1981 on the false charge of killing a Philadelphia policeman, Mumia was well known as a radio reporter and an outspoken MOVE supporter.

Testimony by prison authorities in Jamal's civil suit was so self-indicting that even Benson, a former Assistant Attorney General who earlier represented the Department of Corrections, couldn't deny the punitive nature of Mumia's isolation from the press. For a crucial eight months, from February through September 1995, prison authorities cut off press access to Mumia. During that time, his acclaimed book, *Live from Death Row*, was published; the death warrant for Mumia was signed; and the summer-long hearing to overturn Mumia's conviction and death sentence was held.

At the center of the cabal of politicians, judges and police who want to stop Mumia from being heard is Pennsylvania state representative Michael McGeehan. A strong ally of the Fraternal Order of Police and of rabid death penalty enforcer and Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham, McGeehan wrote to the Commissioner of Corrections in February 1995 demanding that Mumia be stopped from receiving a $30,000 advance for his book. Only days after McGeehan's letter, prison superintendent James Price imposed requirements which immediately blocked visits to Mumia for the purpose of discussing his death penalty appeal by his attorney's designated paralegals, Jamila Levi and Jeanette Patton.

McGeehan recently showed himself to be the virulent racist he is by letting loose a barrage of foul, violent slurs against black people in a conversation

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Victory to McDonnell Douglas Strikers!

JULY 1—The strike by 6,700 Machinists at the McDonnell Douglas aerospace giant's plant outside St. Louis, Missouri has now gone on for four weeks. The strikers have confronted a growing army of scabs protected by anti-picketing injunctions and strikebreaking Vance Security rent-a-cops. The moment District 837 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) walked out on June 5, the "Mac" bosses began transferring white-collar scabs into the workshops. McDonnell Douglas is implementing the same battle plan that Caterpillar, Inc. used last year to break the back of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in its Midwestern plants. Key to that defeat was the backstabbing policy of the AFL-CIO tops, who once again are spluttering lots of hot air while preventing the sort of real labor solidarity in struggle that could put this strike on the road to victory.

Chicago Tribune

Striking Machinists at McDonnell Douglas plant near St. Louis.

Bowing to the bosses' laws, the IAM tops have restricted picketing to two or four strikers at each gate. What's needed instead is mass pickets, secondary boycotts, sitdown strikes—a strategy that could win this strike! The McDonnell Douglas workers' fight for job security and better pay against the profit-gorged aerospace behemoth could become the rallying point for trade unionists, the unemployed and the oppressed black masses throughout the St. Louis metropolitan area, including across the river in the ghetto of East St. Louis.

Yet, instead of appealing to other workers and the black ghetto masses to join the picket lines, IAM leaders have actually encouraged the scabbing. Wheeling and dealing in labor solidarity, leaders of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1, representing 260 maintenance electricians in the plant, offered to honor the IAM's picket lines if the Machinists would pledge to honor IBEW picket lines when the electricians walked out. Criminally, the IAM bureaucrats refused, hiding behind contractual "obligations."

Both IBEW and Teamster members are now crossing IAM picket lines, despite widespread disgust among the ranks about the mutual backstabbing by the union tops. Dismissing the mortal threat this poses to the IAM strike, Machinist leaders argue, "Having IBEW members in the shop doesn't help McDonnell Douglas one hit." This opens the floodgates for full-scale strikebreaking by the Mac bosses' scabs. Every unionist worth his salt knows that *picket lines mean don't cross.*

A determined effort to stop the scabbing and ground McDonnell Douglas would strike a chord throughout working-class St. Louis and the whole Midwest. Like the 18-day UAW auto strike against GM in Dayton, Ohio in March and the 69-day IAM strike against

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WORKERS VANGUARD

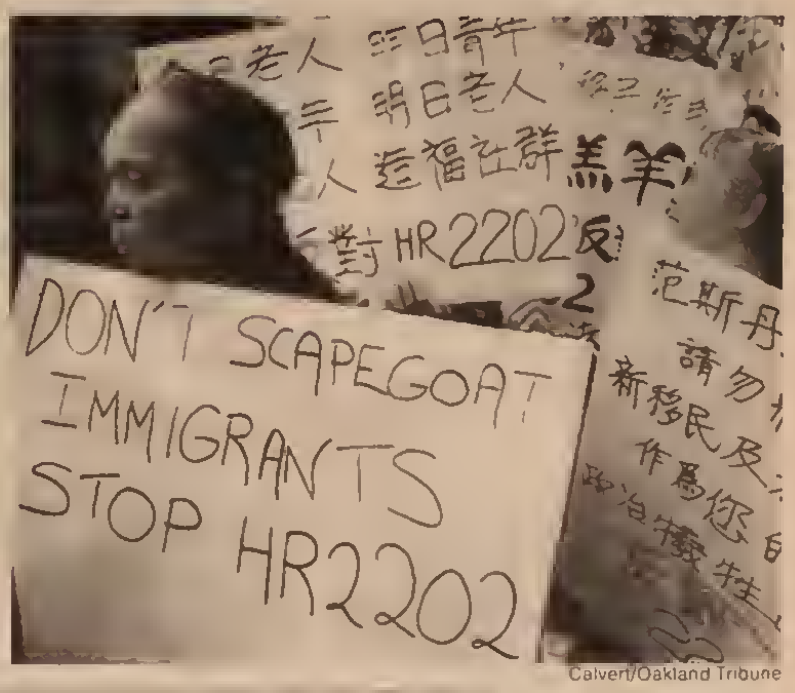
50¢

No. 649 — 2 August 1996

Democrats, Republicans Ax Welfare, Push Deportations

Down With Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!

Padilla/NY Times



Calvert/Oakland Tribune

Border Patrol cops in Texas terrorize Mexican immigrants. Right: Chinese immigrants in San Francisco protest new legislation which would threaten non-citizens on welfare with deportation.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Lorraine Parris, a Guyanese-born woman who has lived in the United States for 26 years, was returning from her honeymoon abroad in May with her American husband when she was seized by immigration officials and thrown into a detention center. Parris, a longtime legal resident whose 14-year-old son was born in the U.S., now faces deportation for the "crime" of having been charged with marijuana possession when she was a teenager in the late 1970s.

Lorraine Parris's plight is shared by hundreds of other non-citizen *permanent residents*, who are threatened with deportation as the result of the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" passed in April. A little-publicized provision of this draconian law mandates the jailing and deportation of permanent residents who have any prior convictions, including misdemeanors, no matter how old. The list of offenses includes *any* drug charge and even so-called crimes of "moral turpitude" like spitting and subway turnstile jumping! The legislation also eliminates any of the waivers against deportation which previously existed. Once thrown into detention center hellholes, immigrants are denied any possibility of being released on bond while awaiting appeal.

This vicious dragnet against people whose only crime is to not have been born in the U.S. is part and parcel of an all-sided racist war against blacks and immigrants being waged by the capitalist rulers and their Democratic and Republican parties. In mid-July, both houses of Congress passed a "welfare reform" bill which would eliminate federal welfare programs, from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Social Security disability payments. The same week, a Congressional committee approved a chauvinist "English only" bill, which would ax funds for bilingual education and give a green light for a new flood of racist restrictions against immigrants.

The first targets of the "welfare reform" bill are legal immigrants whose benefits will be cut off *immediately*. And, as always, those most heavily affected will be black people. This racist legislation puts a five-year maximum limit on collecting what meager welfare benefits will continue to exist. An article in the *New York Times* (25 July) reported that "of welfare recipients who have been on the rolls more than five years...49 percent are black, 25 percent are non-Hispanic whites, 19 percent are Hispanic and 7 percent are in other racial or ethnic groups." This latest assault on welfare is an open prescription for starving millions of mothers and children in the inner cities.

Prop. 187: Spearhead of Racist Reaction

The anti-immigrant provisions of this savage new welfare bill were foreshadowed by the passage in late 1994 of California's Proposition 187, which denies education, health care and any social benefits to "illegal" immigrants. Although the full implementation of Prop. 187 has been shelved by court orders, its intent of intimidating and further marginalizing immigrant communities has effectively been realized. Desperate immigrants fear risking deportation if they go to the hospital or enroll their kids in school. While most Democrats opposed Prop. 187, whose chief proponent was right-wing Republican governor Pete Wilson, in the past few years the Clinton White House has poured vast sums of money into militarizing the border with Mexico, leading to a sharp escalation in racist terror against "illegal" immigrants.

Now the backers of Prop. 187 are pushing a new initiative—called CLEAR—which would make it a crime to rent or sell property to undocumented "aliens." One of the proponents of "CLEAR" expressed the ominous purpose of this latest assault on immigrants: "This initiative will move them back to their own country, into another state or into a box" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 July). The murderous intent of these anti-immigrant laws was captured in the televised images of sheriff's deputies in Riverside County, California savagely clubbing Mexican immigrants.

During the protests against Prop. 187 two years ago, some of the pro-Democratic Party Latino organizers pleaded for a distinction to be made between "legal" and "illegal" immigrants. This only plays into the hands of the racist rulers. We warned at the time that Prop. 187 "is the electoral spearhead of a xenophobic offensive against *all* immigrants, inciting a climate of racist hostility particularly against Latinos and Asians" ("Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" *WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994).

Now this is being brought home with a vengeance in the detention, deportation and plans to eliminate all welfare benefits for foreign-born permanent residents of the U.S. We communists say: Anyone

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Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

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MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

Part 6

1914-1918: Imperialist War and the Realignment of the Left

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Political Prisoners Stage Mass Hunger Strike

Turkey: Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression!

For more than two months, over 2,000 leftist Turkish political prisoners staged a defiant hunger strike against the hellish conditions of the "high security" prisons in which they are incarcerated. In a significant act of solidarity, the strike was joined by some 4,000 other political prisoners from the persecuted and oppressed Kurdish minority. By the time the strike was called off on July 28, twelve people had died, while dozens more are seriously ill.

Despite a wave of solidarity demonstrations within Turkey and an outpouring of international protest and outrage, the new Islamic "Welfare Party" government of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan maintained a hard line against the hunger strikes. "Justice" Minister Sevket Kazan arrogantly dismissed the protests, ranting: "I don't give a damn about foreign press reports and letters from Amnesty International. I only care what happens in the jails." However, on July 28, the government acceded to one of the hunger strikers' key demands, agreeing to remove political prisoners from a particularly notorious prison in central Anatolia. This came just as trade-union organizations in Istanbul had announced plans for a two-hour general strike on July 29 in solidarity with the leftist prisoners.

We print below a protest letter sent to the Turkish government on July 27 by a gathering in Europe of the Spartacist Youth Groups of the International Communist League. As well, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) joined in a July 28 demonstration in Berlin of more than a thousand people, predominantly Kurds but also including Turkish and German leftists. The demonstration was met by a massive mobilization of cops, who repeatedly waded into the crowd to confiscate "Kurdish symbols," including a banner of the banned Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). In Köln (Cologne), a solidarity demonstration was banned outright and 600 mostly Kurdish and Turkish demonstrators were arrested. The actions of the cops underscore the German bourgeoisie's close ties to the terror regime in Turkey. As an SpAD sign said, "Fourth Reich: Godfather of Genocide Against Kurds!" Other SpAD signs at the Berlin protest demanded, "Down With the Ban on Devrimci Sol, PKK and Kurdish Groups!" and opposed the brutal national oppression of the Kurdish people, raising the call "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!"

* * *

President S. Demirel
Prime Minister N. Erbakan
Justice Minister S. Kazan

The youth groups of the International Communist League demand that the

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Marxism and Working-Class Struggle

In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, undermined for decades by Stalinist bureaucratic rule, much of the left has bought the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism." Today the claim that Marxism is an outmoded and failed theory is echoed by a broad spectrum ranging from anarchist-minded youth to pseudo-socialists. However, as Friedrich Engels explained, scientific socialism developed as the theoretical expression of the struggle between labor and capital. It is the task of the revolutionary vanguard party to win the working class to an understanding of its historic interests, embodied in the communist program of world socialist revolution to sweep away capitalist exploitation and oppression and lay the basis for a classless, egalitarian society.

Modern socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But, in its theoretical form, modern socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century....

In 1831, the first working-class rising took place in Lyons; between 1838 and 1842, the first national working-class movement, that of the English Chartists, reached its height. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front in the history of the most advanced countries in Europe, in proportion to the development, upon the one hand, of modern industry, upon the other, of the newly-acquired political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy as to the identity of the interests of capital and labour, as to the universal harmony and universal prosperity that would be the consequence of unbridled competition.... But the old idealist conception of history, which was not yet dislodged, knew nothing of class struggles based upon economic interests; knew nothing of economic interests; production and all economic relations appeared in it only as incidental, subordinate elements in the "history of civilisation."

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history was the history of class struggle; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being," instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing."

—Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878)

AP

Leftist hunger strikers in Istanbul prison.

Brazil: Down With Police Attacks on Volta Redonda Union!

Police attacks and provocations continue to escalate against the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) in the steel city of Volta Redonda, Brazil. According to recent reports from Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB), 15 cops surrounded a June 19 union meeting to prevent workers from attending. Outrageously, union secretary Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes had called on the capitalist courts to cancel the union meeting. The meeting itself was disrupted and cut short by physical provocations by Arthur and his thugs against the elected union president, Geraldo Ribeiro.

Last March, Arthur orchestrated a deadly invasion of another SFPMVR meeting by the notorious Brazilian military police. In defense of the union, the International Communist League launched an urgent international solidarity campaign organized by the Partisan Defense Committee. We declared: "It is vital that the police and state authorities who give them their orders are sent a message that the labor movement and defenders of democratic rights the world over stand in solidarity against this cop provocation against combative sectors of the Brazilian workers movement" ("Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!" *WV* No. 642, 29 March).

The escalating police assault against the SFPMVR is part of an effort by Volta Redonda's Popular Front government, which includes representatives of Lula's Workers Party, to destroy the municipal workers union. At the same time, the SFPMVR is crippled internally by the presence of cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state—within the union. The Arthur faction has appealed to this police "base" in its sinister campaign to oust union president Geraldo and his adviser, LM leader Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo," who have called for removing the cops from the union.

Geraldo was recently suspended as union president for one month by a court order. The LM/LQB reports that the SFPMVR president also faces charges for opposing the racist layoff of a black woman worker and bringing this case to the attention of the union membership! Another union militant, Marcello Carrega, is charged with showing "disrespect" to a police officer—Carrega refused to move a van that was blocking a workplace during a June 21 nationwide general strike. Some 50,000 troops were put on call during the strike, which was called in opposition to government austerity measures and murderous repression against landless peasants.

We demand: Cops and courts hands off the Volta Redonda municipal workers union! Police out of the unions! Reinstate Geraldo Ribeiro! Drop all the charges against Geraldo and Marcello!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 649 **2 August 1996**

HBO Documentary Details Cop Frame-Up

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

HBO documentary widely publicized frame-up of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal made national headlines again following the July 7 airing of "Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?" on Home Box Office. The HBO documentary, produced by the British independent TV network ITN, offers a graphic account of the 1982 frame-up trial and conviction of Jamal—an outspoken journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther—on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner the previous December.

The HBO special makes it abundantly clear that Jamal's "trial" was a mockery of justice in which evidence was suppressed, black jurors were summarily excluded, witnesses were intimidated and testimony was fabricated. It notes that trial judge Albert Sabo was widely known as a "hanging judge" who has sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the U.S. The ITN crew interviewed trial witnesses as well as Jamal's defense lawyer and the prosecutor at the 1982 trial, and brought in independent experts to assess prosecution "evidence." The documentary also featured a prison interview with Mumia in which he powerfully reaffirms his innocence. This was the first press interview Jamal had been allowed since his civil suit against prison authorities for cutting him off from the media, a gag order which was recently partially overturned in court (see "Jamal Wins First Round Against Prison Gag Order," *WV* No. 648, 5 July).

Predictably, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police went ballistic, calling for a boycott of HBO. When the documentary was rebroadcast on Court TV several days later, it was followed by a "panel discussion"—which included a retired New York cop, a Philadelphia judge and a right-wing D.A.—aimed at drowning the powerful evidence of Jamal's racist frame-up by the cops and courts in a welter of "law and order" bombast. But even an unsympathetic *New York Times* (11 July) review of the HBO documentary grudgingly conceded that it "does construct a strong argument for reasonable doubt."

As we remarked in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (July 1995), the prosecution's 1982 case—centered on a gun found at the scene, supposed "eyewitnesses" and a sham "confession"—consisted of "three legs, all lies." The HBO documentary takes apart the prosecution's "evidence" against Jamal point by point.

An interview with independent forensic expert Herbert MacDonnell cut the ground from under the prosecution contention that the presence of Jamal's gun at the scene showed he did the shooting. Pointing out that the police did not carry out the most elementary tests, not even smelling the barrel of the revolver to see if the gun had recently been fired, MacDonnell said, "That's not very forensic, that's common sense." MacDonnell concluded that much of the evidence against Jamal at the 1982 trial "would have been seriously questioned and perhaps destroyed by a good cross-examination, which could not be effected because there was no forensic scientist there."

As for Jamal's supposed "confession" when he was at the hospital to be treated for a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner, the documentary quotes from the official report by Gary Wakshul, the cop who was with Jamal the entire time between his arrest and his medical treatment: "During this time the negro male made no comments." In the HBO interview, Mumia underlines that it took over *two months* for the cops to say anything about a purported "confession"! Furthermore, Dr. Anthony Coletta, the physician who was on duty at the hospital when Jamal and Faulkner were brought in, told HBO:

> "I was with Jamal from within a moment or two of him being brought into the emergency room, throughout this entire time in the emergency room and on into intensive care unit, and he neither made any confessions to me nor did he say anything that would be even remotely in the way of a confession to any other individuals."

Even as he lay near death awaiting treatment, Mumia was surrounded by cops, who continued to beat and torture him with guns drawn. Describing the harrowing scene at the hospital, Mumia's sister Lydia Wallace related his words to her from his bed: "I'm innocent, I'm innocent. They're trying to kill me, they're trying to kill me."

The ITN crew interviewed a number of witnesses present the night Jamal and Faulkner were shot. Dessie Hightower repeated his testimony at the trial that he saw a black man running from the scene of the shooting. As HBO pointed out, Hightower was the only witness at the 1982 trial who never changed his story. HBO also interviewed William Singletary, who did not appear at the trial. Singletary recounted how the cops intimidated him and repeatedly tore up his statements, in which he wrote that the running man was the shooter. Finally, Singletary recalled, he relented and wrote "word for word" a false statement dictated by the cops, even though he knew Jamal "was being wrongly, falsely accused."

HBO reported how "star" prosecution witness Cynthia White—the only one who claimed to see Jamal shoot Faulkner—was pressured by the cops into repeatedly tailoring her testimony to implicate Jamal in exchange for having charges for prostitution against her dropped. HBO quotes a declaration by Veronica Jones, another prostitute who was present at the scene, declaring that the cops tried to force her to make a similar deal: "They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said." Jones has recently revealed that days before she took the stand in Jamal's trial, she was intimidated into changing her true statement that she saw two men flee the scene immediately after the shooting. On the basis of this new evidence of police coercion, Jamal's defense team has applied to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to have his case remanded to the Court of Common Pleas (see "New Evidence of Cop Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal," *WV* No. 647, 7 June).

In his HBO interview, 1982 trial prosecutor Joseph McGill repeated the argument he used to secure the death sentence against Mumia, namely that Jamal endorsed a Mao Zedong quotation which appeared in the Black Panther newspaper: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." As Mumia has repeatedly emphasized, the murderous repression by the racist capitalist state against the Black Panthers certainly demonstrated the aptness of that statement! Jamal himself was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO war against black radicals from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1969.

Though it refers to the voluminous FBI files on Jamal, the HBO documentary does not portray the massive extent of the FBI's racist vendetta against Jamal and the Black Panther Party. The COINTELPRO terror operation left in its wake a bloody trail of frame-ups and assassinations, with 38 Panthers killed and many others imprisoned to this day. The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO reaching into the courtroom. As we noted in the PDC pamphlet: "This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed."

The racist machinery of death grinds on. Last year 56 people were executed; 20 more have been put to death this year. This is the fate the racist rulers seek for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The HBO documentary is a valuable weapon in Jamal's fight, publicizing to a wide audience the facts of the racist frame-up which sent him to death row. But Jamal's case amply demonstrates that any reliance on the capitalist "justice" system is a deadly illusion. It was only after an outpouring of international protest, including from trade unions representing millions of workers, that Jamal's execution was stayed in August 1995. What's urgently needed is to mobilize the social power of the working class and its allies in struggle to demand: *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

WV Photo

June 1995 protest in New York City against threatened execution of Jamal.

GET YOUR COPY!

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposing in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

$.50 (16 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
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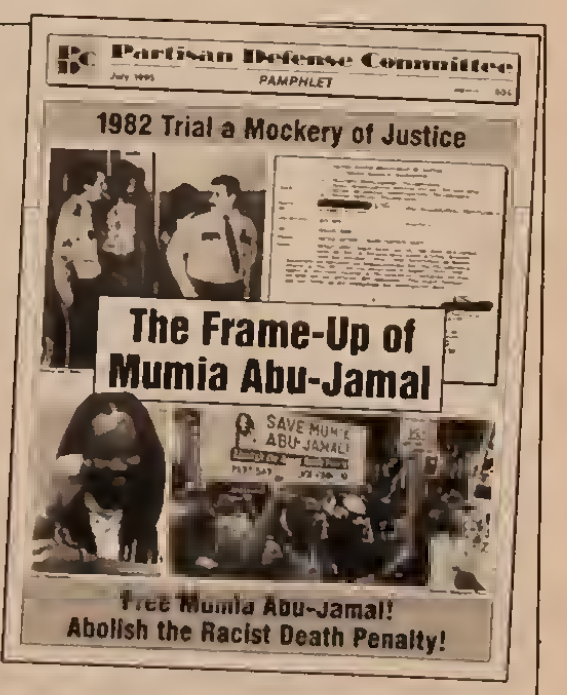


WV Photos

Protests Demand:

Drop All Charges Against Chicago Anti-Klan Protesters!

Chicago, July 23: United-front demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee in defense of arrested anti-Klan protesters.

As six of nine anti-Klan protesters arrested last month prepared to enter Chicago's Cook County Circuit Court on July 23, dozens of their supporters chanted, "Chicago is a union town—Drop the charges now! Chicago is a black town—Drop the charges now!" The anti-Klan protesters face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges stemming from a successful defense against Klan terror on June 29. Instead of dropping the charges, the judge held over the hearing until September 9, consolidating the cases of most of the anti-racist activists. In an obscene provocation, Cook County prosecutors are also attempting to force the anti-Klan protesters to be tried together with the one Klansman who was arrested on June 29.

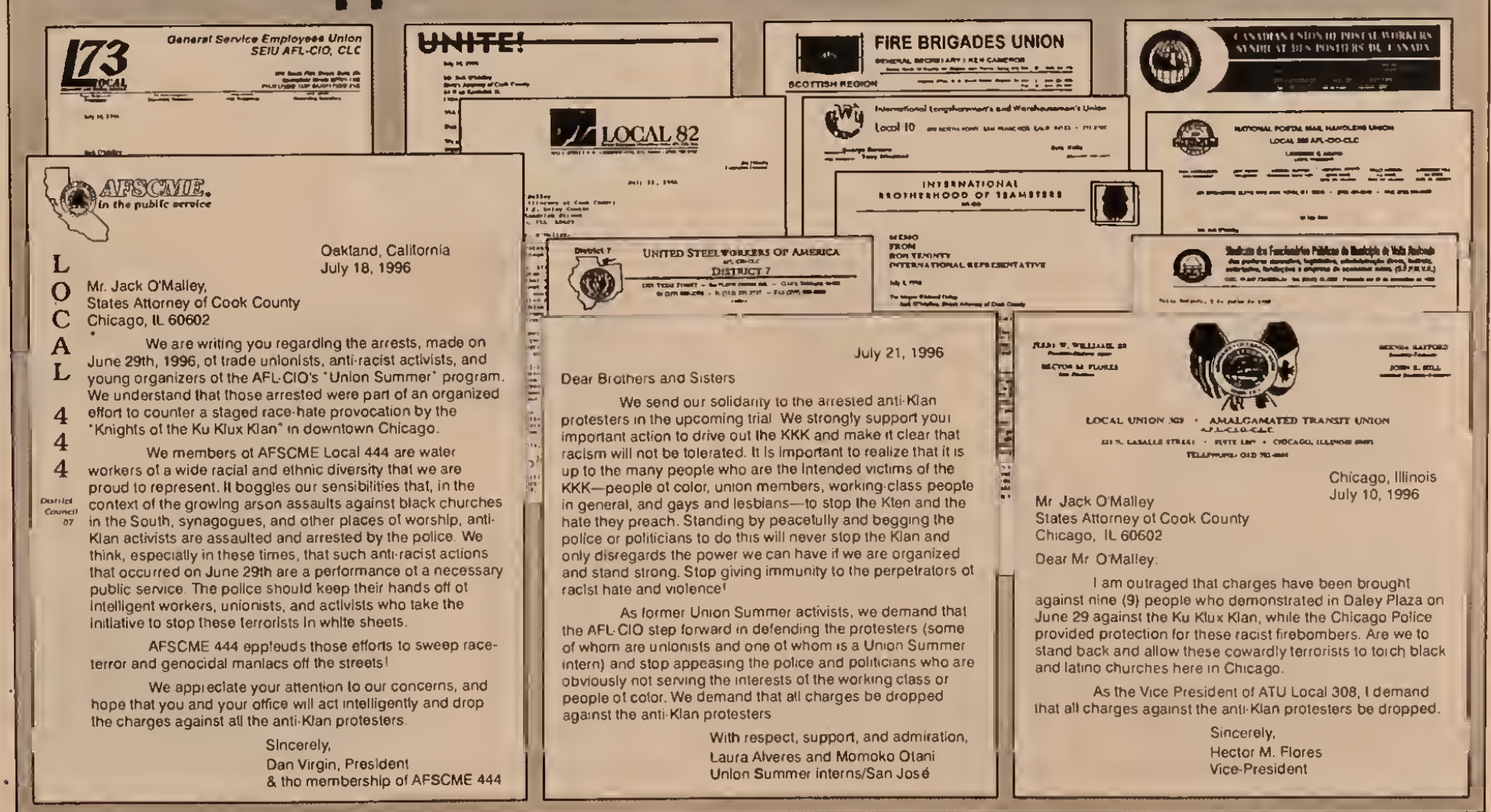
The united-front picket line demonstration outside the courthouse was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which together with the Labor Black Struggle League called the June 29 action which resulted in the trouncing of the KKK vermin. Addressing the courthouse rally, PDC counsel Jonathan Piper recounted the violent cop attack against those who came out to stop the Klan on June 29. Piper also described how the "defendants were put in the back of a patrol wagon with the windows shut tight and the engine running in 100-degree weather. That was an outrage designed to punish and intimidate all the protesters. But the intimidation failed, as we can see by the spirited turnout here today."

Among those joining anti-Klan defendants at the courthouse picket were Chicago transit workers and several leftist organizations. In addition to the PDC, LBSL, Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club, endorsers and speakers at the protest included Refuse & Resist and the League for the Revolutionary Party. A young AFL-CIO "Union Summer" participant and a Refuse & Resist activist were among those arrested on June 29, along with supporters of the SL. Also speaking outside the court was a representative of the Coordinadora Internacional en Apoyo del Pueblo de México. A number of newspapers and television and radio stations sent reporters to cover the protest, and CLTV led its 8 a.m. news broadcast with an interview with defendant Gene Herson who is the PDC labor coordinator.

Following the picket, demonstrators cheered the defendants as they entered the courthouse, then followed them into the hearing. In a tradition from the civil rights movement, when the defendants were told to rise in court, their supporters rose with them. After the hearing, protesters filed out behind the defendants in a powerful display of solidarity. The crowd then gathered at a nearby coffee shop, where the defendants warmly thanked people for turning out.

The July 23 demonstration was endorsed by more than a dozen union locals and labor officials, including Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308, the Chicago ATU Black Caucus, and Katie Jordan, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Demonstrators heard statements of support from United Steelworkers District 7, the SEIU (Service Employees) Western Region African-American Caucus, AFSCME Local 3506, Union Summer participants in California and others. As

Labor Support Grows for Anti-Klan Defendants



AFSCME In the public service

LOCAL 444 District Council 07

Oakland, California
July 18, 1996

Mr. Jack O'Malley,
States Attorney of Cook County
Chicago, IL 60602

We are writing you regarding the arrests, made on June 29th, 1996, of trade unionists, anti-racist activists, and young organizers of the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program. We understand that those arrested were part of an organized effort to counter a staged race-hate provocation by the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" in downtown Chicago.

We members of AFSCME Local 444 are water workers of a wide racial and ethnic diversity that we are proud to represent. It boggles our sensibilities that, in the context of the growing arson assaults against black churches in the South, synagogues, and other places of worship, anti-Klan activists are assaulted and arrested by the police. We think, especially in these times, that such anti-racist actions that occurred on June 29th are a performance of a necessary public service. The police should keep their hands off of intelligent workers, unionists, and activists who take the initiative to stop these terrorists in white sheets.

AFSCME 444 applauds those efforts to sweep race-terror and genocidal maniacs off the streets!

We appreciate your attention to our concerns, and hope that you and your office will act intelligently and drop the charges against all the anti-Klan protesters.

Sincerely,
Dan Virgin, President
& the membership of AFSCME 444

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
DISTRICT 7

July 21, 1996

Dear Brothers and Sisters

We send our solidarity to the arrested anti-Klan protesters in the upcoming trial. We strongly support your important action to drive out the KKK and make it clear that racism will not be tolerated. It is important to realize that it is up to the many people who are the intended victims of the KKK—people of color, union members, working-class people in general, and gays and lesbians—to stop the Klan and the hate they preach. Standing by peacefully and begging the police or politicians to do this will never stop the Klan and only disregards the power we can have if we are organized and stand strong. Stop giving immunity to the perpetrators of racist hate and violence!

As former Union Summer activists, we demand that the AFL-CIO step forward in defending the protesters (some of whom are unionists and one of whom is a Union Summer intern) and stop appeasing the police and politicians who are obviously not serving the interests of the working class or people of color. We demand that all charges be dropped against the anti-Klan protesters.

With respect, support, and admiration,
Laura Alveres and Momoko Otani
Union Summer interns/San José

LOCAL UNION 308 • AMALGAMATED TRANSIT UNION

Chicago, Illinois
July 10, 1996

Mr Jack O'Malley
States Attorney of Cook County
Chicago, IL 60602

Dear Mr O'Malley:

I am outraged that charges have been brought against nine (9) people who demonstrated in Daley Plaza on June 29 against the Ku Klux Klan, while the Chicago Police provided protection for these racist firebombers. Are we to stand back and allow these cowardly terrorists to torch black and latino churches here in Chicago.

As the Vice President of ATU Local 308, I demand that all charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped.

Sincerely,
Hector M. Flores
Vice-President

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Stop Racist Terror!

We reprint below a call by the Partisan Defense Committee issued on July 11.

When a gang of KKK nightriders dared show their faces in Daley Plaza on June 29, they found themselves sprawled on the pavement. The united-front defense against Klan terror—initiated on less than 24 hours' notice by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL)—brought out nearly 100 outraged unionists, leftists and youth. The Klansmen were stopped as they marched provocatively—armed with bolt-studded shields and flagpoles wielded as clubs—toward the anti-fascist protesters. The trouncing the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" got was an important affirmation that the KKK cross-burners and lynchers will not be tolerated in Chicago. *This was a victory for all working people and minorities!*

The protesters turned out on June 29 to defend us and ours against the nightriders and cross-burners. The Chicago police came to the rescue of the KKK, attacking the anti-Klan protesters with pepper gas and mace and setting up a line behind which the Klansmen could rally and spew their racist filth. *Nine anti-Klan protesters were arrested* on trumped-up charges, including bogus claims of assaulting the police, and now *face up to a year in jail.* Those arrested include trade unionists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program, as well as anarchists, a supporter of the leftist "Refuse & Resist!" group and several supporters of the PDC and the socialist Spartacist League, with which the PDC and LBSL are affiliated.

Klan "rallies" are an incitement to lynch-mob terror. The profusion of Klan and Nazi actions across the Midwest this summer and last year comes in the context of an ominous and escalating epidemic of arson attacks against black and integrated churches in the South. And it is not just in the South: two weeks before the Klan showed up in downtown Chicago, a cross was burned outside the home of a black family in Blue Island. The KKK terrorists are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unionists and leftists.

Defense of the anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 is a vital necessity for the labor movement and all opponents of racist terror. Just as we stood together against the Klan terrorists on June 29, we must now all stand together in defense of those arrested for doing what's right. An injury to one is an injury to all! Without submerging whatever particular political viewpoints we may have, it is urgent for us all to come together in a *united front* to defend the anti-Klan protesters against victimization. We call on trade unions, black and Hispanic community groups, leftist organizations and all the other would-be victims of the fascist nightriders to turn out—with your own signs and union banners—on July 23 and the other court dates to demand: *Drop all charges against the anti-Klan protesters!*

Trade unionists know that the KKK is a deadly enemy of organized labor, from the lynchings of labor and civil rights organizers in the past to the cross-burning against a poultry workers' organizing drive in Alabama last year. A big step toward galvanizing the ranks of labor to fight against the current wave of big business assaults on jobs and unions would be for Chicago's integrated labor movement to mobilize its social power in defense of the nine arrested anti-Klan protesters.

In January 1994, unionists from the Chicago area—particularly members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308—formed a solid core of the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization when the Klan tried to stage a provocation against Martin Luther King Day in Springfield. And in June 1982, when Hitler lovers tried to stage a vile provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago, some 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews and others turned out for a Spartacist-initiated united-front labor/black mobilization to stop the fascists.

This time as well, there could and should have been thousands in Daley Plaza to stop the Klan. But the plan for the KKK rally—agreed to at least a week earlier by Mayor Daley's Democratic Party administration—was subjected to a news blackout. This was clearly aimed at preventing a massive, militant outpouring by the Klan's many intended victims as the city's political establishment gets ready to host the Democratic Party convention later this summer. The role of the police and the city authorities on June 29 and before and since should make it clear as day that working people and minorities can rely only on our own organized strength to fight racist terror.

The vendetta now being prosecuted by Cook County State's Attorney Jack O'Malley against the anti-racist demonstrators is yet further evidence that the capitalist "justice" system is a system of racist and anti-working-class *injustice*. Recently, O'Malley had to release four black men who were shown to have been framed up and falsely imprisoned for 18 years—including well over a decade on death row for two of them—for a 1978 murder that they didn't commit. Under capitalism, racist frame-up is the law of the land. And as the drive to execute outspoken black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal shows, the death penalty is racist *legal lynching*.

If the cops and courts get away with punishing anti-fascist fighters for making a stand against race-hate provocations in this heavily labor, black and minority city, it will be a green light for the racist terrorists everywhere. Behind the police cordon on June 29, one of the Klansmen ranted against blacks, gays and Jews and threatened: "Chicago is a town that *we* will reclaim." This vile taunt is a direct challenge to labor and minorities to defend our rights and our very lives against the fascist filth. That challenge must be met and defeated. *All out on July 23 and the other court dates! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters!*

the PDC speaker chairing the demonstration explained, the defense campaign "is a continuation of our work mobilizing to stop the fascists and strengthen the working class for social and political struggle."

Letters demanding that the bogus charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped have poured in from a wide range of unions, from the ILWU longshore union on the West Coast to the Fire Brigades Union in Scotland. *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen, in a letter to the Cook County State's Attorney urging that the charges be dropped, wrote: "These demonstrators were protesting the racist, terrorist KKK, which has a long and bloody history of attacking African Americans, Hispanics, Jews, Catholics and many others." Ohio 7 class-war prisoner Jaan Laaman wrote: "I want to send you a Loud, Strong, Red salute of solidarity from all the political prisoners at Leavenworth!" Writing from his prison cell, Laaman hailed the June 29 anti-Klan action as "absolutely necessary," adding: "Protecting, supporting and fighting for those who were arrested is just as necessary."

Several speakers at the united-front courthouse rally pointed to the role of the police in protecting the KKK terrorists. A Spartacist League spokesman linked the resurgence of fascist provocations to the bipartisan government assault on workers and minorities: "Republican and Democratic attacks on unions, on civil rights, on immigrants, on abortion rights—attacks mounted by the capitalists through their parties to smash all opposition to their profit-mad assault on the very ability of America's working and poor people to survive—have emboldened the Klan, whose expressed desire is to claim Chicago for race-terror."

As the fight to stop the racist, union-hating Klan shows, defense of black rights and labor rights cannot be separated. The heavily integrated labor movement must be mobilized in the fight against racial oppression, particularly in Chicago, which has long been known as "Segregation City." It was in the suburb of Cicero in 1966 that Martin Luther King Jr. was driven out by a rabid racist mob as he led a march for integrated housing. And conditions in Chicago's ghettos have only worsened since then, as the capitalist bosses destroyed thousands upon thousands of unionized industrial jobs. In the absence of labor struggle, the growing despair in the ghettos has fueled the rise of sinister nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan.

An LBSL speaker at the protest pointed out: "Farrakhan, the reactionary nationalist demagogue who wanted Malcolm X dead, seeks to turn the anger of the ghetto against Jews and other minorities. Farrakhan's vile anti-Semitism only strengthens the hand of racist reaction. Farrakhan doesn't fight the Klan, he makes deals with them." The speaker counterposed the need for a class-struggle fight against racial oppression: "Black freedom will only come along the road of proletarian revolution. For labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to smash Klan terror! We are for a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed!"

The treatment meted out to the arrested anti-Klan protesters by the cops and courts amply shows that relying on the forces of the capitalist state in the fight against racist terror is suicidal. We seek in particular to mobilize the integrated trade unions which represent tens of thousands of workers in Chicago, along with black and Hispanic organizations, youth groups, gay rights groups and all other opponents of Klan/Nazi terror, in mass, militant protest actions. United-front protests, in which a broad range of organizations are free to raise their views in the context of a common action, is the key to defending the June 29 anti-Klan activists and all victims of capitalist repression.

The next court date, for defendant Glen Jackson, is July 29, while defendant Dennis Glass is scheduled to appear on August 21. The cases of other defendants will be heard on September 9. The fight to defend the anti-Klan protesters is the fight of us *all*. Pack the courtroom to show your solidarity! Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602.

Send copies of protest statements and urgently needed financial contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee.

CHICAGO: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931;

NEW YORK: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone: (212) 406-4252. ■

WV Photos

June 29 protest in Chicago against KKK race-hate provocation. Klan terrorists were trounced, their führer Thomas Robb (standing behind cop) bloodied.

Rifondazione Comunista: Reformist Prop for Government of Austerity, Racism

MILANO—The victory of the center-left Ulivo (Olive Tree) alliance in the Italian parliamentary elections last April catapulted the social-democratic heirs of the Communist Party (PCI), the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), into government. This marks the end of 50 years of exclusion of the left from national government. In fact, the PDS was the dominant force in the Ulivo coalition. Yet it was ushered in with the support of Washington, the blessing of the Pope, and the consent of the *Confindustria*, the association of Italian capitalists. It is also supported by most of the Italian left, particularly Rifondazione Comunista (RC), another remnant of the PCI, which postures as a "left" alternative to the PDS but pursues similar reformist politics. Though RC is not yet a formal part of the Ulivo government, the votes of its deputies are decisive in giving the coalition its parliamentary majority.

It was clear from the start that the new government intends to slash social welfare programs, drive down workers' living standards and wage war on immigrants. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, opposed any support, however critical, to the class-collaborationist Ulivo coalition, including votes for its RC and PDS components. We declared:

> "The Ulivo government will be *anti-worker, anti-women, and anti-immigrant*. A powerful response by the workers is necessary to defeat the all-sided attack that the bourgeoisie is waging against them.... But for the workers to win, it is necessary to wage a political fight against the PDS, the RC and the trade-union bureaucracy, and to forge a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement."
>
> —"Left Face of Capitalist Austerity in Italy."
> *WV* No. 645 (10 May)

The Ulivo Government: Nationalism and Racism

The Ulivo is a classic, albeit rather right-wing, popular front, a coalition tying parties of the working class to the parties of the bourgeoisie. The new government is headed by the anti-abortion Catholic prime minister Romano Prodi. It includes Christian Democrats who were rescued from the "Bribe City" (*tangentopoli*) scandal and are supported by the Catholic hierarchy, the "aspiring nun" Rosy Bindi, two recent prime ministers who were both leading figures in the Bank of Italy—Lamberto Dini and Carlo Azeglio Ciampi—as well as Antonio Di Pietro, the former magistrate in the *mani pulite* (clean hands) "anti-corruption" campaign.

Immediately upon taking power, the center-left coalition reached out to the far right wing on the basis of virulent Italian chauvinism. In his inaugural speech as president of parliament—and again at a fascist-organized meeting at the University of Palermo—PDSer Luciano Violante called for "respect" for "the honest choice" of those who had supported the fascist Mussolini. Another PDS member, Assistant Defense Minister Massimo Brutti, honored the head of Mussolini's air force, Italo Balbo, on the centenary of his birth. And at the June 2 festivities celebrating the 50th anniversary of the republic, President Luigi Scalfaro called for allowing the return to the country of the heirs of the Savoy monarchy, whose reign ended after the fall of Mussolini and who are currently banned from the country by the constitution. Senate vice president Ersilia Salvato, an RC leader, pointedly refused to oppose this reactionary proposal.

The LTd'I has consistently warned, both during the 1994 parliamentary election campaign of the "Progressive" coalition of the PDS, RC, Greens and others and during the Ulivo campaign this spring, that the popular front in power would lead to an increase in racist terror and all-sided reaction. This is the bitter lesson of the popular front, from Spain in the 1930s to Allende's Chile in the 1970s to Mitterrand's France in the 1980s and '90s. It was in the name of the popular front that the PCI disarmed the anti-fascist *Resistenza* when Italian workers had power in their reach at the close of World War II, thus opening the road to the consolidation of bourgeois rule and a wave of anti-working-class repression.

The LTd'I's warnings were confirmed as soon as the new government came to power. One of its first acts was to renew the racist decree of the Dini government which allows immigrants to be sent to prison for not having proper documentation or for demonstrating "a standard of living that is too high"! Simultaneously, mobilizations of racist terror have increased in the streets. The SAP police "union" launched vigilante squads including off-duty cops to patrol the streets at night against "drugs and prostitution," code words aimed at immigrants. On June 9 and again on June 13, the heavily immigrant San Salvario quarter of Torino was besieged by mobs of racists shouting "N-----s equal drug-pushers."

The elections also emboldened the racist Northern League of Umberto Bossi, which garnered an unexpectedly strong vote of 10 percent nationally and as much as 30 percent in parts of the North. Following the election, Bossi set up the Committee for the Liberation of Padania (CLP), aimed at securing the secession of the wealthier Northern part of the country from the poverty-stricken South. Even within Bossi's movement, those who want to separate from the rest of the country are still a small minority. The CLP's real fire has been directed at immigrants. Bossi has organized a large "security squad" dressed in green shirts (the uniform of the Romanian fascists in the 1930s). As his goons brutally expelled a state television crew from a Northern League meeting at Pontida in June, Bossi screamed in German for the TV crew to get out, "Raus! Raus!" These racists have also organized paramilitary patrols in Milano to throw immigrant vendors out of the street markets. In Monza, a city in the industrial belt north of Milano, Bossi's Green Shirts organized a racist demonstration of 150 people against Southern Italians.

Fiorani/Sintesi

Merlini/Team

Immigrants face racist attacks from center-left "Olive Tree" coalition government, which includes the Party of the Democratic Left, led by Massimo D'Alema (right).

In the 1950s and 1960s, internal migration from the South provided the basis for industrial development in the Northern regions. The labor of Southern workers enriched those sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in Northern Italy who are today screaming for secession. Many of these workers still live in the industrial centers of the North, and in Monza there was a spontaneous reaction by passers-by against the racist Green Shirt provocation.

Over the years, the Italian working class has demonstrated its combativity. The question is one of revolutionary leadership. What is needed are mass mobilizations of workers and immigrants to smash racist terror and fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and their families. The primary agent of racist terror against immigrants is the bourgeois state, with its police, jails and judges. Workers must fight to rid the union movement of cops. We call for powerful united-front protest actions by the organized workers movement, joining with all the oppressed, to stop racist deportations.

Not only is the popular front opposed to defending immigrants, it is in the forefront of the racist terror campaign. RC disgustingly amnestied the anti-immigrant provocation in San Salvario on June 13—*in which it participated*—calling it a "festival" and denying it was racist because there were "banners against criminality and slogans against the local administration" (*Liberazione*, 12 June). Yet this "festival" was mostly made up of the fascist thugs of the Italian Social Movement/National Alliance (MSI/AN). Taking its cue from the San Salvario gangs, the PDS in Nichelino, a suburb of Torino, went so far as to propose "patrols made up of the unemployed" which could "bring suspect

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Reuters

La Repubblica

Anti-abortion prime minister Romano Prodi (left) owes his parliamentary majority to the votes of Rifondazione Comunista, headed by Fausto Bertinotti (right).

Fake Lefts Tail Zyuganov's Chauvinist KPRF

Washington Buys Russian Elections

Boris Yeltsin's re-election as president of Russia in a July 3 runoff ballot was cheered by Western stock markets. The capitalist media exulted that the defeat of Yeltsin's opponent, Gennadi Zyuganov, meant "The End of Russian Communism"—though, in fact, Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) is a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist party. And U.S. president Bill Clinton hailed Yeltsin's victory as evidence that the Russian people had "turned their backs on tyranny" and were "turning the corner towards freedom."

For all its hoopla about promoting Russian "democracy," Washington enthusiastically welcomed Yeltsin's embrace of the sinister ex-general Aleksandr Lebed, an open advocate of bonapartist "order." Lebed's appointment to the powerful position of national security chief was in fact the most significant outcome of the election. This strident chauvinist and virulent anti-Semite is a self-professed admirer of former Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose 1973 coup led to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. In particular, Lebed holds up Pinochet as a model for combining police-state terror with "free market" economics dictated by Wall Street.

The elections were immediately followed by a sharp escalation in terror against dark-skinned people. Seizing on mysterious rush-hour bombings of trolley buses in Moscow a week after the elections, Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, a key Yeltsin ally, claimed these were terrorist acts carried out by the "Chechen diaspora." Targeting Chechens and other Caucasian and Central Asian peoples, Luzhkov vowed to round up and expel "not only homeless down-and-outs but also those elements we consider dangerous."

At the same time, Yeltsin flagrantly repudiated his pre-election promise to end the unpopular war in Chechnya, a traditionally Muslim region in the Caucasus conquered by the tsarist empire in the early 19th century. Only days after the election, in the fiercest attack in months, Russian artillery bombarded two villages near the Chechen capital of Grozny, killing dozens of civilians. In the past year and a half, over 30,000 people, mainly civilians, have been killed in the savage colonial-style war in Chechnya and 600,000 have been driven from their homes. We of the International Communist League call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces and for the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate.

Frazza/AFP

AFP

Russian president Yeltsin with imperialist patron Clinton. Below: Yeltsin's new national security chief Aleksandr Lebed, surrounded by Cossack admirers, a sinister chauvinist who seeks "strongman" rule.

Only six months ago, the Russian president had sunk to a 6 percent approval rating in opinion polls and ranked seventh in a field of presidential contenders. As late as mid-March, Yeltsin had all the preparations in the works for canceling the elections outright. As a report by David Remnick in the *New Yorker* (15 July) details: "One of Yeltsin's aides had already drafted a series of *ukazi*—decrees—on the dissolution of Parliament, the banning of the Communist Party, and the cancellation of the June 16th elections." Fearing destabilization and wanting to maintain some façade of "democracy," Yeltsin's imperialist patrons instead "bought the elections fair and square."

In the months before the elections, the imperialists showered $14 billion in loans on the Russian regime. Yeltsin promised to pay $1.6 billion in back wages for workers in the public sector, to help clear up *$4 billion* in unpaid wages in private industry, to write off debts of collective and private farmers, to raise pensions and student benefits, etc.

The Russian president and his imperialist backers wasted no time reneging on these promises. The post-election cold shower served only to underscore a *Washington Post* (5 July) headline which acknowledged that "Hard-Up Workers Greet Yeltsin Win with Little Joy." Indeed, it is a measure of the pervasive immiseration produced by capitalist restoration that despite the demonization and fear-mongering in the Russian media that a KPRF victory would mean a return to the Stalinist gulag, some 40 million people voted for Zyuganov.

Yet for Marxists there could be no question of extending any support to Zyuganov in the presidential elections. As we wrote after the KPRF won more than a third of the seats in the Russian Duma (parliament) elections last December:

> "While many people supported Zyuganov's Communist Party because they lived better under the Soviet collectivized and planned economy, despite its bureaucratic deformations, the heavy vote for the KPRF does not represent a step forward for the working class in Russia. Despite its red flags and talk of restoring the Soviet Union, the KPRF is neither a communist nor even a reformist working-class party, but rather a bourgeois-nationalist party which promotes Russia's imperial ambitions."

The plight of Russia's working people and subjugated nationalities will not be bettered by replacing one set of nationalist thieves and butchers at the head of the Russian capitalist state with another. What is necessary is the reawakening of the dormant working class and its entry into the arena of class struggle, fighting for its interests and those of all the oppressed on the road to a socialist revolution that sweeps away the new exploiters and their state. Key to this is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party of the working class.

"Wild Capitalism" and Would-Be Bonapartes

By the time of the first round of the elections in mid-June, it was expected that Yeltsin and Zyuganov would finish neck-and-neck in front. What was not expected was the strong showing of Lebed, who came in third with 15 percent of the vote. It turned out that Lebed's campaign was largely financed by the Yeltsin camp in order to take votes away from Zyuganov. The tactic worked as the bellicose ex-general effectively co-opted the main themes of the KPRF campaign—exaltation of traditional Russian culture, advocacy of a strong state dominating the region of the former USSR, "law and order," and a crackdown on pervasive government corruption. When asked by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (24 June) whether he intended to become president at the end of Yeltsin's term, Lebed replied, "Possibly sooner." No sooner had the final votes been tallied than another power struggle erupted in and around the Kremlin, with Lebed pitted against Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, spokesman for the powerful natural gas monopoly, and newly reappointed economic czar Anatoly Chubais, a darling of the Western bankers.

Lebed's meteoric rise expresses a powerful tendency in post-Soviet Russia for a "strongman" who can tame the present conditions of "wild capitalism," well described by American economist Rudi Dornbusch:

> "Around the world, the lobbies of five-star hotels are now full of champagne-sipping Russian gangsters who gained control of state-owned assets. Yes, there are opportunities in Russia—enough to get many thousands of criminals instant wealth. But that wealth is created by corruption, theft, and violence on a scale probably unprecedented in history....
>
> "Property rights are mostly a matter of how much more an investor is likely to put up in the future. And physical safety has to do with who shoots faster."
>
> —Business Week (15 April)

Russia's new capitalists very much want to establish more Western-style rules of

continued on page 14

AP

Days after re-election, Yeltsin violated truce in Chechnya, launching bloody army assault on Chechen towns.

Economist

KPRF leader Gennadi Zyuganov, embodiment of Russian chauvinist "red-brown" coalition.

Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Robert Hunt Picture Library

Part 6

1914-1918: Imperialist War and the Realignment of the Left

Parts One through Three of this series (published in Workers Vanguard *Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Parts Four and Five (published in* WV *Nos. 643 and 646) analyzed the anarchist and syndicalist movements in the period preceding World War I. The next and concluding part will discuss the impact of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the formation of the Communist International.*

by Joseph Seymour

A famous American tale by the early 19th-century writer Washington Irving tells of "Rip van Winkle." Rip, a ne'er-do-well villager in New York's Hudson River Valley, drinks a magic brew shortly before the American War of Independence and sleeps for the next 20 years. He awakens in a strange and totally unanticipated political world. Having fallen asleep as a subject of King George III of England, he now finds himself a citizen of a new republic, the United States of America, with a president named George Washington, someone he had never heard of before.

If a left-wing Rip van Winkle in Europe or North America had fallen asleep in 1913 and woken up ten years later, he too would have found the political world utterly unknown and totally unexpected. He would have seen former anarchist and syndicalist militants now joined together with erstwhile left-wing Social Democrats (Marxists) in a new international movement calling itself Communist, a term not widely used on the left for half a century before then. Other leading prewar anarcho-syndicalists would be found allied with socialist parliamentarians against the Communists. He would find that anarchism and syndicalism simply no longer existed as significant tendencies. At the same time, those parties still calling themselves Social Democratic had openly repudiated proletarian revolution in favor of class collaboration and nationalist militarism, and in many cases had ministers in various European capitalist governments.

In France before 1914, the syndicalist Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor—CGT) had been the dominant labor organization. Now there existed two rival trade-union federations, one affiliated with the Communists, the other with the reformist Socialist party. In Italy, the homeland of the Bakuninist movement in the 1860s and '70s, anarchism had been marginalized and the newly formed Communist Party was hegemonic on the far left. In the United States before World War I, the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had been the most important organization to the left of the Socialist Party. But by the early 1920s, both the Socialist Party and the IWW had become empty shells: all the vital, combative, forward-looking elements of the American left had regrouped into the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

Only in Spain did the anarchists and syndicalists continue to represent a major component of the workers movement into the 1920s. This Iberian exceptionalism derived in large part from the fact that Spain was not a combatant in the first imperialist world war. Hence the Spanish left did not experience the wrenching struggles between social-chauvinists and internationalists which dominated working-class politics elsewhere in Europe and also in North America.

Editions D'Avron

Bolshevik parliamentary deputies (above) exiled to Siberia for carrying out agitation against World War I, which slaughtered millions of workers. Right: Manifesto of 1915 Zimmerwald antiwar conference, drafted by Leon Trotsky.

Pre-1914 Social Democracy, anarchism and syndicalism died on the battlefields of Tannenberg and the Somme, Verdun and Caporetto along with millions of European youth. Despite their differences, the foremost "orthodox" Marxist, Karl Kautsky, the leading anarchist Peter Kropotkin and the French syndicalist founder Fernand Pelloutier shared certain basic premises. All were shaped by the stability of the European bourgeois order, the steady growth of the workers movement and the relative democratic freedoms available to them at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The leaders and theoreticians of the main currents of Social Democracy, anarchism and syndicalism believed the era of violent revolutions and counterrevolutions in West and Central Europe lay in the past. They all looked forward to the establishment of a just, egalitarian and humane society by essentially "civilized" means supported or at least accepted by all reasonable men of good will.

This rosy vision of orderly social revolution was blown to smithereens by the guns of August 1914. In the first volume of his insightful biography of Trotsky, *The Prophet Armed* (1954), the Polish Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher explained how future Communists were forged in the charnel house that had become Europe:

> "The slaughter of the next few years, in which millions of people laid down their lives to wrest a few yards of land from the enemy, taught them to despise and hate the humanitarian façades and shams of the European body politic. They concluded that if civilized governments in pursuit of their national power-politics found it possible to exterminate millions of people and to maim scores of millions, then it was surely the Socialists' duty to shrink from no sacrifice in the struggle for a new social order that would free mankind from such folly. The old order was giving them a lesson in ruthlessness. The 'Gothic lace-work' of European civilization had been torn to pieces and was being trampled into the mud and blood of the trenches."

The Trauma of August 1914

The full-scale European war which broke out in August 1914 had been anticipated and feared on the left. Almost three decades earlier, Friedrich Engels had predicted with startling precision:

> "The only war left for Prussia-Germany to wage will be a world war, a world war, moreover, of an extent and violence hitherto unimagined. Eight to ten million soldiers will be at each others' throats and in the process they will strip Europe barer than a swarm of locusts. The depredations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three to four years and extended over the entire continent: famine, disease, the universal lapse into barbarism...."
>
> —Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's pamphlet, *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots, 1806-1807* (1887)

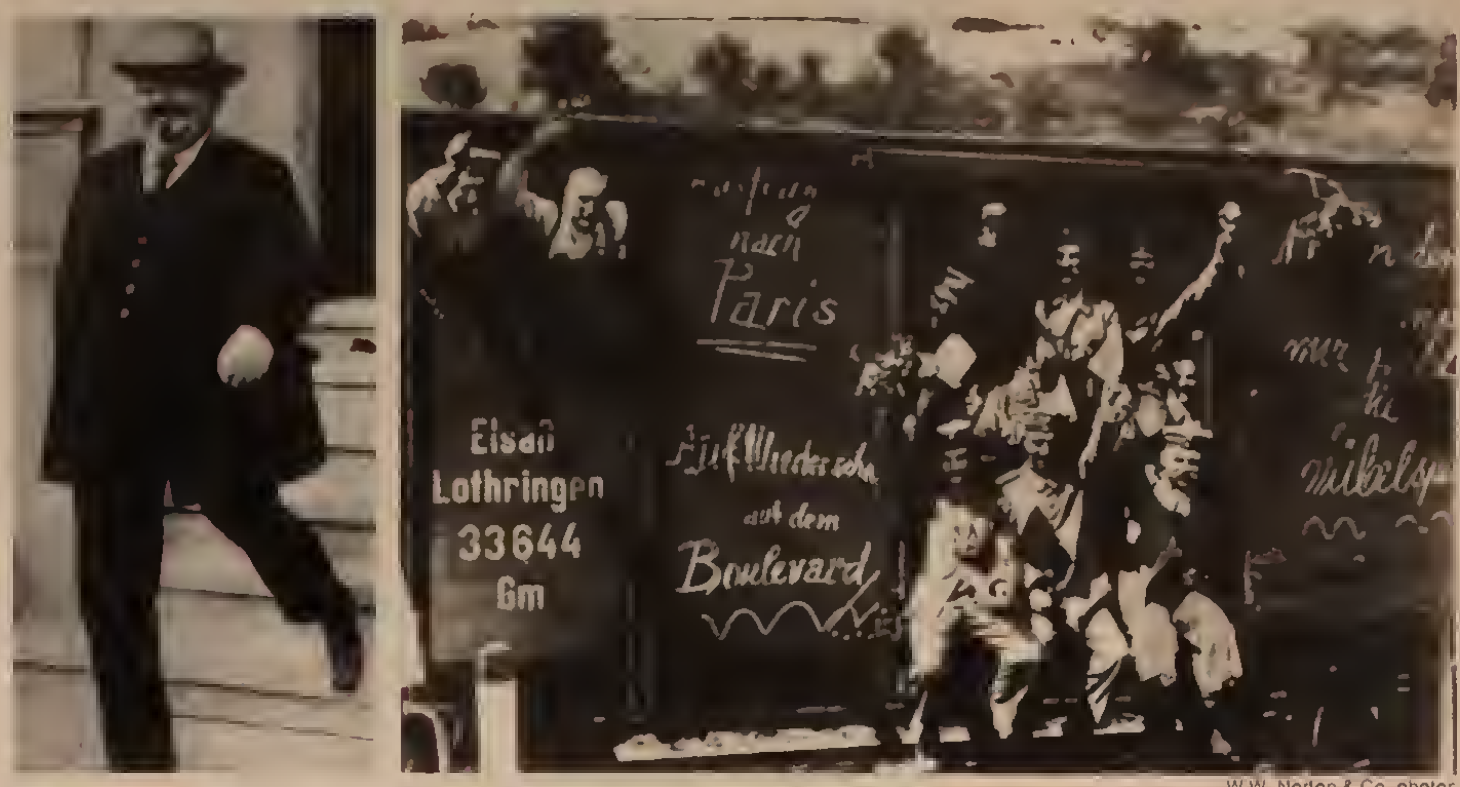
In the following years, the issue of militarism and how to struggle against it became a dominant concern in the Second (Socialist) International, one which increasingly demarcated its left and right wings. A resolution on militarism adopted at the International's 1907 Congress in Stuttgart, Germany concluded with an amendment proposed by Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian Menshevik leader Julius Martov:

> "If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working class and of its parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the consolidating activity of the International [Socialist] Bureau, to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war by means they consider most effective....
>
> "Should war break out nonetheless, it is their duty to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and to do all in their power to utilize the economic and political crisis caused by the war to rouse the peoples and thereby to hasten the abolition of capitalist class rule."

The German Social Democracy (SPD) in this period was generally regarded as a model of a Marxist-led workers party and the central core of the international socialist movement. Hence, when on

4 August 1914 the Social Democratic fraction in the German Reichstag (parliament) voted for war credits, the effect on revolutionary Marxists the world over was traumatic. Luxemburg suffered a nervous collapse in reaction to the wave of national chauvinism which swept the German social-democratic workers movement. Lenin at first refused to believe the report of the Reichstag vote in the SPD's organ, *Vorwärts*, dismissing that issue as a forgery by the Kaiser's government. In his autobiography, *My Life* (1930), Trotsky recounts his feelings at the time:

> "The telegram telling of the capitulation of the German Social Democracy shocked me even more than the declaration of war, in spite of the fact that I was far from a naive idealizing of German socialism,... I did not expect the official leaders of the International, in case of war, to prove themselves capable of serious revolutionary initiative. At the same time, I could not even admit the idea that the Social Democracy would simply cower on its belly before a nationalist militarism."



W.W. Norton & Co. photos

Traitorous leaders of Social Democracy like Friedrich Ebert (left) helped mobilize young German workers for fratricidal slaughter.

What the German Social Democracy was for Marxists before 1914, the French Confédération Générale du Travail was for syndicalists and many anarchists: the strongest and most respected workers organization internationally representing their doctrine and tradition. For example, in 1913 the American IWW journal *Solidarity* published a translation of the pamphlet "French Syndicalism" by CGT general secretary Léon Jouhaux. Year after year, the French syndicalist leaders had solemnly proclaimed that they would respond to a declaration of war with a revolutionary general strike. But when war was in fact declared, they immediately joined the "*union sacrée*" in defense of the French capitalist state, with Jouhaux preaching "hatred of German imperialism" as he spoke for "those who are going off to war."

Peter Kropotkin's support for Britain, France and Russia against the Central Powers came as probably an even greater shock to anarchist militants than the German Social Democrats' infamous vote for war credits was to Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky. Kropotkin had hitherto been regarded as a man of unimpeachable revolutionary integrity and idealism, not only by anarchists but also by many non-anarchist leftists. Born into the upper echelons of the Russian nobility, he had been living in exile in England for three decades when the war broke out. The proponent of the solidarity of the human community at once became indistinguishable from the most rabid British or French chauvinist. Even a highly sympathetic biography acknowledges that "all Kropotkin did, like any militarist, was to talk of bigger and better cannons, to exhort his friends to 'defend themselves *like wild beasts*,' and to repeat the current exaggerated atrocity stories of the Germans 'fighting like devils and trampling on all the rules of humanity'" (George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince* [1950]). The old Russian populist and anarchist now defended the tsarist imperial state with the lame argument that the military alliance with Britain and France would result in a "strengthening of the liberalizing forces in Russia."

Kropotkin's pro-war views were by no means an individual aberration within the anarchist movement. The leading intellectual lights of the anarchist movement in France—Jean Grave, Charles Malato, Paul Reclus—came to the defense of their "own" capitalist state. The Austrian anarchist scholar Max Nettlau, a recognized authority on Bakunin's life and writings, likewise supported the war, in his case on the side of the Central Powers—Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany and the Habsburg Austro-Hungarian empire.

Men and women who had worked closely together for years, even decades, became bitter political enemies overnight. Lenin denounced Kautsky, whom he had previously respected as the outstanding contemporary Marxist theoretician, as a "consummate hypocrite and a past master in the art of prostituting Marxism." The veteran Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta now branded Kropotkin, his "old and beloved friend," as a "government anarchist." French syndicalist leader Alphonse Merrheim, as Lenin recounted in an article on the 1915 Zimmerwald antiwar conference, bitterly declared: "The party, Jouhaux, and the government are three heads beneath the same cap" (Robert Wohl, *French Communism in the Making, 1914-1924* [1966]).

Antiwar socialists, syndicalists and anarchists found they had far more in common with one another than with their former comrades and co-thinkers turned chauvinists and militarists. The realignment of the left manifested itself most clearly in France, where all tendencies in the socialist, syndicalist and anarchist movements were well represented.

Before 1914 the two main poles of the French workers movement had been the "orthodox" Marxist faction of Jules Guesde in the Socialist party and the syndicalist CGT, with the eclectic socialist Jean Jaurès acting as an intermediary between the two. Jaurès was assassinated by a right-wing royalist fanatic on the eve of the war. Guesde and Jouhaux became twin pillars of the *union sacrée*: the "Marxist" socialist as minister without portfolio in the "Cabinet of National Defense," the syndicalist union leader as a "commissioner of the nation."

The relatively small number of French leftists who opposed the war organized themselves around the Committee for the Resumption of International Relations. The core and best-known figures in this group were revolutionary syndicalists—Alphonse Merrheim, Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer—who were joined by dissident socialists and anarchists, some of them fresh from the trenches. Leon Trotsky, in exile in France until his expulsion from the country in 1916, played an important and in a sense leading role in organizing and directing these antiwar militants. Also centrally involved was another Russian émigré revolutionary, Salomon Lozovsky, at the time a wayward right Bolshevik, who later became head of the trade-union international affiliated with the Communist International. The French left-syndicalists' international sympathies were deepened by their close collaboration with the two Russians, which brought them into contact with a kind of Marxism then unknown in West Europe. One French veteran of the Committee later recalled how Trotsky and Lozovsky "talked of making a revolution as if they meant it."

To be sure, the differences between Marxian socialism, syndicalism and anarchism remained valid and important in terms of how to organize society after the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it made no sense to debate this question with men who, in close and direct collaboration with the bourgeoisie, were actively supporting their own capitalist states. The fundamental dividing line between revolutionaries and reformists, between internationalists and social-chauvinists, superseded the prewar categories of socialism, syndicalism and anarchism.

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Declaration by heroic German revolutionary socialist Karl Liebknecht: "The Main Enemy is at Home!"

Behind Social-Patriotism

The formation of the Communist International in 1919, under the profound impact of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, culminated the realignment of the left which had begun in August 1914. The development of the Zimmerwald anti-militarist movement was especially a direct precursor of the Comintern. However, by no means all of the antiwar leftists of 1914 joined the Communist International. For example, the Russian Menshevik Julius Martov, who considered himself an "orthodox" Marxist, the French syndicalist Alphonse Merrheim and the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta all came out against the war and denounced the chauvinism and militarism of their erstwhile co-thinkers. Yet all three would oppose the Communist International and instead respectively seek to revive (though without success) the Social Democratic, syndicalist and anarchist movements as they had existed before 1914. After the war, Martov and Merrheim would reunite with the main currents of Social Democracy and chauvinist syndicalism.

Why had the principal organizations of the working class, whether led by purported Marxists (Germany) or syndicalists (France), betrayed their declared principles and supported their own capitalist states in the European imperialist war? Why were men like Kropotkin, who had devoted their entire lives to the cause of social revolution, suffering imprisonment and exile for their beliefs, now defending the very regimes that had persecuted them and their comrades? Was the collapse into social-chauvinism rooted in the nature of the pre-1914 Social Democratic, syndicalist and anarchist movements? The way in which these questions were answered would in large part determine which antiwar leftists became Communists and which did not.

Like all important and complex historical developments, the social-patriotism which engulfed the European left with the outbreak of the First World War had many causes operating at different levels. At one level, social-patriotism represented the bureaucratization of the workers movement in West and Central Europe, which had increasingly manifested itself in strong opportunist tendencies. As Lenin wrote in

continued on page 10

Anarchism...

(continued from page 9)

March 1915:

> "Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labor movement and the labor aristocracy, who get a fraction of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their 'fatherlands' in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathizers within the socialist parties, have proved the social mainstay of these [opportunist] tendencies and channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat."
>
> —"The Conference of the RSDLP Groups Abroad"

The difference between reformism and revolutionary leadership is not the fight for reforms, but the acceptance—"for now"—of capitalism. Reformists therefore seek to collaborate with their "own" bourgeoisie, especially with the much-looked-for "progressive wing" (a category which already by 1914 had little significance, above all in the imperialist countries). As the bourgeoisie is by its nature national in scope, the idea of a "national interest" between us and "our" bosses is a crucial underpinning of the whole reformist endeavor.

The material root of reformism is the social divisions within the working class: the privileged outlook of the so-called "aristocracy of labor" which—under conditions in which the working class is not united for revolutionary aims—feels its immediate interests counterposed to those of the minorities, the youth, the unskilled, not to mention the oppressed colonial masses. This relatively better-off layer of the exploited is the social basis for the labor bureaucracy.

The leadership of the German trade unions had long been the core social base of the SPD right wing. The union leaders consistently and effectively opposed the campaign of the SPD left led by Rosa Luxemburg to organize mass strikes against the anti-democratic suffrage laws in Prussia. Some SPD rightists, notably Gustav Noske, were so open and vocal in their defense of German imperialist interests that they were taken to task for this by the party's immensely respected founding father, August Bebel (who died in 1913).

The bureaucratization of the French syndicalist movement was less developed than that of German Social Democracy and the division between its left and right wings not as clear-cut or long standing. The founding fathers of the CGT such as Pelloutier and the former anarchist militant Emile Pouget were genuinely dedicated to the emancipation of the working class. However, their "children" inherited a going concern which had come to play an important and accepted role in the economic and political life of the French Third Republic.

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Prominent anarchist Peter Kropotkin (left) was branded a "govarnment anarchist" by longtime colleague Errico Malatesta (right) for supporting imperialist Britain, France and Russia in World War I.

Musée Social

French revolutionary syndicalist Alfred Rosmer conducted antiwar agitation in the paper of the metal workers union (white spaces show government censorship).

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The second generation of CGT leaders was personified by Léon Jouhaux, who became the organization's general secretary in 1909 at the age of 30. By then the CGT leadership was busy negotiating wage agreements with employers' associations and discussing legislation with Socialist parliamentarians. Even before the war, Jouhaux showed a strong inclination to abandon or water down the union movement's revolutionary traditions in order to expand its influence. Taken to task by some anarchists for lack of militancy, the Jouhaux leadership responded in 1913:

> "We strongly reaffirm our right, in accord with the whole of organized labor, to modify our forms of recruitment and of propaganda in line with the modifications introduced in the domain of industry by our adversaries. In our opinion, a movement which failed to take account of the transformations going on about it and froze in a fixed attitude would be a movement without life, without influence, without future."
>
> —quoted in Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (1966)

One can say of Jouhaux as of Noske that the war simply provided the perfect opportunity to realize their deeply rooted opportunist appetites.

If some Social Democratic and syndicalist leaders supported the war to further their careers, others did so out of political, and in some cases personal, cowardice. That is, they capitulated before the wave of chauvinist hysteria which engulfed the masses in August 1914. After the war Merrheim, who was then moving to the right, sought to explain away the CGT's collapse by shifting the burden of responsibility from the leadership to the ranks. If the syndicalist leaders had attempted to resist the war mobilization, he contended, "the working class...would not have left to the police the job of shooting us; they would have shot us themselves" (quoted in *French Communism in the Making*).

Merrheim was here confusing, deliberately, two different questions. One is whether the syndicalist leaders should have opposed the war; the other is how they should have acted on the basis of that opposition. Obviously, there was no question of attempting the oft-threatened general strike against the war mobilization. Even a small protest demonstration might have been adventurist in the conditions of August 1914. The principled and effective course of action for revolutionaries was to carry out antiwar propaganda and agitation in the factories and the army under conditions of illegality, even in the face of imprisonment.

Here the difference between the French syndicalists and the Russian Bolsheviks is strikingly clear. In Russia, too, the outbreak of war produced impassioned support for the government on the part of the masses, including the industrial working class. In his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1932), Trotsky recounts: "The revolutionary ideas were barely kept glowing in small and hushed circles. In the factories in those days nobody dared to call himself 'Bolshevik' for fear not only of arrest, but of a beating from the backward workers."

Nonetheless, the Bolshevik Party was militantly opposed to the war and this was generally known throughout the Russian empire. The Bolshevik deputies in the Duma (the impotent parliamentary body set up by the tsarist autocracy) voted against the war credits and were duly sent to exile in Siberia. In the factories, the small and hushed circles of Bolsheviks grew larger and more vocal as the initial patriotic fervor gave way to war-weariness and hostility to the tsarist regime. Precisely because the Bolsheviks had courageously opposed the social-patriotism of the masses in 1914, three years later they were able to lead the mass of workers in socialist revolution, replacing the Romanov autocracy and the bourgeois liberal government of Aleksandr Kerensky with a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets).

Social-patriotism cannot be fully or adequately explained by the careerist ambitions and/or political cowardice of various leading figures in the workers movement. The large majority of worker militants in West and Central Europe—heads of local unions, shop stewards, secretaries of socialist party branches—strongly supported the war while still regarding themselves as good socialists or good syndicalists. German Social Democrats saw themselves defending their organizations—and therefore the future of socialism in Germany—against tsarist Russian imperialism. French socialists and syndicalists believed they were defending the future social revolution in France against the imperialism of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany. The ideological root cause of social-patriotism in the First World War lay in the essentially *national* conception of social revolution prevalent in all major tendencies of the European workers movement.

Polemicizing against Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" as applied to Soviet Russia in the 1920s, Trotsky observed that pre-1914 German Social Democracy had also believed in socialism in one country:

> "The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a legitimate patriotism to their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of the highly developed German technology and the superior organizational qualities of the German people, the German social democracy prepared to build its 'own' socialist society. If we leave aside the hardened bureaucrats, careerists, parliamentary sharpers, and political crooks in general, the social-patriotism of the rank and file social democrat was derived precisely from the belief in building German socialism. It is impossible to think that hundreds of thousands of rank and file social democrats (let alone the millions of rank and file workers) wanted to defend the Hohenzollerns [ruling dynasty] or the bourgeoisie. No. They wanted to protect German industry, the German railways and highways, German technology and culture, and especially the organizations of the German working class, as the 'necessary and sufficient' national prerequisites for socialism."
>
> —*The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

Exactly the same could be said of French nationalism and the French syndicalists. Indeed, the syndicalists were even more explicit in espousing a nationally self-sufficient workers revolution. The CGT's 1906 Charter of Amiens declared: "The trade union, which is today a fighting organization, will in the future be an organization for production and distribution, and the basis for social reorganization." Neither in this statement of basic principles nor in any other programmatic document did the French syndicalists project that such a social reorganization would or should be on a

no credit

Russian and Austrian soldiers fraternizing at the front in 1917. Increasing war-weariness led to radicalization of European masses.

Europe-wide and ultimately worldwide basis. Nor did they consider how long a social revolution in France could survive if the rest of Europe, centrally Germany, remained capitalist.

The emphasis on decentralization and local autonomy central to anarchist and syndicalist doctrine made these movements prone to national forms of organization. The Socialist International, founded in 1889, was a federation of national parties. An attempt in 1907 to form a rival anarchist international was stillborn. The syndicalist movement—numbering tens of thousands of militants in various countries in this period—had no international body at all.

What "proletarian internationalism" meant in the syndicalist movement was mutual support among workers organizations that were essentially national in character. The leaders of the French CGT were ever willing to defend, through financial contributions and publicity, Italian or American syndicalist militants who were being persecuted by their own bourgeois states. But it would have been unthinkable for French syndicalists that the leaders of Unione Sindacale Italiana or the American IWW should have a decisive say in determining the program and policies of the French workers movement. And of course the reverse was just as true.

The *contradiction* in French syndicalism between its anti-militarism and hostility to imperialism on the one hand and its nationally limited concept of social revolution on the other was exploded by the First World War. Some leading syndicalists like Monatte and Rosmer moved forward to Communist internationalism; others such as Jouhaux and eventually Merrheim moved backward to trade-union reformism.

Dietz Verlag

Revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg, shown speaking in 1907, denounced growing conservatism of German Social Democratic Party leaders even before the war.

Kropotkin and Anarcho-Chauvinism

The material pressures underlying social-patriotism in the mass workers organizations were not applicable to the anarchist movement, made up as it was of relatively small groups of adherents to this philosophy. Kropotkin, Jean Grave, Max Nettlau and the other pro-war anarchists were not motivated by bureaucratic careerism, nor were they confronted with pervasive chauvinist prejudices among their rank-and-file supporters. Quite the contrary. The large majority of anarchists were appalled by the bellicosity of Kropotkin and his co-thinkers.

They were also greatly puzzled by it. Errico Malatesta accused his old comrade of a kind of political amnesia: "Kropotkin seems to have forgotten the antagonism of the classes, the necessity of economic emancipation, and all the anarchist teachings" (quoted in *The Anarchist Prince*). A group of Russian anarchists in Switzerland found the support by prominent anarchists to the Western imperialist states and their tsarist allies to be "totally incomprehensible." Many non-anarchist leftists voiced similar views, among them Lenin, who had respected Kropotkin's idealism. When Kropotkin died in 1921, having returned to Russia from England, Lenin commented to Alfred Rosmer: "It's a pity that at the end of his life there was an inexplicable lapse into chauvinism" (quoted in *Lenin's Moscow* [1971]).

B.D. Vigilev

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Lenin and Trotsky became leaders of the left wing of the international workers movement during World War I.

So where did the phenomenon of anarcho-chauvinism come from? As we have previously indicated, by the 1890s the anarchist movement, launched by Mikhail Bakunin a generation earlier, had divided into two main currents. The propagandists, best represented by Kropotkin, devoted themselves to expounding the principles of anarchism in books and pamphlets, public talks and educational classes. The syndicalists concentrated their efforts on organizing and building trade unions.

Once it became clear that anarchists like Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus and his son Paul, Jean Grave and Max Nettlau neither advocated nor practiced individual terrorism, they gained a certain acceptance in bourgeois intellectual circles. The anarchist propagandists thus came to inhabit the world of universities, academic journals and scholarly societies. Their day-to-day lives were indistinguishable from the bourgeois intellectuals with whom they constantly interacted and engaged in "civilized" debate over social and political theory.

Kropotkin's home in the London suburb of Bromley became a salon for "progressive" representatives of the European intelligentsia like the Anglo-Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw and Danish literary critic Georg Brandes. The Kropotkin who regularly attended meetings of the posh Royal Geographical Society was a far cry from the young radical agitator who worked among artisans and factory workers in Switzerland and France and declared, "Everything is good for us that falls outside legality."

The anarchists dogmatically maintained that any leftist militant who became a parliamentary deputy or salaried trade-union official would inevitably abandon his principles and accommodate himself to the bourgeois order. Yet leading anarchist intellectuals were in their own way corrupted and co-opted into bourgeois society. They had replaced social struggle in the streets, factories and rural villages with academic debate. Like Social Democratic parliamentarians and syndicalist union officials, Kropotkin and other prominent anarchist propagandists became habituated to the "liberal" bourgeois order in West and Central Europe in the era before World War I. Hence they defended their "own" capitalist states which they had come to accept, albeit not in a fully conscious way, as guardians of their political freedom and intellectual respectability.

A significant exception was Errico Malatesta, who remained involved with the workers movement in his native Italy, where he and his comrades often operated under conditions of illegality. At one point Malatesta was convicted of belonging to a "seditious association" and imprisoned on the island of Lampedusa but managed to escape and make his way back to London. This veteran Bakuninist—the last of the footloose revolutionary adventurers of mid-19th century Europe—was increasingly critical of the literary and peaceable direction which the anarchist movement was taking. He wrote in 1906:

> "It seems to me today that the anarchists have let themselves fall into the opposite fault to the violent excesses. We now need rather to react against a certain tendency to compromise and a quiet life which is displayed in our circle. It is more necessary now to revive the languishing revolutionary ardor, the spirit of sacrifice, the love of risk."
>
> —quoted in James Joll, *The Anarchists* (1964)

But a revival of revolutionary ardor and the spirit of self-sacrifice did not occur in the anarchist movement, which a decade later splintered under the impact of the First World War. Rather the revival of revolutionary ardor found its expression in the newly formed Communist International. The Bolshevik-led proletarian seizure of state power in Russia in October 1917 had an electrifying effect on advanced workers and radical leftists—not only in Europe and America but also in the colonial world, where militant workers, anti-colonial fighters, emancipated women and leftist intellectuals flocked to the banner of Communism.

The founding of the Communist International in 1919 not only polarized the Socialist parties, whose best elements sought to become Communists (while the worst would make a career of anti-Communism up to and including the physical liquidation of revolutionaries). It had a similarly fundamental effect on the anarchists and syndicalists: the revolutionary elements either rallied to the side of the October Revolution (e.g., Victor Serge, Alfred Rosmer and American IWW leader James P. Cannon, later the founder of American Trotskyism) or found themselves abruptly marginalized as footnotes to history, which was the fate of such once-promising organizations as the IWW or the Socialist Labour Party based in Scotland.

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For Mass Pickets to Defeat the Strikebreakers!

Winnipeg, Canada: Cops Brutally Attack Boeing Strikers

VANCOUVER—Minutes after midnight on July 11, dozens of Winnipeg cops waded into a picket line of Boeing workers who had just walked out on strike. Picketers were clubbed to the ground and sprayed directly in the face with pepper gas. An amateur videotape, played on Canadian national TV, showed a cop viciously pummeling a unionist who was being held down by four other cops. Striking members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 2169 were brutally kicked as they lay pepper-gassed on the ground.

Describing how the cops locked handcuffed strikers into police wagons and then continued to spray them, one striker said bitterly, "They were really enjoying what was going on." Even as picketers desperately tried to douse their eyes with water from street puddles, a police supervisor *stopped* a 911 operator from calling an ambulance. Now, 13 picketers are charged with causing a disturbance! As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a protest letter to Winnipeg's chief of police, "It is an outrage that the victims of this cop violence are being prosecuted for defending their picket line and themselves.... We demand that all the charges against the 13 members of CAW Local 2169 be dropped immediately."

The police assault on Boeing workers was a naked demonstration of the role of the strikebreaking cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state. Yet the response of a leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party was to call on the cops' masters in the Justice Department to conduct a "review." Meanwhile, the *Vancouver Sun* (20 July) reports that the head of the Manitoba Federation of Labor "said a public inquiry is needed to discourage future violence." What is needed to "discourage" the cops' violent strikebreaking attacks is the mobilization of labor power in mass pickets surrounding the Boeing plant!

The 850 Boeing workers are on strike against the company's union-busting plans to get rid of high-seniority workers. This comes in the wake of a 69-day strike against Boeing plants in the U.S. last fall. The U.S. strike was called off by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) tops who, throughout the strike, tried to divert workers' anger into chauvinist protectionist appeals for a "partnership" between the union, the company and Clinton's White House to "save American jobs."

As we noted at the time, "The IAM brass would sooner pit U.S. workers against 'foreigners' than call for joint strike action that necessarily threatens the profitability of U.S. capitalism" ("Boeing Strike Called Off as Bosses Were Hurting," *WV* No. 636, 5 January). Likewise the leaders of the CAW, who have been in the forefront of mobilizing Maple Leaf flag-waving protests to "save Canadian jobs," kept Boeing workers in Winnipeg on the job throughout the U.S. strike. Now Canadian cops are busting picketers' heads in Winnipeg to ensure that Boeing production in the U.S. can continue.

The Winnipeg Boeing plant produces composite wing components which are critical for the company's Seattle-based operations. When strikers tried to stop trucks from crossing the lines, the cops went on their rampage. Under cop protection, Boeing has succeeded in shipping out nearly 50 semi-trailers loaded with production equipment, about 40 percent of the facility's capacity, to the main plant in Seattle. The only "solidarity" the IAM tops have offered the Canadian Boeing strikers is to have Seattle Boeing workers wear black arm bands!

Militant mass pickets are needed to stop the scabs and their police protectors. U.S. Boeing workers, as well as Teamsters, rail and all transport workers, must refuse to handle Boeing parts from Canada. This is a chance for Boeing workers in the U.S. to rip up the lousy sellout foisted on them by the IAM misleaders and go out in joint strike action. What stands in the way of such a class-struggle fight are the union tops who tie the interests of the working class to their capitalist exploiters with their racist protectionism. The task is to forge a class-struggle leadership of the unions as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that unites workers internationally in the struggle to sweep away all the capitalist bosses. ■

Italy...

(continued from page 6)

activities and dangerous situations to the attention of the city cops and the carabinieri"!

And when RC staged its Milano *Liberazione* festival on July 12, one of the speakers at this "Communist" gathering was city councilman Philippe Daverio, a member of the Northern League. A comrade of the LTd'I protested this racist's presence: "The Northern League organizes fascistic Green Shirts to beat up immigrants, sends the police against the Leoncavallo social center, calls all immigrants drug-pushers and all immigrant women prostitutes. A party which invites this racist scum to speak is not a communist party!" Inviting the racist Northern League to its events is nothing new for RC, which simultaneously uses physical force to prevent the LTd'I from distributing revolutionary propaganda to RC members.

The Left: Popular Front and "Death of Communism"

Most of the Italian left has moved sharply to the right under the influence of the imperialists' "death of communism" campaign following the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. The Italian section of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) enthusiastically supports the RC leadership; Italian USec leader Livio Maitan voted for confidence in the

La Repubblica

Cops attack October 1994 workers demonstration in Rome against government austerity.

Prodi government like all the rest of RC. The followers of Ted Grant in Italy, who are buried in RC, enthused over Ulivo's electoral victory: "It is correct and normal that millions of workers react to this result with satisfaction and that they celebrated in the principal Italian cities" (*Falce Martello*, 25 April). The same article promises support to this capitalist government "when they carry out correct measures."

The small group around *Voce Operaia* (*VO*) is the most flagrant example of capitulation to the "death of communism." They have now decided to completely throw out the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, stating in the May 1996 issue of *VO*:

> "The Western proletariat has changed its composition and nature and has become in large part a bourgeois proletariat, a labor aristocracy that benefits from and is complicit in imperialist exploitation. Such a class could never have carried out a socialist revolution in the conditions existing in the imperialist countries during the decades after the Second World War."

So *VO* writes off the possibility of the proletariat in the imperialist countries playing any revolutionary role. This lie serves to justify the betrayals of the Stalinists and the social democrats after World War II in Italy, Greece and France; again in May 1968 in France; in the "hot autumn" of 1969 in Italy, and on many other occasions. In the eyes of *VO*, "The 'Trotskyist' movement that emerged to fight against both [Stalinism and social democracy] and to build a new revolutionary international has failed under the weight of its historic mission" (*VO*, April 1996). *VO* goes on to denounce Trotsky's "errors" in the Transitional Program, proclaiming: "The bourgeoisie in this century has been much more revolutionary than many so-called revolutionaries spread out over the world."

Another fake-Trotskyist group inside RC is centered around the newspaper *Proposta* and led by Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando. The role played by these self-styled "Trotskyists" is truly insidious, as they provide "leftist" arguments on behalf of the RC leadership with the aim of convincing recalcitrant members of RC to support the popular front. After RC supported the Prodi government, *Proposta* presented a left face and claimed to be in "opposition." Yet it remained buried inside RC even as RC played a critical role in providing a majority for the new government and then supported Prodi's austerity bill. While discontent among RC's base grows over the leadership's continual bowing and scraping, *Proposta* has systematically called for a vote for Ulivo—as it did previously for the "Progressives."

Proposta's support to the popular front is longstanding. In January 1995, it even called for a vote to the Vatican's Partito Popolare. The following May it declared the "main task of communists" to be opposition to the rightist prime minister at the time, Berlusconi. Last year, *Proposta* supporters within the RC leadership even stood to the right of the RC majority, arguing to support the Dini government against a motion of no confidence because the motion had been raised by the right (*Corriere della Sera*, 24 October 1995).

The current popular-front government in Italy is particularly right-wing, but *any* popular front represents a betrayal of the interests of workers, minorities and all the oppressed. As a formation politically dominated by the bourgeoisie, the popular front in government remains within the limits of capitalism, subordinating the interests of the working class to the interests of big capital. The half measures which it sometimes takes will make everybody unhappy, from the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie to the proletariat, thereby opening the road to the open forces of reaction to put themselves forward as the "opposition" to total ruin. The popular front lulls the workers with the illusion of a capitalist solution to their problems, thereby undermining their class consciousness and demoralizing them.

The LTd'I's irreconcilable fight against the popular front has provided it with a hearing among leftist youth, including the more serious members at the base of RC. Those RC members who want to fight for a socialist future must draw the lessons of the betrayals of the PCI and RC and break with the popular front. The place for those militants who want to fight for socialist revolution is in the LTd'I, where they can join in the struggle to build a Trotskyist vanguard party as part of a reforged Fourth International. ■

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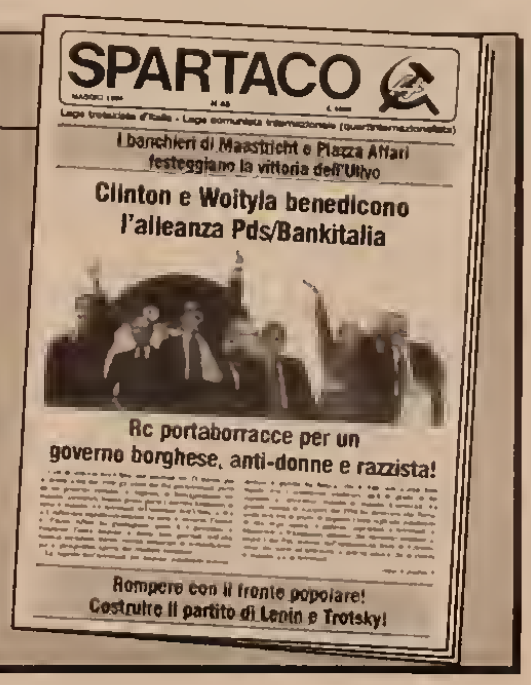


Immigrants...

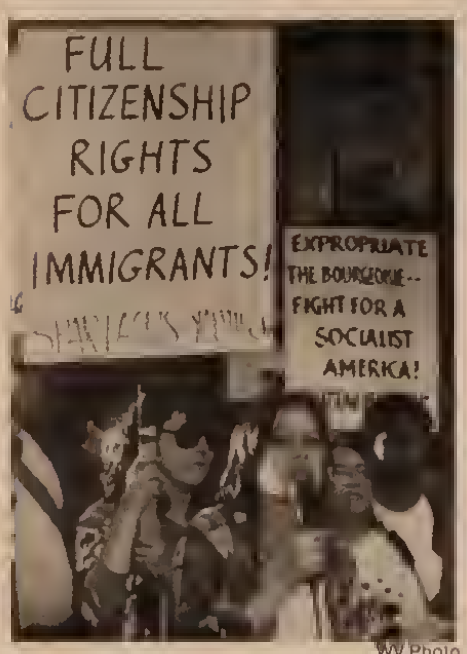
(continued from page 1)

who made it to this country has the right to stay. Full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants!

Black misleaders like Nation of Islam head Louis Farrakhan have abetted the ruling-class war on immigrants by sowing nativist chauvinism among the black population. Farrakhan's tirades against Asians, Arabs and Jews play right into the bosses' insidious "divide and rule" schemes. Likewise, various black demagogues in California who supported Prop. 187 argued that Latinos are "stealing" jobs and social services from blacks. As we wrote at the time in "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994):

> "While the anti-Latino nature of Prop. 187 is perfectly obvious, it is less clear to many that this measure is part of a broader racist offensive whose *main and central target is the black ghetto poor.* Depriving 'illegal' immigrants of food stamps and their children of school lunches will *legitimize eliminating these programs entirely.* The bipartisan drive to 'end welfare as we know it,' in the words of Bill Clinton, has been given an enormous boost by the passage of Prop. 187."

Months later the same forces that were behind Prop. 187 began pushing a new initiative—to be voted on in November—aimed at overturning affirmative



WV Photo

San Francisco, April 5: Demonstration against videotaped cop beating of Mexican migrant workers.

action programs in California. Now, the "welfare reform" bill has been passed with an overwhelming *bipartisan* majority by Congress.

From "New Deal" to Raw Deal

The social programs which are now being completely disbanded by the capitalist rulers were introduced as part of Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal." In the face of an upsurge of militant workers' struggle in the 1930s—many of them led by members of the Communist Party, Trotskyists and other leftists—these programs were introduced to quell social unrest through ameliorating some of the more devastating effects of capitalist exploitation. Similarly, the "war on poverty" programs of the 1960s were designed to buy some social peace at a time of massive and widespread ghetto upheavals and the rise of radical black groups such as the Black Panther Party, as well as to co-opt a layer of civil rights activists.

Arellano/El Diario-La Prensa

Desperate immigrants wait outside federal offices in New York City in hope of securing legal residency.

In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the ruling class feels it no longer needs even the façade of any measures of social justice to hold up as a "democratic" capitalist alternative to Communism. At the same time, the imperialist powers are no longer bound together by an anti-Soviet consensus dominated by Washington. Today the barons of Wall Street want to dispense with the overhead of even a minimal social welfare program, as they gear up for heightened competition with their chief imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany.

America's capitalist rulers now think they have free rein to rip up any and all social programs. This is conditioned by the absence of any significant social struggle and in particular by the prostration of the pro-capitalist labor tops in the face of two decades of savage attacks on trade unions, jobs and wages. The income gap between the fabulously wealthy few at the top and the increasingly impoverished masses of working people at the bottom is today wider than it has ever been.

Refusing even to defend the narrow economic interests of their own members, the union misleaders turn a blind eye to the all-sided assault on welfare mothers, ghetto youth, immigrants and the poor. In going after the most vulnerable sectors of society, the racist rulers target *all* working people. Axing welfare programs has little or nothing to do with "saving tax dollars." Rather, the aim is to further drive down wages. As an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 July) noted, "A flood of welfare recipients into the job market would depress pay for millions of other low-wage workers." Meanwhile, the widespread creation of phony "workfare" programs has meant a direct attack on municipal unions. In New York City over the past couple of years, 17,000 unionized jobs have been slashed, with welfare recipients now being forced to do the same work at a fraction of the cost.

The attacks on welfare are also part of the racist rulers' drive to promote divisions within the working class. This is what is behind the racist equation of blacks with welfare, even though the vast majority of welfare recipients are white. Similarly, stigmatizing immigrants as "freeloaders" is aimed at isolating them in order to maintain a pool of superexploited and unorganized workers, in constant fear of deportation, to slave at subminimum wages in the sweatshops, fields and factories. By whipping up a climate of racist reaction, the capitalists seek to ratchet up the rate of exploitation of the entire working class.

Fomenting raw racist hatred has long been a fundamental prop for maintaining the brutal system of capitalist exploitation in the U.S. Well into the 20th century, the American bourgeoisie pushed anti-immigrant bigotry to divide the industrial working class. Following the mass migration of blacks to the North beginning around World War I, anti-immigrant xenophobia was supplanted by anti-black racism. Today the racist rulers seek to pit white against black, and all against the desperate immigrant.

AP

Helihole detention center in Elizabeth, New Jersey: scene of cop riot against asylum seekers in 1995.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The assault on immigrant rights is part and parcel of an escalating drive to reinforce the repressive powers of the capitalist state. Despite the lack of any real social struggle, the rulers are cognizant that the massive income disparity has generated seething anger at the bottom of this society. Fearing explosions of discontent, to preserve their rule they must bring the iron heel of repression down harder. That is what's behind the "war on drugs" which targets ghetto youth and the "war on terrorism" which is particularly aimed at immigrants. The rulers calculate that they can get away with going after the most vulnerable layers of society, who have little or no social power. But the massive increase in repression is ultimately aimed at the workers movement, as evidenced in the rapid growth of professional strikebreaking outfits.

The capitalist class is emboldened by the abject refusal of the labor misleaders to lift a finger in defense of the oppressed. Fighting for the rights of immigrant workers is necessary not only as a defense of democratic rights, but is key to revitalizing the decimated trade-union movement. Particularly in California, Latino workers have played a militant and combative role in labor struggles. Mobilizing the social power of the working class to fight against deportations and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is essential to any serious drive to organize the unorganized.

Despite decades of deindustrialization and mass layoffs which have hit the black proletariat particularly hard, black workers still constitute a disproportionately large section of the trade-union movement. These black proletarians can serve as an important bridge to link the power of organized labor to the defense of the ghetto poor. The fight to win jobs, housing, decent health care and education for all will take the mobilization of the working class, leading behind it the oppressed ghetto and barrio masses, in a revolutionary struggle against the whole system of capitalist exploitation.

This requires a political struggle against the AFL-CIO misleaders who police the unions on behalf of the capitalist bosses and tie the workers to the racist Democratic Party. Far from fighting anti-immigrant racism, the trade-union bureaucrats foster chauvinist prejudices with their drive for trade protectionism, which scapegoats foreign workers for the loss of jobs in the U.S. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party which fights to sweep away this system of racism, repression and poverty, replacing it with an egalitarian socialist society. ■

Defend Ann Arbor Anti-Klan Protesters!

Five of the people arrested in the June 22 demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan still face felony charges; conviction could mean as much as four years per count (see "Ann Arbor: Drop Charges Against Anti-Klan Eight!" *WV* No. 648, 5 July). The Anti Fascist Defense Fund has been set up to help defray legal expenses. Send contributions to: P.O. Box 2635, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Turkey...

(continued from page 2)

Turkish state keep its bloody hands off Turkish and Kurdish leftist prisoners. For 70 days over 2,000 prisoners, including women militants, have been on hunger strike and 315 of those are even refusing to take liquids. They are protesting against the horrendous conditions faced by political prisoners in the Turkish police state. As we write this, eleven prisoners have already died and many more are at immediate risk of dying. Many are reported to be in comas, with no chance of ever fully recovering.

The prisoners' 31 demands include an immediate stop to torture; a stop to the mistreatment and harassment of visitors; the abolition of disciplinary penalties which include arbitrary extensions of prison terms; removal of prisoners from isolation cells and free access to the media. They are also protesting against the new "Stammheim" high-tech prisons. Such 21st-century torture chambers were used by the German state to kill RAF [Red Army Faction] prisoners.

We demand that the prisoners' series of demands be met in full and the death squad army units stay out of the jails. Lift the ban on Devrimci Sol, the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and other left-wing political groups! Stop the murderous attacks on the Kurds, Alawites, other minorities, workers and youth! Free all leftist political prisoners! Free Kurdish political prisoners and all victims of Turkish state terror!

Spartacist Youth Groups
of the International
Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

Russian Elections...

(continued from page 7)

the game—e.g., that CEOs don't simply get offed by their competitors. And, of course, the same holds true for executives of multinationals and foreign banks operating in Russia.

The elections indicated that Russia's new exploiters are beginning to cohere as a politically conscious class. In late April, 13 major bankers, oil tycoons and industrial barons issued a barely veiled appeal that the elections—which had provoked warnings of civil war on all sides—be called off in favor of "a political compromise that can prevent acute conflicts that threaten Russia's basic interests" (*Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, 22 May). The proposed compromise was the formation of a broad coalition government including the KPRF, on the condition that it "not insist that society repudiate the hard-won achievements of the past decade." The statement ended by warning that "our country's entrepreneurs have the necessary resources and will to influence both politicians who are too unprincipled and politicians who are too uncompromising." The call for a coalition government was also taken up by Zyuganov and Lebed.

What is clear here is that until the Western imperialists weighed in heavily, many of Russia's new capitalists were not wedded to Yeltsin's re-election. But thanks to the deep pockets of the International Monetary Fund, Yeltsin was able to piece off those sectors of the new exploiters, who in the end united behind his candidacy.

Centrists in the Camp of Russian Chauvinism

When Yeltsin seized the reins of political power in August 1991, the ICL declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" In contrast, much of the left internationally enthused over the "democratic" capitalist-restorationist forces led by Yeltsin and supported by the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. Today, with Yeltsin widely despised, not only in Russia but even in mainstream Western social-democratic and liberal circles, many fake lefts have hopped on the KPRF bandwagon.

A prime example is the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group, which called for a "critical vote" to Zyuganov's KPRF as "an instrument of pressure for workers immediate needs and demands" (*Workers Power*, June 1996). Even while conceding that "its main ideological core is its repeatedly proclaimed patriotism," Workers Power prettifies the KPRF as a "bourgeois workers party" with "both historic and current links to the degenerated workers' state and the working class."

WP's ludicrous assertion that Russia remains a degenerated workers state is little more than a cynical cover for its earlier shameless *support* to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Moreover, the idea that the KPRF is any kind of workers party is a complete fiction. Unlike the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Poland and Hungary, which transformed themselves into social-democratic parties linked to the trade-union movement, the KPRF is *not* based on or organically tied to the mass organizations of the working class, and it does not even claim to represent the class interests of the proletariat.

WP praises Zyuganov's outfit for stopping the fascist demagogue Zhirinovsky "from monopolising the discontent of millions." In fact, the KPRF has largely *supplanted* Zhirinovsky with similar chauvinist/populist appeals. For years, the Russian Stalinist has-beens have cohabited with outright fascists in a "red-brown coalition." Zyuganov himself is a virtual embodiment of this grotesque bloc: he is a former head of the fascistic Russian National Sobor and a prominent figure in the "left-right" National Salvation Front.

Having called on Russian workers to vote for the KPRF candidate, Workers Power then cynically proclaimed—after he lost!—that "Zyuganov does not deserve the confidence of those millions...who voted for him," remarking that "Zyuganov's thoughts on religion, patriotism and Russia's national destiny have been widely denounced as un-Marxist" (*Workers Power*, July-August 1996). "Un-Marxist"?! Zyuganov is a raving Russian chauvinist. One of his chief advisers is the rabid anti-Semite Aleksandr Prokhanov. And Zyuganov himself is no less an anti-Semite. His tract *I Believe in Russia* sounds like it was lifted straight from the anti-Semitic tsarist forgery, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which has again become a bible for Russian chauvinists. Zyuganov rants:

> "Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour. The Jewish Diaspora traditionally controlled the financial life of the [European] continent and became more and more the owner of the controlling interest in all the stocks of Western civilization and its socioeconomic system."
>
> —quoted in *New York Review of Books* (23 May)

Russian Nationalism and Sham "Anti-Imperialism"

As Geoffrey Hosking, a professor of Russian history at the University of London, pointed out: "If one disregards the rhetoric for a moment, however, then much of the difference between Yeltsin and the Communists vanishes" (London *Independent*, 5 April). Why, then, the hostility toward the KPRF among the NATO powers? To some measure, the imperialists were concerned that a KPRF electoral victory might lead to increased expectations among the downtrodden Russian masses. But the fake-lefts' pollyannish assertions to the contrary, there is no reason to believe that this would have taken the form of class struggle. The KPRF's appeal is based on Russian chauvinism with a veneer of populist rhetoric. A Zyuganov victory would likely have intensified chauvinist backwardness within the working class.

Truhanenko/NY Times

"Free market" misery: coal miners in Vladivostok protest non-payment of wages.

More importantly, the NATO powers opposed the KPRF not because it stands for communism in any sense but rather because it represents Russian imperialist ambitions. Even under Yeltsin, there have been serious tensions between Washington and Moscow, for example, over the expansion of NATO into East Europe and the interests of American oil companies in the Caucasian oil fields. The KPRF's talk of "restoring the Soviet Union" is in fact a call for an expanded Russian-dominated imperialist state.

The small British Socialist Action group, formerly a denizen of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat swamp, openly embraces the KPRF's chauvinist "patriotism." Its position in this regard is both more intellectually honest and more reactionary than that of Workers Power. An article in *Socialist Action* (April-May 1996) lays out the core of its position, that defense of the Russian state against Western imperialist influence and pressure is in the present historic juncture progressive:

> "With Russia's existence once again threatened, progressive patriotic demands, such as opposing NATO expansion and rejecting IMF interference in economic policy, are therefore completely entwined with the other demands necessary to defend the Russian people from social, economic and national catastrophe."

As the Chechen war so clearly demonstrates, the main targets of Russian nationalism are not the NATO powers and IMF but the *non-Russian* peoples of the former USSR. Far from being some sort of ersatz "anti-imperialism," the KPRF's chauvinist program reflects the real interests of the new Russian bourgeoisie, which understands that to build a capitalist state strong enough to play a world role requires that it dominate and exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of the Ukraine, the oil fields of the Caucasus, the mineral wealth of Kazakhstan and the cotton fields of Central Asia. And that is the *common program* of Yeltsin, Lebed, Zyuganov and Zhirinovsky. Thus the position of Socialist Action amounts to support for Russian subjugation and oppression of the Ukrainians, Azeris, Georgians, Uzbeks, etc.

For self-described leftists to vie with nationalist demagogues in East Europe and the former USSR on their own chauvinist terrain can only further disorient the working class and strengthen the system of capitalist exploitation to the benefit of world imperialism. The Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, culminating in counterrevolution, offers a powerful if negative proof that the interests of the working class can only be defended with the perspective of international proletarian revolution. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (August 1993):

> "The proletariat which made the October Revolution learned from Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks that it was part of an international struggle. It understood that its only prospect for survival lay in the extension of the revolution to more advanced industrial powers....
>
> "Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution can the workers of the former Soviet Union cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the grotesque horrors they now confront." ■

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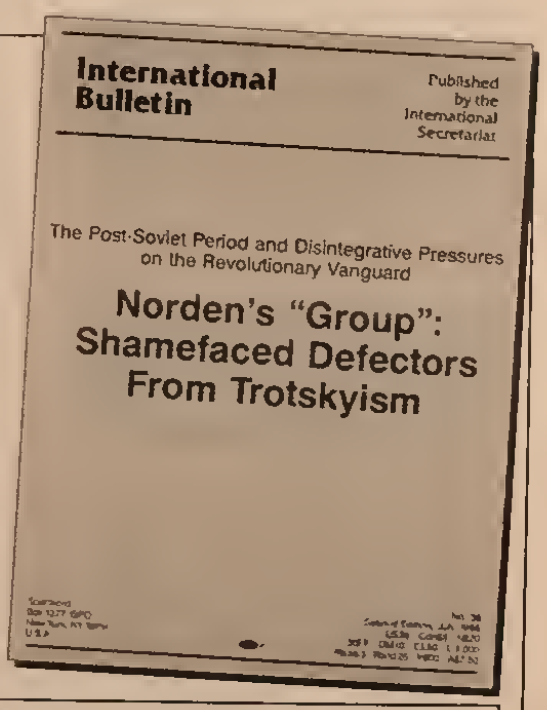

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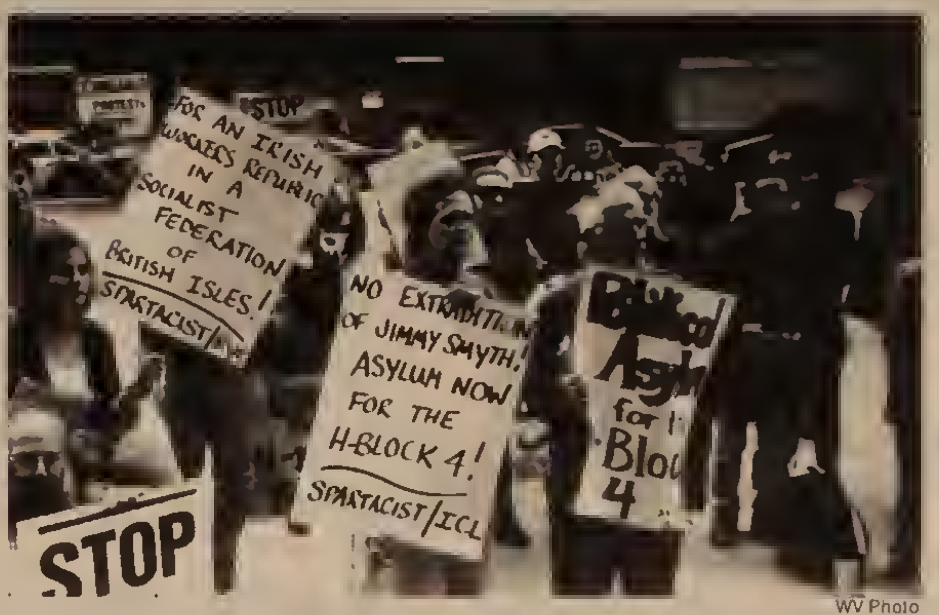
Asylum Now for the "H-Block Four"!

No Extradition of Jimmy Smyth!

We reprint below a letter by the Partisan Defense Committee protesting the impending extradition of Jimmy Smyth and the three other members of the "H-Block Four." After escaping from British imperialism's H-Block dungeon in Northern Ireland and fleeing to the U.S., Smyth was arrested in San Francisco in 1992. Last year, the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed an earlier decision by a U.S. District Court blocking his extradition. On July 2, Smyth's appeal against extradition was rejected. Two weeks later, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor turned down his request for time to prepare an appeal for political asylum. Secretary of State Warren Christopher may sign an extradition order at any time.



WV Photo

San Francisco, July 15: Demonstration against threatened extradition of Jimmy Smyth.

14 July 1996

Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that Jimmy Smyth be granted asylum in the United States. We demand the immediate release from federal prison in California of Smyth together with the rest of the "H-Block Four," Kevin Barry Artt, Peter Joseph Kirby and Pol Brennan. We protest the attempt to extradite these four, whose only "crime" was to be born poor and members of an oppressed Catholic minority in a country occupied by the British imperialist army. Smyth has been living in San Francisco as an ordinary working person since 1984. Following his release on $1.5 million bail from two years in prison after he was hounded down by the U.S. government, Smyth has been quietly renovating houses with his girlfriend and tending bar. Acting in concert with the British, the U.S. has spent well over a million dollars to extradite him.

Smyth continues to proclaim his innocence of the attempted murder of an off-duty security guard in Northern Ireland. He was convicted in 1972 by one of the many special "juryless" star chamber trials where 97 percent of cases result in conviction and 90 percent of those were based on "confessions" extracted under torture. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison, but in 1983 he was among 38 prisoners who escaped in the biggest break-out in British history. He has every reason to fear for his life if he is extradited back to the infamous H-Block torture chamber in Northern Ireland.

While imprisoned, Smyth took part in the historic "blanket protests" in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison, refusing to wear convict uniforms unless the British government recognized the captured nationalists as political prisoners. Under these hellish conditions, prisoners protested through hunger strikes. Smyth's cellmate, Raymond McCreesh, died of starvation as did internationally known Bobby Sands in May 1981.

Smyth presented evidence in his extradition hearings showing that the same guards who assaulted and tortured prisoners while he was there still remain at their posts. The H-Block Four focused unprecedented attention on the disgraceful history of torture, repression and murder by the British government in Northern Ireland.

No extradition of Jimmy Smyth! Grant asylum now for Smyth, Artt, Kirby, Brennan and all victims of British imperialist repression!

Sincerely,
Kathy Ikegami

cc: President Bill Clinton
U.S. Attorney General of the Northern District
Irish American Unity Conference

Ireland...

(continued from page 16)

Protestant and Catholic workers.

The recent sham elections to the Stormont "forum," which excludes Sinn Féin but admits the Loyalist paramilitaries, confirms that Major is playing the "Orange card" for all it is worth. In this he has the full backing of the Labour Parties in Britain and Ireland. So-called "respectable" Unionist leaders like David Trimble, a veteran of last year's "Siege of Drumcree," are leading fascistic mobs in Portadown. Virulent anti-Catholic enmity is being whipped up by Loyalist demagogues like Ian Paisley, who portrayed the ban on the Orange march as a sellout to the Dublin government, and spoke ominously of the situation as a "powderkeg."

Sinn Féin's chimera of a "negotiated" settlement, under the good offices of U.S. imperialism and the government of the clericalist state in southern Ireland, is in the process of being shattered against the harsh reality of Loyalist resistance. The current conflagration starkly reveals Sinn Féin's nationalist strategy, shared by both the "armed struggle" wing and the Gerry Adams "negotiating" wing, as a complete dead end. Particularly since the end of the IRA ceasefire, both Catholics and Protestants fear and dread the resumption of sectarian murder by the Loyalist paramilitaries and the IRA, likely on a much worse scale than before. The IRA's criminal bombings in London and Manchester have fuelled anti-Irish chauvinism in Britain, which is poisonous to the working class.

Whether through "armed struggle" or "negotiation," nationalists inevitably seek a solution within the framework of capitalism and imperialism, which today includes the palpable possibility of a "Bosnia-type" scenario, i.e., communalist war. Forced population transfers are a real possibility, in which Protestants, given their relative weight in the population, would be concentrated east of the Bann, and Catholics concentrated in the western part of the province towards Derry. The term "ethnic cleansing" was invoked repeatedly this week, as Catholic families were forced from their homes, and schools and churches were firebombed; Protestant families in Catholic areas are also under threat.

In Portadown, spokesperson for Blair's contemptible Labour Party Mo Mowlam praised the Progressive Unionist Party—a front for the fascistic Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), whose band accompanied the triumphant Orangemen in their march through the town. Arthur Scargill's SLP claims to offer an alternative to Blair's New Labour Party, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army, but their "Little England" perspective is revealed by their failure to oppose the imperialist deal.

Lahourite left groups such as Tony Cliff's SWP and Militant have been busy peddling illusions in the British imperialist deal, refusing even to call for British troops out. In 1969 the SWP endorsed the troops being sent in by the Labour government in Britain, claiming it would provide a "breathing space" for the Catholics. This was as preposterous then as it is now. Catholics in Portadown, surrounded and imprisoned by the RUC and army, noted that more plastic bullets were fired on them in *minutes* than on Loyalists during four nights of rioting.

Militant and the Alliance for Workers Liberty (AWL) have been so infatuated with the imperialist "peace process" as to sponsor UVF murderer Billy Hutchinson in their meetings. Protesting outside one such meeting in London last month, Spartacist placards pointed out: "AWL Spits on Memory of Michael Loughran and Edward Morgan—Murdered by Hutchinson/UVF." Workers Power calls for the British Army to get out, but then simultaneously supports Labour (in Britain and Ireland), and the nationalist, capitalist strategy. They claim: "We recognise that a progressive solution requires that the working class come to the head of the national struggle. But that does not prevent us from solidarising with those who are fighting for independence under the banner of petit-bourgeois nationalism—i.e. a capitalist united Ireland" (*Workers Power*, April 1996). This vista of forcibly subjugating the Protestant community is reactionary and is being used by Loyalist leaders to inflame the situation today. Genuine Trotskyists oppose forcible reunification of Ireland and "self-determination" for one nation or grouping in the situation of interpenetrated peoples, where this can only be achieved at the expense of the other. In such situations, only workers revolution can bring about a just solution to national oppression, whereas capitalist solutions necessarily fan the flames of communalism.

Sygma

Clinton with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams.

The prevalence of sectarianism in the North is not proof of some unbridgeable religious divide, but is fostered by the hellish conditions of capitalist existence. While the Catholics are an oppressed minority, the condition of working-class Protestants is almost as bad, and the Loyalist paramilitaries are recruiting heavily from among lumpenised youth in the ghettos of Belfast. The working class have at times been able to achieve unity in struggle, such as the Belfast shipyard and engineering strike of 1919, or the struggles of the unemployed in the 1930s. In 1993 Protestant workers in the shipyards walked off the job on a couple of occasions, protesting the murder of Catholic workers by Hutchinson's UVF. Such openings are vital, and are conceivable even in the present period. However in the absence of a revolutionary leadership such class unity can be easily destroyed by state repression, Loyalism and Irish nationalism.

As communists we seek to intervene, attempting to alter the course of the conflict towards a class determination. We fight for workers revolution, on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. Our proletarian perspective requires an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the vicious clericalist state in the south in a struggle to establish a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. This requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties, rooted in the working class of all the peoples of these islands. ■

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 30.

WORKERS VANGUARD

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

Imperialist "Peace" Fraud Fuels Orange Terror

The bitter reality of the U.S.-brokered "peace deal" in Northern Ireland has been brought home in the recent rampages by frenzied mobs of the anti-Catholic Orange Order. In early July, gangs of Protestant "Loyalist" thugs shut down whole towns, attacking Catholic homes, to enforce their "right" to march through a Catholic enclave in Portadown. The July 11 Orange march was protected by the Loyalist-infested Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), who surrounded the Catholic area and terrorized Catholic protesters. The RUC and British troops then brutally suppressed Catholic protests which erupted throughout the North, killing one demonstrator, who was crushed under the wheels of a military vehicle in Derry.

The immediate precipitant to the savage renewal of communalist terror, overwhelmingly directed against the Catholic population but which also has the Protestant population living in fear, was the May "elections" in Northern Ireland called by British prime minister John Major. Hoping to placate the Ulster Unionist Party of David Trimble, whose votes are needed to maintain Major's deeply unpopular and weak Conservative government, these sham elections were called to determine who would be allowed to participate in the "peace" talks, which are headed by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain denounced this as an "Imperialist 'Peace' Deal Election Fraud" (*Workers Hammer* No. 151, July-August 1996).

Although candidates from Sinn Féin —associated with the Irish Republican Army (IRA)—got over 15 percent of the votes, their highest electoral poll ever, they were nonetheless excluded from the talks. While the British rulers continue to arrogantly demand that the IRA "decommission" its weapons as the price of admission, the "peace" talks have become a forum for Unionist terror, with Trimble standing at the head of the howling mob of Orangemen in Portadown. The emboldened Loyalists are now threatening to stage their "Apprentice Boys" march on August 12 through Derry, intending to take the same route they did in 1969, when a rampage by the RUC and Loyalist thugs against Derry's Catholic Bogside neighborhood provoked intense battles and led to the introduction of British troops. Three years later, British troops carried out the infamous 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry.

While much of the British left either refuses to oppose the British imperialist presence in Northern Ireland or tails after the Green nationalists of Sinn Féin, our comrades have consistently called for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops as part of a revolutionary-internationalist perspective. We reprint below a July 12 statement jointly issued by the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group.

Delay/AP

British Imperialism's Royal Ulster Constabulary cops brutalize Catholic protesters in Portadown, Northern Ireland, July 11.

Pressure in Northern Ireland is escalating to a frenzy of anti-Catholic hatred, whipped up by pogromist Loyalist mobs. For five days and nights thousands of rioting Loyalists massed at Drumcree in Portadown, and battled the British Army and RUC, who originally banned the Orange march from going through the Catholic enclave of Garvaghy Road. The day the ban was announced the body of a Catholic taxi-driver, Michael McGoldrick, was found in nearby Lurgan, bearing all the hallmarks of a Loyalist death squad assassination. Over the next days and nights Loyalist mobs repeatedly blockaded and effectively shut down entire towns and villages throughout the North; Catholic families have had to flee as their homes were burned out; from Belfast to Derry workers have been sent home early as public transport was cancelled and roads and bridges were shut.

After five days the ban was abruptly reversed and the RUC and British Army, in full riot gear, brutally cleared Catholic residents out of the way so that the thousands-strong Orange march could strut down the Garvaghy Road. Catholic residents protested this atrocity, but had their streets blockaded by Saracen armoured cars and were viciously attacked by the RUC with batons and plastic bullets. Afterwards one Catholic woman said bitterly, "We are second class citizens, and that's all we have ever been in this country."

We have repeatedly warned that: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November-December 1993). The grim truth of this statement is now being displayed in the streets of Northern Ireland—the Loyalists have been emboldened, the level of violence is escalating, and there is a widespread sense of foreboding. The Loyalist rampage is the direct fruit of the imperialist-brokered "peace deal," and is reminiscent of the reaction to the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974, or the Anglo-Irish Accord of the 1980s.

The "peace" fraud is premised on the blood-soaked British Army remaining in place—the British government has seized the opportunity to send in over 1,000 more troops, including from the Parachute regiment, murderers of 14 Catholics on Bloody Sunday in 1972. We demand: RUC/Army out of Catholic areas! British troops out of Northern Ireland now! A proletarian axis must prevail, as the only way out of the spiral of reaction. Not Orange against Green, but class against class! There is an urgent need for the formation of integrated workers militias—incorporating both Protestants and Catholics—to combat British Army and RUC rampages as well as sectarian terror, both Orange and Green. Forging such militias is integrally linked to the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party that has the confidence of both

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AFP

Police barricades protect Protestant Orange Order in provocative march through Catholic area of Belfast.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 650 | 30 August 1996

Welfare Axed—Medicare, Social Security Next

credits: Williamson/Washington Post; Johnson/Time; Wyman/Sygma; D. Michael Cheers

Clinton and Dole gloat over destruction of welfare, as millions are condemned to slave-labor "workfare" (left), starvation and homelessness.

Racist Rulers to Poor: Drop Dead!

From Clinton's White House to the Republican convention in San Diego, the two capitalist parties' August electoral maneuvering has been a carnival of cruelty—immigrant-bashing, racist attacks on blacks and Hispanics, vicious assaults on the poor—surrounded by massive hypocrisy. On August 22, Clinton put an end to 60 years of social welfare programs, signing into law the deadly anti-welfare bill passed by an overwhelming bipartisan majority in Congress in July. With a stroke of his pen, the yuppie racist president condemned several million women and children to starvation.

The new law completely eliminates the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, which provides a minimal lifeline for some 12 million people, more than two-thirds of them children. It also strikes at almost all of the 26 million people who get food stamps. New immigrants will be ineligible for any benefits until they have been here five years, while SSI benefits and food stamps will be denied to all immigrants unless they have worked for at least ten years. Welfare recipients will be restricted to a lifetime total of five years of benefits, and will be kicked off the rolls after two years to "find a job."

But for the vast majority of these people, there are no jobs to be found. Between 1993 and 1995, one in 14 people *lost* their jobs, and an article in the *New York Times* (25 August) reports that, by current projections, it would take *21 years* to create even minimum-wage "entry level" jobs for the 470,000 adults on welfare in New York City. *The destruction of welfare is a recipe for decimating the inner cities.* In Detroit, for example, fully one in four people rely on welfare for their survival. Not so long ago, Detroit was the "Motor City," a hub of economic activity for the biggest industry in the world. The devastation of Detroit's ghetto population is not the result of "babies having babies," as the racists rant, but of the destruction of the city's auto industry, which provided decent-paying unionized jobs to black workers. The jobs have gone to low-wage, non-union plants in the South and elsewhere, leaving behind a hellhole of utter destitution and hopelessness.

Break With the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Writing during the Great Depression of the 1930s, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky stressed in the *Transitional Program* (1938):

> "Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of *a sliding scale of working hours*."

To smash the assault on minorities exemplified by the destruction of welfare and the imprisonment of masses of ghetto youth, to provide decent medical care, housing, education and jobs for all, requires nothing short of a revolutionary struggle to uproot the entire capitalist system. Decaying capitalism *cannot* provide a decent living for working people. The racist rulers' answer to what they deem to be a "surplus population" in the ghettos and barrios is to *let them starve*.

But the labor and black misleaders chain working people and minorities to Clinton's racist, anti-working-class Democratic Party. At the Democratic convention in Chicago, new AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney boasts how he is throwing around millions of dollars in union funds to garner votes for Clinton. And even as Dennis Rivera, the "progressive" who heads up New York City's heavily black and Hispanic Local 1199 hospital workers union, mutters about his "disappointment" over Clinton's decision to ax welfare, he nonetheless vows "to put aside our differences in the fall campaign." This is what the politics of the "lesser evil" comes down to: even the willful starvation of a million ghetto kids must not stand in the way of putting Clinton back in the White House.

Social Security Under the Gun

The vast increase in human misery resulting from the new anti-welfare act is still uncharted, but there is no doubt that many thousands will starve and die—from hunger, from untreated contagious diseases, from exposure, from homelessness—as a direct result. Already the cruel bipartisan cutbacks of the past two decades have taken a toll in human life, as preventable or controllable diseases like tuberculosis and asthma rage again unchecked among the poor. So savage are the latest proposals that even Republican NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani has protested Clinton's measure. Meanwhile, Giuliani forces welfare workers to browbeat homeless women who are packed by the hundreds into a South Bronx housing office, where they and their kids sleep

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Fights to Overturn Frame-Up

New Legal Papers Rebut Philly D.A.

Free Mumia Now!

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MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

Part 7
Red October and the Founding of the Communist International

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Why Fake Trotskyists Crawled for Clinton on April 14

15 June 1996

To the Editor:

On Saturday, May 11, a March and Rally to Defend Immigrants took place in San Francisco. This march was called in the wake of increasing horrendous attacks on and scapegoating of immigrants by ruling forces in the United States. This bipartisan attack which affects immigrants of all races, but is targeted primarily at Latinos, has been led by politicians of the Democratic Party, from the White House to Senators Feinstein and Boxer here in California.

We marched down Mission Street, the main street of the main Latino district of San Francisco and had three rallies during the march: one at the beginning of the march at Cesar Chavez St., one short one at 24th St., and a longer ending rally at 16th St. At all three rallies, spokespersons for the initiators of the mobilization, the Bay Area Coalition Opposing Fascism (BACOF) and AYUDA, a group of Latino homeless persons denounced the Democratic Party attack on immigrants. This point was also made by speakers representing members of the coalition, Workers' Voice and the Freedom Socialist Party. The united front that BACOF and AYUDA have initiated is clearly in contrast to others within the Latino community that tell people to rely on the Democrats.

During our final rally, we held an open mike period to allow for people attending our march, especially immigrants, but others as well, to testify to their experiences and to say whatever they had to say, within a three minute time limit (including translation). This limit had been respected by all speakers until Kathleen from the Spartacist Youth Club spoke translated by a member of the Spartacist League. As has been our practice, our stage manager told them their time limit, that there were other speakers after them, and that our permit ended at 3:00 pm. They were advised when they had one minute left, and when their 3 minutes was up, they were allowed to finish their thought before time was called. The translator who was translating Kathleen from English to Spanish, then said this was "political censorship" and went on to rant in English without translation on "what else Kathleen had to say." They spoke over 8 minutes and just wouldn't stop talking, so we had to turn off the mike.

Gasaway/SF Bay Guardian

BACOF joined San Francisco "fight the right" march for capitalist Democrats, April 14.

What he claimed as to the reason for our "censorship"—that his group was exposing that our coalition was leading people into the hands of the Democratic Party—is nonsense, but nevertheless deserves an answer. I already stated that all during this march and the time we spent building it, we were very clear that the Democratic Party and its leaders were the enemy of immigrant workers and immigrant rights. Wherever we spoke to build the march, including at shelters for homeless immigrants, and at Fremont High School in Oakland we stated this.

During the course of the campaign to build for this demonstration, the National Organization for Women called a march in San Francisco to "Fight the Right" on April 14th. We knew along with many others on the left, including the Spartacist League, that this march would be a Democratic Party love-fest. We also knew that many working people and members of the middle classes would attend this march as well. We decided that we as a group would attend the march and rally, but with clear signs denouncing the Democratic Party and supporting immigrants, which we did have. The Spartacist League did show up too, but only at the beginning rally. They left allegedly under some great principle—a principle that allowed them to come in the first place. They weren't there to hear our contingent denounce the Democratic Party as we marched. They weren't there to see the people who were bored or angry with Jesse Jackson or others who called for supporting Clinton. When these people wanted to talk to activists who offered an alternative the Spartacist League wasn't there. We were. It doesn't follow that by marching in the march that we were building the Democratic Party, anymore than going to the beach or shopping or whatever the Spartacists did that afternoon, was building the Democratic Party. By attending the march, we were there to point out to those willing to listen that the Democratic Party was not on the side of immigrants and other working people.

Dean Tuckerman
for BACOF and AYUDA

WV replies: Brother Tuckerman's letter presents a case study of opportunist adaptation to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. He and his organizations "knew along with many others on the left" that the April 14 march "would be a Democratic Party love-fest" and "were very clear that the Democratic Party and its leaders were the enemy of immigrant workers and immigrant rights." But BACOF et al. marched anyway.

It is bad enough to join a political mobilization for Clinton, the class enemy, and then admit you did it just because it was popular. But these groups not only attended, they mobilized as many people as they could to go. And they not only mobilized; AYUDA and the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) *officially endorsed it!*

Of course, every self-proclaimed socialist who fell into line behind the push to elect Clinton as a "lesser evil"—often despite their own paper declarations of opposition to the Democrats—had their own rationale to use as a fig leaf. The centrist Revolutionary Workers League, without formally endorsing the

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TROTSKY

LENIN

The Bolshevik Revolution and American Syndicalism

The impact of World War I and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution brought about a fundamental regroupment in the workers movement internationally. The Communist International was formed in opposition not only to the parliamentary reformism of the Social Democracy but also to the "anti-political" practices characteristic of the anarchist and syndicalist movements. Many anarchist and syndicalist militants—including members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), whose most prominent spokesman was "Big Bill" Haywood—moved toward Bolshevism. Those who opposed the Communist International either moved sharply to the right, making their peace with the bourgeois order, or degenerated into sectarian irrelevance, as the IWW itself did. This development was explained by a former IWW organizer, James P. Cannon, who became a leader of the early American Communist movement and subsequently the founding leader of American Trotskyism.

The whole record of the IWW—or at any rate, the best part of it, the positive revolutionary part—was all written in propaganda and action in its first 15 years. That is the enduring story. The rest is anticlimax.

The turning point came with the entrance of the United States into the First World War in the spring of 1917, and the Russian Revolution in the same year. Then "politics," which the IWW had disavowed and cast out, came back and broke down the door.

These two events—again coinciding in Russia and America, as in 1905—demonstrated that "political action" was not merely a matter of the ballot box, subordinate to the direct conflict of the unions and employers on the economic field, but the very essence of the class struggle. In opposing actions of two different classes the "political state," which the IWW had thought to ignore, was revealed as the centralized power of the ruling class; and the holding of the state power showed in each case which class was really ruling....

Some of the leading Wobblies, including Haywood himself, tried to learn the lessons of the war and the Russian Revolution and to adjust their thinking to them. But the big majority, after several years of wavering, went the other way. That sealed the doom of the IWW. Its tragic failure to look, listen and learn from the two great events condemned it to defeat and decay.

The governing role of theory here asserted itself supremely, and in short order. While the IWW was settling down in ossification, converting its uncompleted conceptions about the real meaning of political action and political parties into a sterile anti-political dogma, the thinking of others was catching up with reality, with the great new things happening in the world. The others, the young left-wing socialists, soon to call themselves Communists, lacked the battle-tested cadres of the IWW. But they had the correct program. That proved to be decisive.

—James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is August 27

No. 650 **30 August 1996**

French Imperialism and the Working Class

San Francisco
22 August 1996

To the Editor:

The article on French military intervention in the Central African Republic, "U.S. Hands Off the World! French Troops Out of Africa!" (*WV* No. 647, 7 June), notes the non-existence of an industrial proletariat there and concludes with the fact that the only salvation of such desperately backward countries lies in the struggle for international workers revolution. But though the need for proletarian revolution from South Africa to Egypt is mentioned, the need for workers revolution in France is missing.

At a time when the racist and murderous forces of the French bourgeois state are mobilized against all dark-skinned people in France, the impact of proletarian struggle in solidarity with the neo-colonial victims of French imperialism in Africa would be tremendously felt not only in Africa but in France. Such action would further the class struggle in France, by drawing oppressed minorities into struggle with the working class against their common enemy.

Comradely,
Bill

New Revelation Shows Frame-Up Fink Worked for D.A.

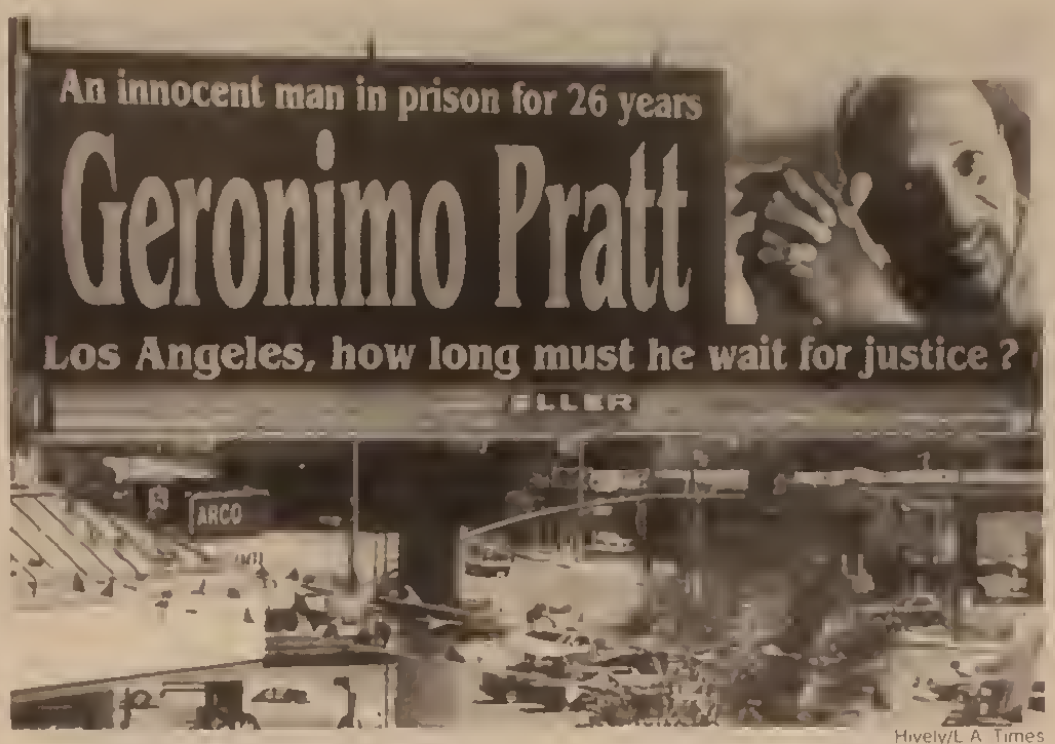
Freedom for Geronimo Now!

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former Black Panther Party leader and unbowed fighter for black rights, has been locked away in California prisons for the last 26 years for a crime that the government *knows* he did not commit. Geronimo was the victim of a flagrant frame-up, set up by a "witness," Julius Butler, who was a longtime fink for the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department. Now, in a spectacular new revelation, it turns out that *Butler was also an informant for the L.A. District Attorney's office even as the D.A. was prosecuting the case against Geronimo.* Yet notwithstanding this powerful new evidence that Geronimo was framed up, on August 14 Los Angeles Superior Court judge Michael Cowell denied Geronimo's request for bail.

Johnnie Cochran, Geronimo's original trial lawyer and his current lead attorney, noted that the recent disclosure by the D.A.'s office that it had "found" Butler's name in a file of its confidential informants brings the case to a pivotal point. As a Black Panther leader, Geronimo was targeted for "neutralization" under the FBI's infamous "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), in which at least 38 Panthers were murdered by the cops and hundreds more thrown in prison. Among the latter was Geronimo, who was framed up for a murder that took place in Santa Monica in 1968. As Cochran declared at the bail hearing, Geronimo "was a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO. For Mark Clark and Fred Hampton, it meant murdering them; for Geronimo it's a murder conviction."

Over the years, the D.A.'s office and the courts have ignored the mountain of evidence proving Geronimo's innocence. This includes the revelation by former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen that three sets of FBI wiretaps on Panther offices showed that Geronimo was 400 miles away at the time the murder was committed. The FBI wiretap logs have since "disappeared." Furthermore, the victim's husband had initially identified another suspect, information which was not disclosed at the time of the trial.

Geronimo has lost all of his previous appeals and has been repeatedly denied parole. And now, in the face of the latest bombshell about Butler, Cowell accepted the prosecution's ludicrous claim that Geronimo should be denied bail on the grounds that evidence has not been provided demonstrating his innocence! Cowell even praised the "integrity" of the D.A.'s office because it had "unearthed" new evidence and was performing "honorably." More legal papers on behalf of Geronimo will be filed on September 3.



Hively/L.A. Times

Los Angeles billboard tells the truth. Former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is victim of COINTELPRO frame-up.

Butler's status as an informer was illegally withheld from Geronimo's defense by then deputy D.A. Richard Kalustian (now an L.A. Superior Court judge), who prosecuted Geronimo in 1972. At the time, Kalustian told the trial court, "If the jury believes Julius Butler, regardless of whether they believe or disbelieve the identification witnesses, Mr. Pratt is guilty." Several jurors have since testified that they would not have convicted Geronimo if they had known Butler was a snitch. As one juror put it, "If we had known about Mr. Butler being an informant, it would have said to us that this is a conspiracy here."

The D.A. has now conceded that Butler had 33 meetings with FBI agents before he falsely testified at the 1972 trial that Geronimo had "confessed" to him. As Los Angeles Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Steve Bull stressed, the fact that Butler worked for the D.A. "is stunning proof of the intricate and high-level collusion between the LAPD and the District Attorney's office with the FBI's attempts to destroy black leaders. Elementary decency demands freedom for Geronimo now."

Integrated unions representing more than two million workers are on record in support of Geronimo, and key union officials have sent protest letters to the Los Angeles D.A.'s office in recent months. In August 1994, L.A. SEIU service employees demonstrated for Geronimo at D.A. Gil Garcetti's office. However, the union tops have largely refused to mobilize their membership in action to combat this racist frame-up. Taking up the struggle against the capitalist *in*justice system, which targets unions as well as black militants like Geronimo, is a necessary part of mobilizing the labor movement in *class struggle* against the racist exploiters. As the PDC wrote in a statement earlier this year: "The big business of union-busting feeds on racism: if the state can with impunity frame up and keep in prison those like Geronimo, it will all the more readily turn its sights on the workers movement as a whole. An injury to one is an injury to all!" ("Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!" *WV* No. 645, 10 May).

For more information on the fight to free Geronimo, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107, or call (510) 839-0852. Send contributions for Geronimo's legal defense to Prison Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Mail or fax letters demanding freedom for Geronimo to Gil Garcetti, L.A. County District Attorney, Criminal Courts Building, Room 18-709, 210 West Temple, Los Angeles, CA 90012, fax (213) 688-2913. ■

The Pipes School of Falsification Revisited

Our article "Richard Pipes: Exorcising the Russian Revolution" (WV No. 647, 7 June) dealt with Pipes' tirades against Bolshevism and the bourgeois Enlightenment and reviewed an anti-communist biography of Leon Trotsky by Russian historian Dmitri Volkogonov. We reprint below two interesting letters by Paul Siegel, published in the New York Times Book Review *(14 April) and the* Village Voice *(28 May), which also refute Pipes and Volkogonov. Siegel's own two-part review of Volkogonov's biography of Lenin appeared in* Socialist Action *(March and April 1996).*

The *New York Times Book Review*

To the Editor:

It is ironic that Richard Pipes, who was adviser to President Ronald Reagan on Soviet affairs, echoes the charges made against Leon Trotsky by the ruler of the "evil empire" in his review of Dmitri Volkogonov's "Trotsky" (March 24). "Trotsky and Lev Sedov, his son and closest aide," Mr. Pipes states, "frequently said and wrote that Stalin's regime had to be overthrown and Stalin himself assassinated." Trotsky certainly called for the overthrow of Stalin's regime by mass action, but where did he call for Stalin's assassination? Such a call is not to be found in the published writings of Trotsky, and if it had been present in secret messages obtained by Stalin's agents it would have been used in the Moscow trials.

So too Mr. Pipes echoes the Stalinists' early whispering campaign against Trotsky as a brilliant orator but an undependable political leader, and also attributes the denigration of Trotsky to Lenin. But Lenin exclaimed to Gorky, "Show me another man who could organize almost a model army in a single year!" and stated in his so-called testament that "Comrade Trotsky is...the most able man in the present Central Committee."

The American paladins of the cold war are, it would seem, as capable of distorting the historical record as were their Stalinist opposite numbers.

Paul N. Siegel
New York

The *Village Voice*

Leszek Kolakowski ("Leon in Winter," *Voice Literary Supplement*, April 20) says that Lenin and Trotsky foolishly expected world revolution to follow the revolution in Russia. But Dmitri Volkogonov, whom he is echoing, contradicted his own thesis about the fatuousness of the idea of world revolution, stating in his biography of Lenin that Lenin "brought into being mighty movements in all continents, and held the minds of statesmen in tension and fear as to whether the world revolution would occur." Indeed the British prime minister, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state, Robert Lansing, openly voiced this fear.

So, too, the fears of revolution in France, Italy, and Greece following World War II were very real in the minds of European and American statesmen, the U.S. secretly funding the Italian Christian Democratic party and interceding in the Greek civil war to guard against this contingency. These revolutions would have strengthened the resistance to internal reaction in China and Yugoslavia, where revolutions had occurred.

In the struggle against capitalism that has been going on since the early 19th century, the champions of the status quo—which has produced in this century two world wars, a great depression, Nazi genocide, and the threat of nuclear and ecological annihilation—regard revolution as a vain illusion when capitalism is temporarily ascendant and as a frightening threat when it is not. Kolakowski regards the idea of proletarian revolution as both an illusion and the source of all evil. The Russian civil war, he says, was "a genocidal horror," and he blames it all on the Bolsheviks. He thus disregards the intervention of Britain, the U.S., and their allies, which made it possible for the White armies, notorious for their pogroms, to transform the October Revolution, almost completely lacking in bloodshed, into a ferocious civil war. This is like saying that the immense suffering of the American Civil War was due to the "tyrant" Abraham Lincoln.

Paul N. Siegel
Professor Emeritus
Long Island University, Brooklyn

New Legal Papers Rebut Philly D.A.

Mumia Abu-Jamal Fights to Overturn Frame-Up

WV Photo

Free Mumia Now!

On August 5, attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal filed new legal briefs in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, as part of the ongoing fight to win freedom for this outspoken black journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. Capping a years-long vendetta against him by the Philadelphia Police Department, the FBI and other police agencies, Jamal was framed up and sentenced to death in 1982 on false charges of killing Philly cop Daniel Faulkner. Targeted for death from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s, Mumia remained in the cross hairs of the cops and FBI even after he became a well-known radio commentator.

Mumia's fight to overturn his frame-up conviction has been a focal point of protests against the racist death penalty. In June 1995, Republican governor Tom Ridge signed a warrant for Jamal's death. It was a wave of international protests that won Mumia a stay of execution two months later, even though his Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) petition was turned down by Albert Sabo, the same hanging judge who presided over Jamal's 1982 "trial."

The legal battle was taken to the state Supreme Court in February. The filing of new papers in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania Eastern District, in reply to a 172-page document filed by the Philly District Attorney's office, was announced at a press conference outside Mayor Ed Rendell's office on August 5. Detailing widespread misconduct by the prosecution at the time of the 1982 trial, Jamal's new legal briefs also included a request to allow oral arguments before the Supreme Court and a motion for Supreme Court justice Ronald Castille to step down from hearing the appeal.

Explaining the motion for Castille's recusal, lead attorney Leonard Weinglass pointed to the judge's long record of "defense of the District Attorney's office when other charges of prosecutorial misconduct are made," noting that Castille was himself Philly D.A. when Mumia filed an earlier appeal to the state Supreme Court in 1989. Weinglass also underlined Castille's ties to the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), "a third party in this litigation," which has worked hand in glove with the D.A.'s office in an attempt to ensure Jamal's legal lynching. Indeed, as Philadelphia journalist Linn Washington Jr. recently reported, Castille boasted of his F.O.P. support when he ran for the Supreme Court seat in 1993, and the Philly F.O.P. had earlier named him "Man of the Year" (*Pacific News Service*, 5 August).

In recent months, there has been a cascade of reports of police brutality and corruption in Philadelphia, with hundreds of false convictions now in the process of being overturned. As Jamal co-counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who is also staff counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, said at the press conference: "While we very much believe that Mumia's prosecution is politically motivated and racially biased, you do not have to be Mumia Abu-Jamal to be denied a fair trial and be subjected to falsified evidence" in Philadelphia. In a case involving the notorious 39th police district of North Philadelphia, 54-year-old black grandmother Betty Patterson spent three years in prison on false drug-dealing charges. The cops who had set up Patterson admitted that they had planted drugs in her house as part of an effort to manufacture evidence against her sons. On August 15, Patterson won a $1 million lawsuit against the city for police misconduct, one of a number of settlements totaling $7 million over a three-week period.

Referring to the Patterson case, Jamal's new legal brief details how then-D.A. Castille "ignored the initial evidence of a widespread pattern of police misconduct." As far back as 1991, Patterson raised "the fact that two 39th District officers involved in her case had been suspended from the force based on corruption charges.... Despite knowledge of these officers' rampant misconduct, the District Attorney's Office opposed Patterson's request for further discovery." The D.A. claimed that this would "invite witnesses to come forth with fabricated testimony and evidence." But as Jamal's brief points out, "It is the 39th District Police and Philadelphia District Attorney which have routinely presented 'fabricated testimony and evidence'."

Jamal's new legal papers provide powerful evidence of fabrications by the cops and prosecution in his case, slamming the D.A.'s document opposing his appeal as a "sustained diatribe" which "employs a methodology of obfuscation and falsification," including even new lies. Indeed, the very first paragraph of the D.A.'s papers includes the claim that on the night Faulkner was shot "defendant tried to shoot the arriving officers" who had come to the scene. Jamal's reply calls this latest lie "an act of desperation in the face of a compelling challenge to the judgement against Jamal." No one, ever, in the entire 15-year history of the case, had raised the D.A.'s bizarre scenario. In fact, Jamal had been shot by Faulkner and lay bleeding and near death as the cops arrived. Later, Mumia was kicked and beaten as he awaited treatment in the hospital.

Weinglass noted at the press conference that "in any venue in which the Jamal case is reviewed, by lawyers, by journalists who've looked at the case closely, by television, like HBO, the conclusion is inescapable—that he needs a new trial." This summer's HBO documentary on Jamal—titled "A Case for Reasonable Doubt?"—made it abundantly clear that Jamal's 1982 "trial" was a mockery of justice. In a flagrant effort to suppress any exposure of Jamal's frame-up, the Philadelphia F.O.P. tried to mount a boycott of HBO, just as they did last year against the publishers of Mumia's powerful book of prison writings, *Live from Death Row*. In 1994, the F.O.P. successfully pressured National Public Radio to cancel a series of Jamal's commentaries recorded in prison.

Despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence, Mumia Abu-Jamal remains locked away on death row. If the state Supreme Court rules against his appeal, there is a clear danger that Governor Ridge will rush to sign a new death warrant. In the current election campaign, both of the major capitalist parties—Democrats and Republicans—are competing for the racist "law and order" mantle, particularly by pushing the barbaric death penalty. Clinton's "counter-terrorism" bill, passed with overwhelming bipartisan support earlier this year, massively expands the death penalty and guts the *habeas corpus* right of death row inmates to appeal their convictions in federal courts. Clinton earlier showed his determination to speed up racist legal lynching by interrupting his 1992 campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector, in Arkansas.

Jamal's victimization and the current speed-up on death row are both integral components of the American racist "justice" system, revealing the web of repression by the cops, courts and prosecutors which constitutes the capitalist state. This is particularly clear in the case of the murderous vendetta against Mumia: current Supreme Court justice Castille is the former pro-cop D.A. who signed the papers opposing Jamal's appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; current mayor Rendell was Philly D.A. at the time of Jamal's trial; current D.A. Lynne Abraham, a fanatical advocate of the death penalty, was the judge who arraigned Mumia in December 1981 and who signed the warrants leading to the hideous bombing of the MOVE commune in May 1985. It will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this system of racist capitalist repression, which is aimed against all working people and minorities.

While working on all fronts—including legal appeals—the Partisan Defense Committee places its confidence in the power of the working class and the oppressed, not in the racist court system. The PDC, which has been active in the fight to free Mumia for nearly a decade, is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League. Those fighting for freedom for Mumia and all other victims of racist repression must look to the power of mass social protest, seeking in particular to mobilize the labor movement in alliance with black and other minority organizations and anti-racist youth. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Funds are urgently needed—the defense investigation continues. Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, (212) 406-4252. ■

Cramer/NY Times

Betty Patterson (left), here with attorney Jennifer St. Hill, spent three years in prison because of racist frame-up by Philadelphia cops.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

On Chicago Anti-Klan Protest

Why Cops Protect Racist Terrorists

"The terrorist and the policeman both come from the same basket."

—Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907)

Over 100 men and women, people of various hues, gather on June 29th, in Chicago's Daley Plaza, to protest a gathering of the KKK—guess who the cops assemble to protect?

The Arkansas-based Klan found Chi-town inhospitable, as trade unionists, anarchists, socialists and others introduced them to the City's pavement, and upon doing so, nine of them (the anti-racists) found themselves facing serious felony charges, like assaults on cops, for duking it out with Klanners.

Is punching a Klanner the same as assaulting a cop?

Maybe.

The recent "good ole boy" picnic showed cops, both state and federal, having a public boozefest, with one *caveat*, written in bright, bold print on a sign: "No n-----s allowed!"

The FBI, according to a rare Jewish agent in the '60s, had instructors refer to blacks openly as "n-----s."

Why is it that cops always act to defend America's terrorists?

When those terrorists are homegrown, American white supremacists, these groups which have bombed babies, and burned churches, find safety and solace in the arms of police.

At the Daley Plaza rally, it was not the terrorists who were arrested, but the anti-racists, including trade unionists, a youthful organizer from the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" project, anarchists, a "Refuse & Resist!" supporter, and several PDC (Partisan Defense Committee) supporters.

Now, after the cops protected the KKK, the Cook County State's Attorney, Jack O'Malley, is rushing to lock away those who opposed, and protested them.

When the "law of the land" protects the Klan, what will it do to those who oppose them?

What can you do?

Speak out against the prosecutions!

Demand that charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped!

Join the protests at the Cook County Circuit Court, 1121 S. State Street, in Chicago.

For more information, call the Chicago PDC at (312) 454-4931.

©1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Daley's Chicago: Segregation City

We present below some observations on Chicago written by comrade Don Cane in the aftermath of the June 29 united-front anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. Comrade Cane is a spokesman for the Bay Area Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense and an occasional contributor to Workers Vanguard. *He recently wrote an article published in* Black Scholar *(Winter/Spring 1996) titled "Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters" (reprinted in* WV *No. 647, 7 June).*

Chicago is the metropolis of the Midwest Rust Belt. Social relations are played out in the raw with little or no sugar-coating. The racial division in the working class is revealed in Chicago's working-class neighborhoods, where merely one block (the proverbial "other side of the railroad tracks") can divide the races.

The city administration's response to the paralyzing effect of the big 1979 snowstorm was a demonstration of how raw the racial divide was. The "L" trains ran express from the Loop to the suburbs to service the white middle class. In the black ghetto, the streets were impassable for weeks and garbage was left to pile up. The black working class was stranded in the ghetto with no means to get to work or home.

For decades, the arrogantly racist Daley machine had relied on the support of the black liberal and reformist misleaders with nickel-and-dime deals to "get out the vote." But what happened in '79 was the last-straw insult for many blacks as well as anyone else with an anti-racist bone in their body. They revolted behind a no-name candidate, Jane Byrne, placing her in the mayor's office. She in turn embraced the old guard and spat in the faces of those who elected her with an immediate return to "business as usual" Chicago-style.

Black Democrat Harold Washington supplanted her, riding on the same disgust with the racist Bridgeport "good old boys" club. The sentiment in the ghetto could be summed up as, "Now it's our turn to fatten up at the trough, like they did." *WV* warned that Washington would betray the ghetto masses—and that's what happened. Life in the vast housing projects did not change. Even in terms of capitalist patronage politics Washington's administration was a "betrayal" of his base's aspirations. Many unemployed blacks, aspiring to the middle class, waited for patronage jobs that did not come.

Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Cabrini-Green housing project, Chicago: Daley's cops routinely round up, terrorize black youth.

Meanwhile, Washington's victory was heatedly contested by the racist wing of the Democratic Party, with the active political assistance of the cops. During the life of his administration, the battle lines were viciously drawn along race lines, with the main culprits being the cops and their political godfathers in the city council. Washington's nationalist and reformist aides and supporters played secondary roles in this racist game. Playing their part in such cynical power politics and racial factionalism, the labor bureaucracy and the black misleaders channel working-class anger back into the Democratic Party in one of its most reactionary forms, the Daley machine in all its reincarnations, from Byrne and Washington to the current administration of Daley Jr.

In the early 1950s, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon stated that the problems of the world revolution would ultimately be resolved on American soil, when the American workers settled the score with their own capitalist class, the mainstay of international reaction. Cannon's argument remains true today. The problems of the American revolution are revealed in Chicago reality in all its rawness. The solutions and how they may possibly be played out are also seen here.

When the Black Panther Party established a branch in Chicago, they felt they had "arrived" at the heart of the struggle. They had. Here you have a solid labor town with a huge black ghetto. It's the operational base for several prominent black political figures. It contains a substantial black middle class with a thin layer approaching bourgeois status. This stratum runs the ghetto in its own right, wheeling and dealing with other petty-bourgeois power blocs.

In the eyes of black America, Chicago,

continued on page 13

All Out on September 9—Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Protesters!

Eight anti-Klan protesters face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges stemming from a successful defense against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago on June 29. At an initial court date on July 23, over 50 people turned out for a united-front protest outside the Cook County Circuit Court initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and endorsed by more than a dozen union locals and officials. Protesters filled the courtroom in solidarity with the anti-Klan defendants.

Now it's time to turn out again as the defendants appear in court on September 9. All out to demand: Drop all charges against anti-Klan protesters! Fill the courtroom—Circuit Court of Cook County, Room 1100, 1121 S. State Street, Chicago. Meet at 8:30 a.m. at 9th and State Streets.

Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Copies of protest statements and urgently needed contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") should be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee. **Chicago:** PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931. **New York:** PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone: (212) 406-4252.

Young Spartacus

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Part 7
Red October and the Founding of the Communist International

Parts One through Three of this series (published in WV *Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Parts Four and Five (published in* WV *Nos. 643 and 646) analyzed the anarchist and syndicalist movements in the period preceding World War I. Part Six (published in* WV *No. 649) discussed the realignment of the left and international workers movement under the impact of the first imperialist world war.*

Some time after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin observed that of all the countries in West Europe the one which most resembled pre-1917 tsarist Russia was Spain. There, too, a decadent monarchical regime was propped up by a state church mired in medieval obscurantism. A large peasantry was brutally exploited by a landowning class derived from the old feudal nobility. There existed a raw, combative working class in good part made up of peasant youth who retained close ties to their families in the countryside. And like the tsarist "prison house of peoples," the Spanish state also contained

by Joseph Seymour

within its boundaries large oppressed nationalities, the Basques and Catalans.

In Spain, and elsewhere in Latin Europe, the anarchists and syndicalists constituted a significant political tendency and were generally viewed as the left wing of the workers movement. In tsarist Russia, by contrast, the anarchists were a marginal current. There the revolutionary Marxists, i.e., Lenin's Bolsheviks, constituted a mass workers party based on the industrial proletariat and the central core of the radical left. The Russian anarchist movement consisted of many small, competing groups of declassed intellectuals with an admixture of lumpenproletarian elements. The organizational weakness of anarchism in Russia is all the more striking in that the two principal theoreticians of anarchism—Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin—were both emigré Russian radicals.

Even in periods of mass revolutionary upheaval, the Russian anarchists did not play an important role. Neither during the Revolution of 1905 nor in 1917 did any significant section of the workers or peasants follow the lead of the anarchists. In fact, in October 1917 and the ensuing Civil War, many Russian anarchists followed the lead of the Bolsheviks and loyally served under the Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky.

Why did the anarchists play such an insignificant role in Russia? This question was addressed by Trotsky in discussing André Malraux's novel, *The Conquerors*, which sought to justify Stalin's disastrous policies toward the Chinese Revolution of the mid-1920s. In this novel, the Chinese anarchist agitator Hong is portrayed as a primitive revolutionary hothead who does not understand the supposed need for the working class to collaborate with the nationalist bourgeoisie. A character closely modeled on Mikhail Borodin, Moscow's chief agent in China at the time, opposes Hong. It is said in regard to the Moscow emissary that "all the Bolsheviks of his generation" were distinguished by the struggle against the anarchists. To this assertion, Trotsky responded:

> "Historically it is false. Anarchism was unable to raise its head in Russia not because the Bolsheviks fought successfully against it but because they had first dug up the ground under its feet. Anarchism, if it does not live within the four walls of intellectuals' cafes and editorial offices, but has penetrated more deeply, translates the psychology of despair in the masses and signifies the political punishment for the deceptions of democracy and the treachery of opportunism. The boldness of Bolshevism in posing the revolutionary problems and in teaching their solution left no room for the development of anarchism."
>
> —"The Strangled Revolution" (February 1931), in *Leon Trotsky on China* (1976)

Novosti

Soldiers march in Moscow after October 1917 Revolution with banner reading "Communism."

How Did Bolshevism Undercut Anarchism in Russia?

From its inception in 1903, the Bolshevik Party sought to organize the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the tsarist autocracy independently of and, if necessary, against the policies of the liberal bourgeoisie. This was a central difference with the Mensheviks, whose policy was one of collaborating with the liberal bourgeoisie. During the Revolution of 1905 the only serious attempt at armed insurrection was undertaken by the Bolsheviks in Moscow in December of that momentous year. Georgi Plekhanov, the pre-eminent spokesman for "orthodox" Marxism in Russia, denounced the December uprising as adventurist and railed against "Bolshevik Bakuninism."

In his own way, Lenin later recognized that his party had attracted more than a few revolutionary militants who might otherwise have gone over to anarchism. He recounted that following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, a faction of "Left" Bolsheviks emerged which, among other policies, insisted on boycotting elections to the tsarist Duma (parliament). This faction fight culminated in a split in 1908. Nonetheless, Lenin pointed out that among these "Lefts" there "were many splendid revolutionaries who subsequently were (and still are) commendable members of the Communist Party" (*"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* [May 1920]).

Prior to 1917, Lenin did not believe that the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy could lead directly to a workers state and the expropriation of the capitalist class. Instead he envisioned a transitory radical-democratic regime expressed in the formula of "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." However, under the impact of World War I Lenin's views underwent a rapid development. Thus, following the overthrow of the tsar in February 1917, he called for a state of the "Paris Commune type" (i.e., a proletarian dictatorship) based on the abolition of the police, army and bureaucracy and the formation of a people's militia. This was premised on the perspective of spreading the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe. Lenin's program and perspective, expressed in his "April Theses," were essentially similar to the concept of "permanent revolution" which Trotsky had advanced more than a decade before. In this way the basis was laid for the partnership between Lenin and Trotsky which led the first successful workers revolution in history.

When Lenin arrived in Russia from exile in April 1917 and called for "workers revolution," the Menshevik I.P. Goldenberg commented derisively: "Lenin has now made himself a candidate for one European throne that has been vacant for thirty years—the throne of Bakunin! Lenin's new words echo something old—the superannuated truths of primitive anarchism" (quoted in N.N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution, 1917: A Personal Record* [1984]). This view was shared by many anarchists who believed that Lenin had actually, though not yet formally, broken with Marxism and was moving toward their program. Thus one Gregory Raiva wrote in September 1917:

> "From the standpoint of Marxism, of 'scientific socialism,' the most consistent Marxists are undoubtedly the Menshevik Social Democrats.... And it is entirely natural that the Social Democrats, cleaving to the views of Marx, should regard the present Russian Revolution as a bourgeois revolution. It is entirely natural that the Social Democratic Marxists should be consistently striving for a coalition, striving to establish ties with the *bourgeoisie*. For, according to the Marxist programme, the time for a social revolution has not yet arrived....
>
> "It stands to reason that the Bolsheviks, as revolutionaries, are dearer and closer to us anarchists. For, in point of fact, their intransigent revolutionary position is due not to their rigid adherence to the teachings of Marx but to the fact that they have shed the scholasticism of their apostle and adopted a revolutionary—that is, an anti-Marxist—point of view....
>
> "We rejoice that it is the Bolsheviks and not the Mensheviks who are everywhere on the rise. But we regret that the Bolsheviks have not yet shaken the dust of Marxism from their feet. The Bolsheviks are at the crossroads: Marxism or anarchism?"
>
> —reproduced in Paul Avrich, ed., *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (1973)

From a present-day vantage point, the above view appears absurd. Yet in his own way, Raiva was registering an important development in the history of the international workers movement: Lenin's exposure of the *reformist falsification* of Marxism prevalent in the Second (Socialist) International and expounded by its leading theoreticians such as Karl Kautsky and Plekhanov.

Lenin's *State and Revolution* and Its Impact

As we have seen, the collapse into chauvinism of the Second International—and especially the German Social Democracy—with the outbreak of World War I came as an unexpected shock to Lenin. This impelled him into a critical study of conventionally accepted Marxist doctrine as represented above all by Kautsky. In collaboration with other

Panorama

First Congress of the Communist International, presided over by V.I. Lenin (seated at center).

Bolsheviks schooled in economics, notably Nikolai Bukharin, Lenin studied the changes in the world economy underlying the war which had turned Europe into a slaughterhouse. His findings were summarized in *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, published in 1916, which explained the material basis of the opportunist wing of the labor movement.

Lenin also made an exhaustive study of Marx and Engels' writings on the state. These included theoretically important letters to their followers, such as the German workers leader August Bebel, which were not published until *decades after* they were written and were therefore unknown to most—indeed, the large majority of—socialist (or anarchist and syndicalist) worker militants. Written in the summer of 1917, when Lenin had gone underground to avoid imprisonment by the bourgeois liberal regime of Aleksandr Kerensky, *State and Revolution* expounded a genuinely Marxist understanding of this question.

It was generally known that Marx and Engels maintained that the workers movement should fight for a democratic republic in those states ruled by monarchical or bonapartist regimes. As against the anarchists, they also advocated that socialist parties utilize parliamentary elections and representation to organize and register their support among the workers and other oppressed and exploited sections of society. However, the leaders and theoreticians of the Second International distorted these positions into a doctrine that a socialist society could and should be brought about through parliamentary means. As Lenin put it in *State and Revolution*: "The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol, denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

The reformists assumed that once a socialist party gained enough votes to secure a parliamentary majority, the ruling capitalist party or parties would peacefully turn over to it the government ministries. Some diehard reactionary generals, police chiefs, etc., might have to be removed from their posts, but the large majority of the officer corps, police force and state bureaucracy were expected to serve loyally under a socialist government as long as it had the sanction of a parliamentary majority.

As Lenin emphasized, the fundamental lesson which Marx and Engels drew from the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 was that the working class could take political power only through *smashing* the existing bourgeois state machinery (police, army, prisons, courts, etc.). Indeed, the Parisian proletariat rose up against and was later suppressed by a bourgeois *parliamentary* government elected on the basis of universal male suffrage throughout France. Marx and Engels, the Proudhonists and Bakunin *all* strongly supported the Paris Commune and held it up as a *model* for social revolution in the future, however much they differed in assessing its nature and the historical lessons to be drawn therefrom. As Lenin stated: "Marx agrees with Proudhon in that they both stand for the 'destruction' of the contemporary state machinery. This common ground of Marxism with Anarchism (both with Proudhon and Bakunin) neither the opportunists nor the Kautskyists wish to see, for on this point they have themselves departed from Marxism."

Today, the popular identification of democracy with parliamentarism is even more widespread and unchallenged than it was when Lenin wrote *State and Revolution*. It is therefore important to call attention to Lenin's insistence that:

> "The way out of parliamentarism is to be found, of course, not in the abolition of the representative institutions and the elective principle, but in the conversion of the representative institutions from mere 'talking shops' into working bodies....
>
> "The venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society is replaced in the Commune by institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians must themselves work, must themselves execute their own laws, must themselves verify their results in actual life, must themselves be directly responsible to their electorate."

The best historical example of representative institutions of workers democracy are the soviets (councils) of workers' deputies which were the main organizational base of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Practically every time Marx and Engels wrote against or about anarchism, they emphasized that the disappearance of the state (i.e., a special apparatus of repression) is a central condition of communist society. Nor is the "withering away of the state" projected into the remote future. As Lenin noted in *State and Revolution*, from its inception a workers state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) is radically different from a bourgeois state or any past state based on the rule of a property-owning and exploiting class. Thus the police and standing army are replaced by a popular militia. There is no caste of professional government bureaucrats—rather, positions of administrative authority are filled by workers who are democratically elected. But this projection could be only partially realized by the Bolshevik regime, given the extreme poverty and imperialist encirclement of revolutionary Russia.

Where then does the basic difference between Marxism and anarchism on the state and revolution lie? Lenin answers this question quite precisely:

> "Marx chooses the sharpest and clearest way of stating his position against the Anarchists: when they have cast off the yoke of the capitalists, ought the workers to 'lay down arms,' or ought they to use them against the capitalists in order to crush their resistance? But what is the systematic use of arms by one class against the other, if not a 'transitional form' of state?"

Though written shortly before the October Revolution, *State and Revolution* was not published in Russia until some months afterwards. And it was not accessible in the major West European languages (German, French, English, Italian) until late 1918 or 1919. Hence the impact of this book on the Western left was greatly enhanced by its author's stature as the principal leader of the first successful proletarian revolution in history. Nonetheless, one should not overstate this factor. Anarchist and syndicalist militants were generally independent-minded types who were prone to view the Russian Revolution and the policies and doctrines of its leaders with a critical eye. It was the intrinsic content of *State and Revolution* more than the authority of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Russia which changed the attitude of many an anarchist and syndicalist toward Marxism. Alfred Rosmer, who began his revolutionary career as an anarchist, was then won to the cause of syndicalism and under the impact of the war and the Bolshevik Revolution became a leading figure in the French and international Communist movement, described Lenin's book as a "pleasant revelation" for anarchist and syndicalist militants.

Historia 16

Spanish anarchist CNT leaders became ministers in bourgeois popular-front government.

Anarchism and the Experience of Revolution and Counterrevolution

While anarchists and syndicalists found Lenin's *State and Revolution* a pleasant revelation, there still remained the fundamental difference over the proletarian dictatorship. Many were won to this concept and program not primarily as a result of theoretical discussion and debate but on the basis of the actual experience of the Russian Revolution and, more generally, the revolutionary turbulence which engulfed Europe in the wake of the First World War.

The October insurrection and its immediate aftermath were relatively bloodless. However, the reactionary elements, centered around the ex-tsarist generals, retreated to the peripheral regions of the former tsarist empire where they organized counterrevolutionary armies known as Whites. From mid-1918 until 1920 a full-scale and savage civil war raged between the Red and White armies from the Baltic coast to eastern Siberia. The Whites were supported, armed and financed by the various imperialist powers (Germany, Britain, France, the United States, Japan) which moreover sent their own expeditionary forces into Soviet Russia. At the same time, the capitalist world sought to starve the fledgling workers state through an economic blockade.

Under the impact of these events, Russian anarchism fractured. During the bloody Civil War, anarchists ranged from active pro-Soviet revolutionists to harmless utopians to anti-Communist terrorist criminals. Paul Avrich, a present-day, highly sympathetic historian of Russian anarchism, recounts: "The campaign of terrorism continued for many months, reaching a climax in September 1919, when a group of 'underground anarchists,' in league with Left SRs [Social Revolutionaries], bombed the Moscow headquarters of the Communist party, killing or wounding sixty-seven people" (*The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*). The most significant counterrevolutionary force under the banner of anarchism was the Ukrainian peasant-based army of Nestor Makhno, which carried out pogroms against Jewish communities and collaborated with White armies against the Bolsheviks.

Labor Defender

IWW spokesman "Big Bill" Haywood (left) with former Wobbly and pioneer U.S. Communist James P. Cannon in Moscow.

At the same time, as Avrich notes, there was "a small army of anarchists who took up weapons against the Whites during the Civil War." In August 1919, Lenin described these "Soviet anarchists," as they were called, as "our best comrades and friends." An outstanding example was Vladimir ("Bill") Shatov. As a young man Shatov had emigrated to the United States where he became an agitator for the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He returned to Russia right after the February Revolution and threw himself into the workers movement in St. Petersburg (Petrograd). In October he was a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet which, under Trotsky's leadership, organized the insurrection against the Kerensky government. During the Civil War, Shatov served as an officer in the Tenth Red Army and then as minister of transport in the Far Eastern Republic of Soviet Russia.

Shatov did not join the Communist Party and claimed continued adherence to the ideals of anarchism, while criticizing

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Labor Herald

Workers Monthly

Left: Founding conference of Red International of Labor Unions, 1921. Executive Committee included former syndicalist leaders such as Tom Mann, William Z. Foster and Andrés Nin.

Anarchism...

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its naive attitude toward the harsh realities of social revolution. He explained his views to the Russian-American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman after they had just arrived in Russia in 1920. According to Goldman's account:

> "The Russian experience had taught him [Shatov] that we anarchists had been the romanticists of revolution, forgetful of the cost it would entail, the frightful price the enemies of the Revolution would exact, the fiendish methods they would resort to in order to destroy its gains. One cannot fight fire and sword with only logic and justice of one's ideal. The counter-revolutionists had combined to isolate and starve Russia, and the blockade was taking a frightful toll of human life. The [imperialist] intervention and the destruction in its wake, the numerous White attacks, costing oceans of blood, the hordes of [White generals] Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich; their pogroms, bestial revenge, and the general havoc wrought had imposed on the Revolution a warfare that its most farsighted exponents had never dreamed about."
>
> — quoted in Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (1973)

Here, Shatov was in fact rejecting a key aspect of anarchist dogma. His recognition that "we" had not foreseen "the frightful price the enemies of the Revolution would exact" went right to the heart of the anarchist worldview. The central theoretical premise of anarchism is the existence of natural moral principles shared by all members of humanity. Addressing an international anarchist conference in 1907, the veteran Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta declared: "The anarchist revolution which we desire far exceeds the interests of a single class: it proposes the complete liberation of enslaved humanity, from the triple viewpoint, economic, political and moral" (reproduced as "Syndicalism: A Critique" in George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* [1977]). Anarchists implicitly assumed that after the revolution members of the old ruling class would either be converted to the libertarian outlook or would, at any rate, accede to the popular will and reconcile themselves to the new free and egalitarian society.

Additionally, most anarchists, with their parochial focus on decentralization and their disdain for scientific Marxist analysis of capitalism as a world system, did not bother themselves about the question of foreign military intervention against the country where revolution would first come to power. To be sure, there were exceptions. A few years before the war, two leading French syndicalists, Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, wrote a book, *How We Shall Bring About the Revolution: Syndicalism and the Cooperative Commonwealth*, in the form of a fable of the future. After the syndicalists come to power through a revolutionary general strike, France is threatened with invasion by a coalition of bourgeois states led by Britain and Germany. But this threat is easily quashed by the invention and deployment of new, fantastically powerful weapons, which render impregnable the frontiers of the French cooperative commonwealth. Thus they resorted to science fiction to overcome the obvious problem with their vision of revolution.

Writing in late 1918, Lenin stated what had by then become a self-evident truth: "If the exploiters are defeated in one country only—and this, of course, is typical, since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception—they *still* remain *stronger* than the exploited, for the international connections of the exploiters are enormous" (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*). A social revolution anywhere in Europe clearly entailed civil war and likely foreign military intervention. The main military forces which overthrew the Hungarian Soviet Republic in early 1919 were the Romanian and Czech armies, both supported by France and advised by French officers. Everyone knew that a workers insurrection in Germany would immediately confront the Freikorps—well-organized and heavily armed right-wing paramilitary forces—and, if victorious, would then face the armies of the Western imperialist powers—France, Britain and, in reserve, the U.S.

Many anarchists and syndicalists therefore came to recognize the need for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat as a result of life itself, often in the form of harrowing personal experience. A good example was the German anarchist and poet Erich Mühsam. In the spring of 1919, Mühsam and a number of fellow anarchists were centrally involved in the first phase of the so-called Bavarian Soviet Republic in Munich, which was crushed by the Freikorps. In the white terror which followed, Gustav Landauer, a well-known anarchist and pacifist intellectual, was beaten to death by the Freikorps fascists; Eugen Levine and other leaders of the Bavarian Communists were executed by the counterrevolutionary regime. Mühsam escaped death but was sentenced to six years in prison. From prison, in late 1919 Mühsam appealed to his fellow anarchists:

> "The theoretical and practical theses of Lenin on the accomplishment of the revolution and the communist tasks of the proletariat have provided a new basis for our action.... There are no more insurmountable obstacles to a unification of the whole revolutionary proletariat. It is true that the communist anarchists have had to yield on the most important point of disagreement between the two great tendencies of socialism. They have had to abandon Bakunin's negative attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat and accept Marx's opinion on this point."
>
> — quoted in Alfred Rosmer, *Lenin's Moscow* (1971)

And in this period tens of thousands of anarchist and syndicalist militants flocked into the parties of the newly formed Communist International.

Der Spiegel photos

Right-wing paramilitary Freikorps (above) crushed 1919 Bavarian "Soviet Republic" in Munich, which was defended by workers militias (left). Leading anarchists and Communists were killed in aftermath.

Rise of Communism, Eclipse of Anarchism and Syndicalism

It was far from easy to bring about the unity of the revolutionary proletariat in the parties of the newly formed Communist International. Welding together former left Social Democrats and former anarchists and syndicalists into a politically homogeneous cadre would have been a difficult and conflict-ridden process in the best of circumstances. It was made far more difficult by the conditions of revolutionary (and counterrevolutionary) turmoil under which many Communist parties came into being. Membership in a Communist party could not simply be based on defense of Soviet Russia against the Whites and imperialists and on theoretical acceptance of the proletarian dictatorship as a transition to a classless and stateless society. There also had to be basic agreement on strategic tasks and tactics—for example, whether and how to engage in parliamentary elections, policies toward the reformist-led trade unions—which governed the party's day-to-day activities.

The question of recruiting and assimilating anarchist and syndicalist militants into the Communist International (Comintern) was discussed at its Second Congress, held in Moscow in July-August 1920. Opposition to this perspective was voiced by Paul Levi, a young lawyer who had become the principal leader of the German Communist Party (KPD) following the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht by the Freikorps in early 1919. Standing on the far right wing of the Communist movement, Levi argued that the overwhelming majority of workers in Central and West Europe already understood the need for a party, dismissing the anarchists and syndicalists as an ultraleft fringe of no account.

To this, Trotsky responded that the Social Democrats, too, understood the need for a party—one which would contain and, if necessary, suppress the revolutionary impulses of the workers:

> "Just because I know that the party is indispensable, and am very well aware of the value of the party, just because I see [the German Social Democrat] Scheidemann on the one side and, on the other, American or Spanish or French syndicalists who not only wish to fight against the bourgeoisie but who, unlike Scheidemann, really want to tear its head off—for this reason I say I prefer to discuss with these Spanish, American and French comrades in order to prove to them that the party is indispensable for the fulfillment of the historical mission which is placed upon them—the destruction of the bourgeoisie. I will try to prove this to them in a comradely way, on the basis of my own experience."
>
> — "Speech on Comrade Zinoviev's Report on the Role of the Party," in *The First Five Years of the Communist International* (1972)

Unfortunately, Levi's approach toward anarchists and syndicalists moving toward Communism was very different. In late 1919, he had deliberately driven some tens of thousands of "lefts" out of the KPD, branding them as "putschists." Many of these then formed their own party, the Communist Workers Party of Germany, an unstable amalgam of anarchist and Communist politics. Lenin personally intervened to heal this breach in the German Communist movement but did not succeed, in large measure due to Levi's near-pathological hostility to anarchism and anarchists. Less than two years later, Levi provoked his own expulsion from the KPD and subsequently opposed international Communism from a social-democratic standpoint.

Despite their positive orientation toward anarchist and syndicalist militants, Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders understood that the new Communist parties in the capitalist world could not be built on the basis of abstention from parliamentary politics and the mass trade unions. Nor could they long include in their ranks large minorities which advocated these policies. This would condemn the nascent Communist parties to political paralysis and permanent factionalism. The Bolshevik leaders sought to win over would-be Communists imbued with anarchist and syndicalist views and

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Campus Cops Bust Gay Activists

Michael Sofronski

Brian Lewis (left) and James Robinson: CUNY gay activists jailed for kissing on the dance floor.

CUNY Kissing Case

This past May at New York City's Queensborough Community College (QCC), five armed "peace officers" suddenly tackled and then handcuffed two gay men who were dancing together at a school-sponsored social. The cops choked one of their victims by grabbing his necklace, causing an asthma attack serious enough to require later hospitalization. The two students, James Robinson and Brian Lewis, leading gay activists on campus, were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, spending 30 hours in jail. What was their "crime"? Kissing on the dance floor!

For the QCC administration, assault by campus police and jail time was not enough punishment for Robinson and Lewis. In truly Orwellian fashion, the QCC administration is threatening a disciplinary trial of Robinson and Lewis on charges of violating a campus *anti-discrimination* statute! The rule states that "a member of the academic community shall not intentionally and/or forcibly prevent others from the exercise of their rights." These "rights" obviously don't apply to those who go against the bigoted, prudish, anti-homosexual norms of capitalist society.

The repressive actions against Robinson and Lewis bring to mind the infamous 1958 Monroe, North Carolina "Kissing Case," in which two black boys aged seven and nine were sentenced to more than a decade in prison for kissing a young white girl. Prominent civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn, in his autobiography *There Is a Fountain*, wrote about his experience defending the two children against the Jim Crow segregationist system in the Deep South, where anything that even hinted of "race-mixing"—be it two children kissing or "reckless eyeballing"—was the ultimate taboo.

For Robinson and Lewis, along with their kissing, their activism placed them in the sights of the campus administration. Robinson is the vice president of the campus Gay and Lesbian Alliance, and Lewis heads the QCC Advocates for Student Rights. As one dean told Lewis: "I must stop your activism on this campus. You cannot be allowed to continue" (*Village Voice*, 20 August). The hideous repression by the QCC administration must be fought! Defend James Robinson and Brian Lewis!

The City University of New York system (CUNY), located in the largest city in America, is meant to provide an education to working-class, immigrant and minority youth. CUNY has long had a reputation for student activism. Thousands of CUNY students have protested the devastating tuition increases over the past few years. The Spartacus Youth Club intervened in the protests with the demands: "Abolish the administration—For student, teacher, worker control of the campuses!" and "For open admissions, free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students!"

Today, CUNY students are under increasing attacks as New York's rulers deem a university catering to largely black and Hispanic working-class students superfluous. Entire academic programs are being cut, tenured instructors fired, and remedial programs which have helped the victims of New York's wretched school system are being eliminated. Why spend money educating working-class youth when there are no jobs requiring that education?

But as CUNY guts almost all programs and services, it *increases* funding to one: campus "security." The day before Robinson and Lewis were arrested, the Justice Department gave almost $9 million in grants to CUNY's security force. This augments the already $23 million annual budget for approximately 650 CUNY "peace officers." These officers, who unlike the previous security force are allowed to carry arms and make arrests, are clearly part of CUNY's plan to further repress student activism. (See "Police Red Squad at CUNY Colleges," *Young Spartacus* pages, *WV* No. 629, 22 September 1995.) As the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (21 June) reported: "The administration's own documents show that it has routinely videotaped and conducted surveillance on student demonstrations, even using plainclothes officers to monitor protests off campus."

In referring to increased police surveillance, the article notes that the CUNY red squads also have been involved in "track[ing] the names, ages, addresses, and Social Security numbers of students and faculty members who were arrested by campus security officers or by New York City police" at protests. This is clearly an attempt by CUNY to intimidate and destroy any dissenting voices against its austerity program. All cops—from armed "peace officers" to unarmed security guards—off campus!

The attack on the two gay students is just the latest atrocity in the growing "family values" witchhunt by the racist capitalist class which seeks to regiment the population for austerity and war by, among other measures, increasing anti-gay repression, slashing abortion rights, dismantling public education and otherwise pillaging even the most fundamental bourgeois-democratic rights. Any social activity—from art to sex—that offends these keepers of bourgeois morality is made *verboten*. The SYC demands: Hands off Robinson and Lewis!

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Anarchism...

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prejudices through comradely discussion and political persuasion, not organizational ultimatums.

The most important contribution to this discussion was Lenin's pamphlet *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, written in conjunction with the Second Comintern Congress and immediately made available in all major European languages. In arguing that Communists should intervene in parliamentary politics and work in mass trade unions led by Social Democratic reformists or even reactionaries, Lenin drew heavily on the experience of the Bolshevik Party in tsarist Russia. He pointed out that "Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steeled in the long years of struggle against *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter."

The views and positions which Lenin polemicized against were prevalent in the nascent American Communist movement. For example, revolutionary dual unionism, exemplified by the syndicalist IWW, was an unchallenged article of faith for the American radical left of the day. Among the leaders of the American Communist movement was a former organizer for the IWW, James P. Cannon, who would later become a founding leader of American Trotskyism. Looking back in the 1950s, Cannon recounted:

> "The traditional sectarianism of the Americans was expressed most glaringly in their attempt to construct revolutionary unions outside the existing labor movement; their refusal to fight for 'immediate demands' in the course of the class struggle for the socialist goal; and their strongly entrenched anti-parliamentarianism.... All that hodge-podge of ultra-radicalism was practically wiped out of the American movement in 1920-21 by Lenin. He did it, not by an administrative order backed up by police powers, but by the simple device of publishing a pamphlet called *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*."
>
> — *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

The effect of *"Left-Wing" Communism* was complementary to that of *State and Revolution*. The latter won many anarchists and syndicalists to the theoretical principles of the proletarian revolution; the former convinced them of the strategy and tactics necessary to translate these principles into effective practice.

Of course, Lenin's writings were not magical formulas which changed the minds of all left-wing activists overnight. Nor did the Bolshevik leaders demand instantaneous agreement among their supporters on all questions. At this time many anarchists and syndicalists ardently defended Soviet Russia against the imperialists, sympathized with the world Communist movement but still rejected the concept of a revolutionary vanguard party.

It was in large part to attract such militants that the Red International of Labor Unions, also known as the Profintern, was formed in mid-1920. Its chairman was Salomon Lozovsky, a dissident right Bolshevik who, while in France in 1914-17, had worked closely with revolutionary syndicalists like Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer in organizing the antiwar left. The number two man in the Profintern was the young Andrés Nin, formerly a prominent militant in the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) of Spain, the only mass workers organization in the world claiming the Bakuninist tradition. The Profintern's founding manifesto declared as its basic program "the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, the creation of a world republic of Soviets, and a close and indestructible alliance between the communist parties and the trade unions." The manifesto concluded:

> "The unions, like other workers' organizations, are not an end in themselves, but a means to an end. And therefore neither a split nor unity is an absolute. It is not necessary to split the unions, but it is necessary to expel from them the treacherous group of leaders who are making the unions into a plaything of the imperialists."
>
> — reproduced in Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919-1943: Documents*, Volume 1 (1971)

The formation of the Profintern split the syndicalist movement in many countries along clear left-right lines. In general, those syndicalist leaders who opposed affiliation with the Profintern abandoned any pretence at revolutionary politics and allied themselves with outright reformists and social-chauvinists. A good case in point was Alphonse Merrheim. Merrheim had been a protégé of Fernand Pelloutier, the founding theoretician of French syndicalism, and was head of the important metalworkers federation of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). As we have seen, with the outbreak of the First World War the central CGT leadership around its general secretary Léon Jouhaux (who became a "commissioner of the nation") helped mobilize the French working class for the imperialist slaughter. Merrheim opposed the war from a pacifistic rather than a revolutionary perspective, and played a significant role in the anti-war Zimmerwald movement, where he occupied a centrist position.

In France, as in the rest of Europe, the immediate postwar period saw explosive class struggles (notably a nationwide railway strike in 1920) and a sharp left-ward radicalization of the masses. The rapidly growing left wing of the CGT, led by Monatte, Rosmer and Fernand Loriot, demanded that the organization affiliate with the Profintern and this issue led to a split in 1921. In this factional struggle, Merrheim supported the arch-chauvinist Jouhaux against his own former comrades, revolutionary syndicalists who had become supporters of international Communism. Merrheim now opposed the world Communist movement in the name of the sovereignty of the French nation, denouncing Lenin for seeking to impose a "dictatorship on all parties, all nations."

Oxford University Press

At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Trotsky defended an orientation toward winning over anarchist and syndicalist militants.

Not all anarchists and syndicalists who rejected and opposed the Communist movement became, like Merrheim, labor lieutenants or apologists for their own imperialist bourgeoisie. The old Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta and veteran American syndicalist Vincent St. John, the principal and highly respected leader of the IWW, initially adopted an open-minded, wait-and-see attitude toward the Bolshevik Revolution. However, by the early 1920s their anti-Communist prejudices came to the fore and they turned strongly hostile to Soviet Russia and its international supporters. Men like Malatesta and St. John were too fixed in their thinking to be won to revolutionary Marxism as expounded and developed by Lenin and Trotsky. But they were also too fixed in their thinking and too principled to make common cause with right-wing labor bureaucrats and capitalist reactionaries under the banner of anti-Communism.

Malatesta and St. John were revolutionaries of the pre-1914 era—personally honorable and even heroic—whose doctrines and program had no meaning in the world issuing out of the European-wide imperialist war and the proletarian revolution in Russia. They were thereby condemned to sectarian irrelevance. The generation of young workers and leftist intellectuals whose hatred of the bourgeois order was formed amid the mud and blood of the battlefields, whose hope for a better future was inspired by Red October, rallied en masse to the Communist International.

Yet despite the wave of revolutionary ferment which engulfed Europe after the war, and the growth of mass Communist parties, the bourgeois order survived with the indispensable support of the reformist labor bureaucrats, both social-democratic and syndicalist. Soviet Russia, utterly devastated after seven years of imperialist war and civil war, remained isolated and encircled by hostile and more powerful imperialist states. Thus came to power the bureaucratic regime under J.V. Stalin, which usurped political power from the proletariat to implement its counterrevolutionary, anti-Bolshevik program of "socialism in one country," in the process murdering the leaders and cadres of the Old Bolsheviks. Yet it still required decades of Stalinist repression and lies eroding the socialist consciousness of the working class, and of systematic betrayal of revolutionary possibilities abroad, before the final surrender to capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92.

Anarchism vs. the Spanish Revolution

By the 1920s, the only country in the world where anarchism remained a significant movement was Spain. For that reason, the Spanish Revolution and Civil War of 1936-39 was a decisive historical test of anarchism. The consequence of anarchist hegemony among the militant workers of Spain was that proletarian revolution was strangled and the militant detachments of the working class were drowned in blood by bourgeois reaction. Indeed, for all their "revolutionary" posturing, the bureaucratic anarchist leaders of the CNT played the same role as the despised Social Democrats in Germany in 1919, whose treacherous coalition with the bourgeoisie to stave off workers revolution led them to front for the murder of revolutionaries like Rosa Luxemburg.

Beginning with the July 1936 military coup of Fascist general Francisco Franco, Spain entered into a revolutionary situation of *dual power*, between the popular-front bourgeois government of the "Republican Left" and the armed workers militias who patrolled the streets, organized the war effort and undertook the disarming of the army and police. Workers collectives managed the factories and agricultural production was taken over by farm collectives. Bourgeois class rule in Spain survived principally because of the determination of the Stalinists and social democrats to uphold capitalist property relations.

The stronghold of proletarian dual power in Spain was the militant working class of Catalonia, where land seizures and attempts at workers control of industry had begun long before Franco's uprising. Franco's attempted takeover of Barcelona had been decisively smashed by the proletarian mobilization. But while workers militias controlled the streets of Barcelona, unified national organs of proletarian power like the Russian soviets never crystallized. The essential reason was the lack of a revolu-

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Australia...

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building, initially overrunning the security forces. Within minutes, the crowd in and around the entrance grew to 4,000. For two hours, demonstrators fought running battles with hundreds of cops, forcing open the main doors of the Parliament building with boards. Protesters chanted, "Our house, let us in!" as they rushed into the building. Cries of "We're coming to get you Johnny [Howard]!" rose from the crowd. For several hours, the prime minister was a virtual captive in his own office, surrounded by cops.

Union banners were hung from the side of the building, while red flags and Aboriginal land rights flags were rigged up on the building's coat of arms. Waterfront workers' banners were raised inside the Parliament and nurses flew their union banners from spiked flagpoles. The country's rulers were horrified: an account in the *Daily Telegraph* (20 August) even described how "an old Communist Soviet flag was raised above the House."

In a country dominated for decades by an *official* policy of "White Australia" racism, this militant, multiracial outpouring of anger was truly spectacular. Contingents of heavily Southeast Asian men and women manufacturing workers from Sydney marched down the road toward the rally, striking auto workers from Melbourne streamed in, staff and students from Canberra's Australian National University marched in with their own contingent, and Aboriginal people came from as far away as South Australia and Queensland. Alongside the official ACTU rally, there was another rally of Aboriginal people joining with miners and other workers from the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) with their lodge banners.

August 19 showed the class anger seething at the base of Australian society. The unity in struggle of workers and minorities gave a taste of the sort of power a revolutionary leadership would harness to bring down racist Australian capitalism. The Spartacist League/Australia fights for worker/minority mobilizations against racist terror. And the front page of the current issue of *Australasian Spartacist*, with its headline "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" spoke to the felt interests of many of the protesters.

Workers Repel Racist Cop Attack

Significantly, the occupation of the Parliament was sparked as trade unionists came to the defence of black demonstrators against racist provocations by the

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacists call for labor-centered fight against racist terror at 1993 Melbourne protest against cop killing of a young Aborigine.

Special Operations Police. In a radio interview, CFMEU national secretary Stan Sharkey described how "people dressed like SWAT gangs perpetrated an attack, an assault on a young Aboriginal person, and then a number of people from the crowd including no doubt some trade unionists, maybe even some from my own union, went to his aid." As the cops tried to block the joint Aboriginal/CFMEU contingent from approaching the ACTU rally, crowds of protesters chanted, "Let them through!" When the cops launched an attack on the Aboriginal contingent, the marchers fought back courageously, giving chase to the police who retreated to the Parliament building.

Most of the protesters at the ACTU rally were kept unaware of the battle raging just up the hill. An emissary from the official rally was sent to the scene to announce over a bullhorn that all unionists should leave because "the leader of the ACTU is addressing you." Meanwhile, it was the main event that unionists were leaving in droves, bored stiff with the windbags. Had they known about the action at Parliament House, many of these workers would undoubtedly have swelled the ranks there.

Once "order" was restored, Howard abruptly cut short a prescheduled meeting with ACTU leaders Jennie George and Bill Kelty, who duly groveled and joined in a chauvinist tirade against the protesters. As Howard denounced the demonstrators as "un-Australian," George echoed with barely disguised racism, calling the protesters "outside the mainstream." Former ALP foreign minister Gareth Evans vituperated against the militant protesters as "self-indulgent bastards." The leadership of the CFMEU and the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union tried to distance themselves from the acts of their union members with the "claim that any of their members who may have been involved belong to a fringe minority of hardline Trotskyites or remnants of the defunct Builders Labourers Federation," the militant construction union which was smashed under the ALP government (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August).

The following day, after the trade unionists had left the capital, over a thousand Aboriginal protesters rallied again, attempting to occupy the old Parliament building and defending themselves against hundreds of police in full riot gear. Dozens of people were arrested in the course of the two days of protest and the cops have threatened more arrests after examining video footage. *Drop the charges against all the anti-government protesters!*

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is notable that the U.S. press virtually blacked out any coverage of the August 19 protest. Presumably Washington is not at all happy about the social turmoil boiling over in Australia, threatening the stability of its junior partner and gendarme in the Asia Pacific region. Australia has long served as a potential launch pad for U.S. forces in the region, and is the site of strategic U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. And indeed there is every reason to expect explosions of militant struggle here as Howard & Co. declare war on Aborigines, immigrants, unions, students and youth.

The current onslaught against the Aboriginal people has been prepared by years of murderous, racist police terror under both Labor and the Tories. A week before the budget was presented, the government slashed $470 million of funding from the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), which is supposed to provide some basic services to the 300,000 horribly oppressed and economically and socially marginalised Aborigines.

Trade unionists are outraged by the Tories' "Workplace Relations Bill," which is meant to put workers on individual contracts and gut the most basic union rights of organisation and representation. The massive cutbacks in education spending will deny access to tertiary (higher) education for the vast majority of working-class youth. Immigrant workers are incensed at the government's racist assaults on the immigrant community, including denying access to social benefits for two years to immigrants newly arrived in the country, slashing immigrant quotas (particularly targeting Asians), and eliminating most English-language programs for immigrants. These policies mean that recent immigrants, particularly Asians, are forced to work for a pittance in sweatshops or starve.

The Howard government is a regime of raw class and racist reaction. Its present onslaught against the working people was prepared by 13 long, hard and miserable years of Labor rule under prime ministers Bob Hawke (former head of the ACTU) and Paul Keating, which ravaged living standards, eroded union organisation and power and presided over mass unemployment. Howard's privatisation program, the cutbacks to education, health and social security and the assaults on immigrants and Aborigines were all prefigured by Labor in power. Now, in the face of Howard's attacks, the ALP and ACTU tops have not said a word opposing the government's attacks on immigrants, let alone done anything to defend this most vulnerable and beleaguered section of the working class.

As the dramatic events of August 19 showed, a powerful working-class centered fightback, reaching out to defend immigrants and other minorities, would galvanise widespread support. When CFMEU miners in far north Queensland struck against the union-busting CRA mining conglomerate last year, Aboriginal people—themselves victims of the greedy CRA bosses—were among the most solid strike supporters. It is not surprising that the Laborite union bureaucrats have joined the racist, anti-working-class hue and cry about "mob rule" and "fringe elements" on August 19. No less than their capitalist masters, they fear and oppose the prospect of militant, integrated working-class struggle against racist Australian capitalism.

Unlike our reformist and centrist opponents who regularly call on working people to return the wretched Labor Party to office, the SL/A opposed a vote to the ALP in the last election, denouncing the "Bipartisan Attack on Workers and Oppressed." Today, with the ALP out of office, the reformist left groups are offering their services as waterboys for the Laborite ACTU bureaucracy. What is needed is a political fight to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and to break working people and minorities from the ALP traitors.

The SL/A fights to build a Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the working class and behind them all the oppressed masses in a socialist revolution which sweeps away the racist capitalist system and establishes workers rule. Such a party will be forged in the struggle to break the stranglehold of the social-democratic lackeys. A revolutionary workers party will act as a tribune of the people, combatting all manifestations of racial and sexual oppression. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

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tionary party struggling to unite the working class for the seizure of state power, in opposition to the reformist traitors.

The Catalan government of Luis Companys was entirely dependent on the leadership of the mass anarchist trade-union federation, the CNT. Companys invited the CNT-FAI (the anarchist union and party) and the centrist POUM to enter the Catalan government. And just like their more overtly reformist Stalinist and social-democratic counterparts elsewhere, the anarchist and centrist leaders in September 1936 jumped at the offer of ministerial portfolios! Only the entry of the CNT into the Catalan government could have sufficiently strengthened Companys for a counterrevolutionary mobilization.

The crucial battle began on 3 May 1937 with the attempt by government riot police (led by the Stalinist Commissar of Public Order) to retake the Barcelona Telefónica (telephone exchange), the most prominent building in the city center which symbolized the seizure of industry and public services by workers committees. The Telefónica workers, predominantly loyal to the CNT, fought back fiercely. Word of the attack spread like wildfire: within hours barricades were up all over the city and by the first day, virtually all of Barcelona was in the hands of the workers. By nightfall, streetfighting had begun, as the popular-front government confronted the armed working masses.

The CNT-FAI maneuvered to negotiate the surrender of the Telefónica while issuing a leaflet exhorting the workers to lay down their arms. The militant CNT ranks were ill disposed to comply, but, lacking organized leadership and in the face of the demoralizing treachery of their leaders, the workers drifted from the barricades. By May 6 the government had retaken control of the city. Reprisals were swift and bloody as police rampaged through the working-class districts.

The Barcelona May Days broke the back of the struggle against Franco. At the decisive moment, the anarchist leaders behaved like garden-variety reformist sellouts, serving as the last prop keeping Spanish bourgeois democracy afloat while crushing the workers. As Leon Trotsky explained:

> "In opposing the *goal*, the conquest of power, the Anarchists could not in the end fail to oppose the *means*, the revolution. The leaders of the CNT and FAI not only helped the bourgeoisie hold on to the shadow of power in July 1936; they also helped it to reestablish bit by bit what it had lost at one stroke. In May 1937, they sabotaged the uprising of the workers and thereby saved the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus anarchism, which wished merely to be antipolitical, proved in reality to be antirevolutionary, and in the more critical moments—counterrevolutionary."
>
> —"The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (December 1937)

Six decades after the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution by anarchists and Stalinists alike, Stalinism has been thoroughly discredited. Anarchism, on the other hand, has seen a certain revival in the recent period. This has been fostered by understandable disgust at the Stalinist perversion of the ideals of communism, demoralization in the face of the seeming stability of capitalism buoyed by the destruction of the USSR, and hatred of the reformist treachery of those who profess adherence to "socialism."

Anarchism, defeated by history, exposed in living class struggle and swept aside by the victory of authentic Marxism in October 1917, is again rearing its head. It would be a travesty if this false ideology—an extreme version of radical-democratic idealism—were permitted to deflect a new generation of would-be revolutionaries from the crucial task which remains before us: the building of a revolutionary leadership rooted in the proletariat, a Leninist vanguard party, the indispensable condition for decisive international victory of the workers and oppressed. We of the International Communist League are committed to this task of preparing for new Red Octobers throughout the world through winning young worker militants and leftist intellectuals to the program of proletarian revolution and the underlying principles of scientific socialism.■

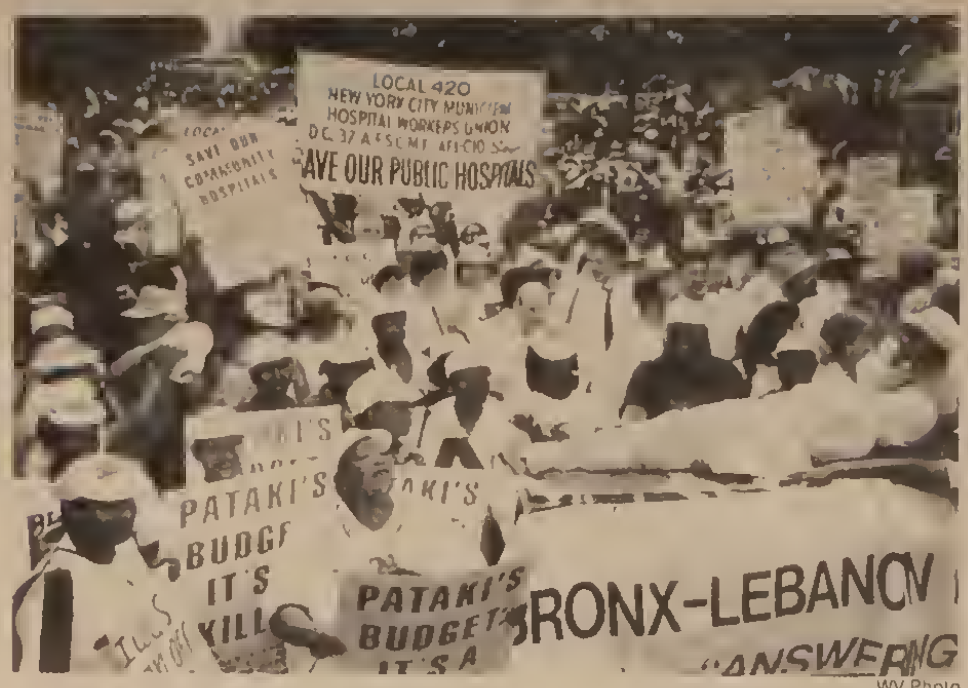
Welfare...

(continued from page 1)

on floors and desks, in an effort to push them onto "workfare"—i.e., to do the work of unionized city workers at a fraction of the cost.

Only a few miles from the red-white-and-blue videocam glitter of the San Diego Republican convention, in a silent and dark canyon, there's a whole town of cardboard shacks where hundreds of Mexican immigrants live, without running water or electricity, without radios or televisions or telephones. Many of them are "illegal" immigrants, brought in to pick California's crops. Yet while railing against "illegals," Republican candidate Bob Dole assures the giant agribusiness bosses who exploit them that he will get the "federal government out of your lives" by cutting off any assistance to such impoverished farmworkers. And the Democrats are just as vehement in attacking immigrants, seeking to use them as scapegoats for the increased misery of America's poor, a misery that the Democrats themselves are perpetuating and worsening.

The starve-the-poor policies have been prepared by a climate of social reaction and racist bigotry directed centrally at blacks and immigrants. This is expressed in the most naked, raw way by right-wing demagogue Pat Buchanan and in more "moderate" fashion by mainstream spokesmen for both the Democrats and Republicans. Many white working people buy the lie that their tax dollars are going to feed the out-of-wedlock children of teenage black mothers. But to begin with, 40 percent of the families receiving AFDC benefits are white. Furthermore, throwing millions off welfare is intended to—and will—put downward



WV Photo

June 12: New York City hospital workers protest against layoffs, closures. Labor tops oppose class struggle, push support for racist Democrats.

pressure on wages which have already fallen sharply for a generation, as U.S. big business continues driving down domestic wage levels to compete on a global scale with its capitalist competitors overseas.

AFDC benefits account for only *1 percent* of the federal budget. The real "entitlement" programs which the capitalist rulers have in their gun sights as they go about cutting "big government" are Social Security pensions and Medicare, which taken together make up almost a third of federal outlays. And the bosses want to stop paying into the system in order to lower the cost of labor and increase the rate of exploitation. While both parties vow that these programs for the elderly are "sacred cows" that won't be touched, slashing Social Security is what's at the root of Dole/Kemp's "supply side" tax cuts, while Clinton's Democrats joined in a bipartisan commission two years ago which proposed cuts in the pension system. Once the elections are safely over, these programs will be under threat. In fact, Social Security benefits have already been cut three times over the past 20 years.

In 1935, Democratic president Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act, which included the welfare provisions just wiped out. Why were these social programs established at that time? Why are they now being eliminated or slashed? The Great Depression of the 1930s radicalized the American working class, evoking in this country's rulers the spectre of "red revolution." Mass industrial unions were built through strikes and plant occupations, usually led by Communists or other leftists and involving pitched battles with the police. Social Security and other "New Deal" legislation were thus designed to piece off the increasingly combative working class and sell the idea that government policies can control and reform the harsh workings of the capitalist market economy. The New Deal coalition whose demise the liberals and reformists today bemoan was in fact aimed at *suppressing* class struggle by offering some palliative reforms in order to tie the workers organizations to the capitalist Democrats.

Today, with the capitalist counterrevolution and destruction of the Soviet Union, the men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations believe they can do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities without the slightest danger of serious social turmoil, not to speak of revolution. Thus, former JFK speechwriter and long-time Democratic Party ideologist Richard Goodwin recently stated: "The country is experiencing its greatest redistribution of wealth upward since before the Great Depression. Class struggle in America is over. The wealthy have won, at least for now" (*New York Times Magazine*, 25 August).

Such liberal wishful thinking to the contrary, the class struggle is inherent in the capitalist system, in which the interests of the workers and their exploiters are in constant conflict. The boom in prison construction and the massive deployment of cops on the street—as well as the spiraling growth of private strikebreaking outfits—speak to the bourgeoisie's concern that the raw anger seething beneath the surface of "class peace" will one day boil over. Behind the ebb in class struggle is the "mediating" role played by the union bureaucrats, who act as the bosses' cops in the labor movement in exchange for a few

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

march, nonetheless mobilized with multiple leaflets to "Build the April 14th March" in the name of defending affirmative action. In the case of BACOF, AYUDA and their various fake-left denizens, it was to "defend immigrants" as part of an "immigrant rights" contingent—particularly grotesque in a march to re-elect the man who militarized the Mexican border and is currently busy terminating social benefits for immigrants!

Tuckerman sneers that the Spartacist League "left [the rally] allegedly under some great principle—a principle that allowed them to come in the first place." We did attempt to intersect with a revolutionary program those who were brought to the march under false pretenses, including by BACOF, AYUDA, Workers' Voice & Co.; and we certainly did refuse to join the Clinton rally. Under what "great principle"? "Only" the basic Leninist principle of fighting for *the complete and unconditional independence of the proletariat from the organizations and institutions of the ruling class*. Such political independence is the precondition for any revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist rulers.

In this country, that means that the strategic task for revolutionists is to break the workers and the oppressed from illusions that the Democratic Party can be made an instrument to help the working class. The role of the alliance with the Democrats in politically derailing the workers movement has been fostered for decades by the trade-union bureaucracy and its "leftist" hangers-on. Precisely on this question, BACOF/AYUDA betray the historic interests of the working class. To the extent that Workers' Voice, the FSP et al. pose as some kind of socialist alternative, their actions *create and deepen* illusions in the Democrats.

AYUDA bills itself as a social service organization for immigrants, but also serves as a reformist sandbox for various fake lefts. BACOF was founded primarily on the initiative of Workers' Voice—previously the Revolutionary Trotskyist League—in reaction to the successful mobilization, initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club, which routed David Irving and his fascist friends at the University of California-Berkeley campus in October 1994 (see "How Hitler-Lover David Irving Was Routed," *WV* No. 621, 21 April 1995). In contrast to our perspective of labor-centered united-front mobilizations, they promoted BACOF as an ongoing bloc of disparate forces which "agree to disagree"—to *talk* about "fighting fascism" while in reality serving as a ready-made vehicle for reformist activities suited to its various components. These have ranged from the reformists of the Freedom Socialist Party and Workers World to the more left-sounding centrists of Workers' Voice.

The reformists openly tail the capitalist Democratic Party, and the centrists tail the reformists. The bottom line is the same: "unity" with the ruling class at the expense of the interests of the workers. The action of marching for the Democrats spoke clearly, despite the somewhat ridiculous attempt to provide a left cover by chanting "anti-Democratic Party slogans," revealing mainly a certain guilty knowledge. This is why these groups react so bureaucratically when we call them by their right name, as they did both at a BACOF/AYUDA rally on April 5 and at the May 11 demonstration, where supporters of Workers' Voice turned off the sound system—just when our comrade brought up their craven crawl for the Democrats on April 14.

This crew soon provided another devastating example of the same treacherous program in action. A leaflet advertising a May 31 event on "Police Repression Under Mayor Brown" stated that "some activists want to invite the SFPD and the District Attorney to a public forum, where the community as a whole can present a list of demands." It declared: "you are invited to tell the police what you think should be done to stop police violence and repression in San Francisco." As if there can be a "non-repressive" police force in racist capitalist America! Along with the bourgeois liberal groups on the list of endorsers could be found the reformists of the International Socialist Organization—and BACOF, whose member organizations participated in the meeting.

Here is another class principle that these self-proclaimed "socialists" and even "Trotskyists" sneer at in practice in order to promote illusions that are extremely dangerous. Lenin taught us that the state consists of "special bodies of armed men" to serve as "an organ for the oppression of one class by another." The capitalist state, with the police at the business end, exists to protect the wealth and power of the capitalist rulers. It cannot be reformed: it has to be smashed by workers revolution and replaced with a workers state. But Workers' Voice & Co., disowning the program of workers revolution, get together with the capitalist police in order to advise these racist, strikebreaking killers of blacks and immigrant workers how to clean up their act.

Especially since the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, opportunist currents on the left have been moving further to the right, buying into the bourgeoisie's lie that "communism is dead": that is, that the program of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was a failure. Our task is to bring communist consciousness to the proletariat by building a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class, at the head of all the oppressed, to power. Most of all, this requires the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. We need a party like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, not one led by self-styled leftists who, whatever their "radical" verbiage, act as the tail of the Democratic Party donkey. ■

Contents include:

- What We Stand For
  Labor Black League for Social Defense
- **Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!**
- **Battle for Mumia's Freedom**
- **Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal**
- Farrakhan's Reactionary Dead End
  Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters
- A Tribute
  Conrad Lynn, 1908-1995

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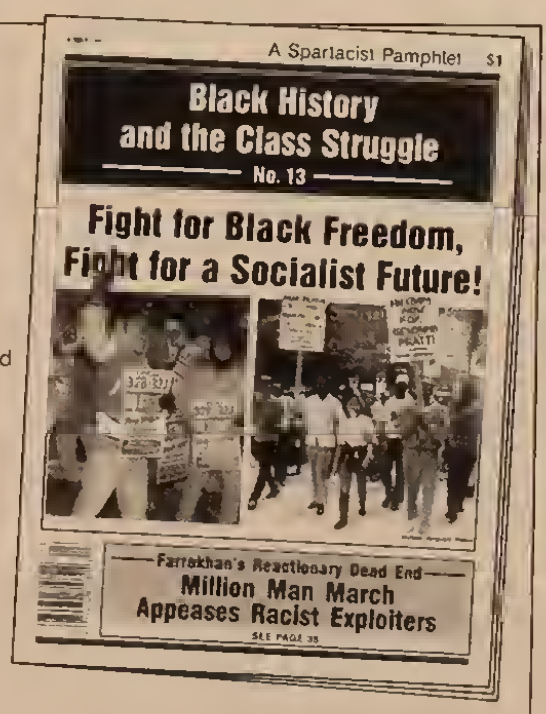

crumbs. Today, with the ruling class no longer offering anything to the workers, the labor tops mediate nothing but ever more givebacks and concessions.

Black Front Men for Racist Reaction

For years there has been a massive ideological campaign to blame the hideous poverty and degradation of life in the black ghettos on the victims themselves. "Family values," teen pregnancy and the "war on drugs" are code words for slashing all social programs for the ghetto masses and for intensified police repression against them. Grotesquely, even as Congress cut welfare, it allocated $650 million to encourage "abstinence" and reduce "illegitimate" births.

Aiding and abetting this racist offensive are the black front men for capitalist rule, from Democratic politicians like Jesse Jackson to Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan and former general Colin Powell. The Republicans' invitation to Powell to give a major address at the San Diego convention was calculated to chip away at the Democrats' voting base particularly among middle-class blacks and as part of the rhetorical camouflage of "inclusiveness" to cover the most right-wing platform in Republican history. The delegates sat grimly on their hands when Powell defended affirmative action and abortion rights—both of which the Republicans have vowed to eliminate—but cheered when he blathered about how black people can pull themselves up by the bootstraps and achieve "the American dream" if they learn the right "values" from their parents, the churches and schools. This speech could just as well have been given at the Democratic convention and would have received the same applause.

While Powell has become the most "respected" black figure on the American political scene, Farrakhan has a hearing among the disaffected ghetto masses because of his "in your face" denunciations of white racism. But with his vile diatribes against Koreans, Arabs and Jews, this sinister demagogue seeks to deflect black anger against this racist system. In fact, Farrakhan voices the aspirations of the black middle class and petty capitalists who seek to have exclusive rights of exploitation over the ghetto masses. The main theme of Farrakhan's "Million Man March" in Washington last year was that black men should "atone" and take "personal responsibility" for the degrading conditions in which black people are forced to live. And while the Nation of Islam leader rapped Clinton on the knuckles for signing the welfare bill, his attitude is no different than that of Clinton, Dole, Gingrich and Buchanan. Thus, the NOI's *Final Call* (13 August) declaimed: "Welfare stifles the growth of many recipients because rather than relying on their own God-given talents to improve their condition, they become used to the federal handouts and sit on their behinds waiting for a first-of-the-month check."

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

To repel the assaults on social welfare programs and living standards, it is necessary to mobilize the integrated labor movement, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in class struggle. The unions are the only significant mass organizations in which blacks and whites are united for their common interests. However, the deep racial divide among American working people cannot be overcome simply on the basis of maintaining or increasing wages and benefits of unionized workers. The labor movement must fight all forms of black oppression—the elimination of welfare and slashing of public health and education, cop repression against minorities, racist terror by the Klan and other fascist scum.

What is needed is a political struggle to dump the labor fakers, who are an obstacle to mobilizing the power of the working class and tapping the anger of the ghetto masses. If the Republicans, whose convention was packed with millionaires, are a party of capitalists, the Democrats are equally a capitalist party. What further indictment is necessary of the illusion that the Democrats are a "lesser evil" than their willingness to accept the destruction of millions of lives? We say: To hell with the Democrats! Labor and minorities need a party that fights for *our* class, a *revolutionary workers party* which champions the cause of all the oppressed.

This is what the Spartacist League fights for. The fight against black oppression is key to the American workers revolution. Through transitional organizations linked to the revolutionary party, it is necessary to draw the black and Hispanic masses into *class* struggle behind the social power of the working class. That is the aim encapsulated in the program of the Labor Black Leagues affiliated to the Spartacist League. The axing of welfare and the looming attack on Social Security underscores the fundamental inhumanity of the capitalist system, which cannot be reformed but must be overthrown. As the February 1996 Labor Black League statement, "What We Stand For," says:

> "Black people are...a specially oppressed race-color caste, segregated at the bottom of U.S. society but also integrated into strategic sections of the industrial proletariat in whose hands lies the economic power to shatter this racist capitalist system. Full equality can only come through the struggle for revolutionary integration, to free black people from grinding capitalist oppression through mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class and establishing a socialist society where those who labor rule. There is no other road to black freedom or proletarian emancipation. Getting there is a question of leadership." ■

Drop All Charges Against Chicago PL Supporters!

AUGUST 26—Six supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) appeared in court today to face felony charges of aggravated battery against a police officer following a cop attack on a PL-led march in Chicago on August 24. The march, which had a legal permit, was called to protest Clinton's abolition of welfare. A PL leaflet reported that police waded into the demonstration after a follower of far-right crackpot Lyndon LaRouche fingered individuals who supposedly attacked LaRouchites back in April. Sixteen demonstrators facing misdemeanors have had their charges dropped.

The attack on PL took place just two days before the opening of the Democratic convention. Chicago has been turned into a virtual police state to ensure Clinton's orderly renomination. Thousands of cops have been mobilized on the streets, and demonstrations outside the convention will be restricted to pens inside a tightly controlled, fenced-in lot. The same day the PLers were arrested, several carloads of Chicago cops firing a hail of bullets killed 41-year-old Emmett Blanton for "driving erratically." Recalling the cop riots at the 1968 convention, his anguished father told the *Chicago Sun-Times* (25 August): "Is this the kinder, gentler police force we've been led to believe we'll see during the Democratic National Convention? We believe the 1968 police thug mentality still exists."

The six PL supporters are due to appear in court again on September 20. Also in Chicago, protesters facing trumped-up charges for the successful June 29 anti-Klan action are due back in court on September 9 (see page 5). Trade-unionists, opponents of racist terror, fighters for the poor—all of us must come to the defense of those victimized for struggling on behalf of the exploited and oppressed. An injury to one is an injury to all!

Chicago...

(continued from page 5)

like Harlem, is a mecca. The establishment of the Black Panther branch with roots at the base of the ghetto was met with a ruthless response from all quarters. The black liberals and reformists painted them up as a "gang." The cops set them up for the kill. Any radicalization at the base of the ghetto contains the potential for an explosion of class struggle. This is precisely what we aim for with the united-front labor/black mobilizations we initiate.

From afar, what I see in Chicago today is a Democratic Party machine that is highly unappetizing, fragile and repulsive in its catering to bald racism. The black misleaders, the would-be power brokers, have nothing to sell. Farrakhan wants to wheel and deal between the racist Democratic Party and the more overtly racist GOP. The entire black establishment jumped on his Million Man March bandwagon like desperate fools. Meanwhile the black ghetto, along with the organized working class, endures blow after blow from the capitalist rulers.

An insightful, disciplined revolutionary party with a committed base of black trade unionists—mobilizing organized labor, appealing to and seeking to lead the ghetto masses—could blow the lid off Chicago. The entire nation would shake. A successful mass labor/black mobilization against racist terror in Chicago would have deep ramifications. By success I mean dealing the fascists and their racist mob supporters in Cicero and Bridgeport the humiliating blow from which they have been shielded by bourgeois state protection and reformist betrayal.

There is not a black worker in Chicago who would not gladly trounce a fascist if he could get his hands on one. Though our numbers were few on June 29, we weren't that far out front. But here's the catch. The black working class, burdened with a conservative petty-bourgeois leadership, sees the road to the labor/black mobilization as fraught with real obstacles: the ghetto masses are too atomized, the white workers appear to be too racist, the state appears too strong...and nothing ever changes anyway. But as was shown by the labor/black mobilizations we initiated in Chicago in 1982 and again in Springfield in 1994, the intervention of a revolutionary vanguard can make the difference.

The Chicago Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL) was founded in 1988 with the enthusiastic recruitment of several dozen transit workers following the victorious campaign against the racist frame-up of bus driver Cassandra Seay. Weeks later a demonstration was called to defend an abortion clinic in the Loop. With the exception of the regular party sympathizers, none of the new LBSL recruits came out. Here is a contradiction that only patient Marxist education can resolve. As a transitional organization, it is the task of the LBSL to resolve this contradiction.

It is true that social struggles against the attacks of the capitalist rulers are great teachers for the working masses and the oppressed. But the revolutionary party, intervening and providing leadership in these struggles, is the indispensable teacher for the class in preparing it to fight to sweep away the whole capitalist system. The LBSL strives to be a fighting organization of leaders and organizers of the working class, training them and moving them closer to the revolutionary party. When the early South African Communist Party made its turn to transform itself into a black workers party, it used the Marxist classics to teach the workers how to read and write. The workers came in large numbers to these schools, defying the apartheid pass laws, to get a basic education. They were willing and hungry for knowledge.

The same is true of the LBSL. We must find the workers that are willing and hungry for knowledge and struggle. Then, on a modest scale, we must train them to be party soldiers, working-class leaders. ■

Spartacist Forums

Down With Racist War On Immigrants and Blacks!

NEW YORK CITY
Friday, September 13, 7:30 p.m.
Brecht Forum
122 W. 27th Street, 10th Floor
For more information (212) 267-1025

BAY AREA
Thursday, September 19, 7 p.m.
Barrows Hall
University of California at Berkeley
For more information (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

CHICAGO
Saturday, September 21, 7 p.m.
Regency Room
Blackstone Hotel
For more information (312) 454-4930

BOSTON
Thursday, September 26, 7 p.m.
Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 214
725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information (617) 666-9453

VANCOUVER
Friday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (at Commercial)
For more information (604) 687-0353

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, October 12, 4 p.m.
Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland exit off 101 Frwy)
For more information (213) 380-8239

KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago!
Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Thursday, September 5, 5 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Student Union, Room B116

BAY AREA For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Suharto Regime Cracks Down

Economist

Indonesian dictatorship has called out troops, cops to suppress protests in Jakarta and elsewhere.

Free Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Indonesia!

For more than 30 years, since the bloody military coup of 1965, Indonesia has been under the iron fist of the Suharto dictatorship. However, in the past few months a growing wave of street protests, workers strikes and peasant uprisings has raised the prospect of a popular revolt which could challenge the very foundations of this semi-colony of imperialism.

The latest protests to shake the capital, Jakarta, were provoked by the army's moves last June against the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) of Megawati Sukarnoputri. Megawati is the daughter of the country's first president, Sukarno, who was replaced after the 1965 coup. Though she is an avowed moderate who limits herself to vague calls for "democracy," protests by her supporters served as a catalyst for an explosion of rage by Jakarta's oppressed poor. On June 20, cops and troops attacked a demonstration of 5,000. This was followed by an army/police assault on PDI headquarters on July 27, which ignited the most widespread rioting in Jakarta in over two decades.

The army's brutal suppression of the July 27 upsurge touched off a wave of repression in which over 200 people were arrested, including Muchtar Pakpahan, the head of Indonesia's only independent trade union, and the 27-year-old leader of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD), Budiman Sudjatmiko. They have been charged with treason and face the possibility of death by firing squad. Nine other PRD members have been arrested, and 52 others are missing. Many of those arrested are being held incommunicado and without access to lawyers.

Economist

People's Democratic Party leader Budiman Sudjatmiko, jailed by Suharto regime.

The venal and corrupt Suharto regime has the full support and complicity of its imperialist masters in Japan, Australia and the U.S. While prating about "human rights," U.S. president Clinton has endorsed the latest wave of repression by approving the sale of nine F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia. In this, Washington was only standing by the butchers it helped install in the first case. Suharto's 1965 reign of terror, which was designed to physically exterminate what was then the third-largest Communist party in the world, the PKI—with up to 3 million members and another 14 million supporters in its trade unions and peasants', women's and youth leagues—was carried out using death lists compiled by the CIA (see "CIA's Hit List for 1965 Indonesia Massacre," *WV* No. 503, 1 June 1990).

Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country, is a flash point for working-class struggle in Asia. Capitalists in the imperialist centers, attracted by the low wages (and the dictatorship's assurance that it will not tolerate strikes or independent unions), invested $40 billion in Indonesia last year alone. This has enormously strengthened the combative—and cruelly exploited—proletariat. At the enormous Nike sport shoe factory in Serang, for example, more than 5,000 workers labor for little more than two dollars a day. Strikes and union organizing have steadily increased, while a growing number of explosive protests have flared up in the countryside.

The workers and peasants of Indonesia have a long history of militant struggle. But the proletariat must not allow itself again to become a pawn of the "national" bourgeoisie, as it did under Sukarno and the PKI, whose "anti-imperialist" popular front paved the way for the bloody slaughter of 1965. To implement agrarian revolution in the countryside and throw off the imperialist yoke, what is needed is a proletarian struggle for state power, drawing behind it the peasantry, national minorities, women and all the oppressed and seeking to extend socialist revolution throughout Southeast Asia and to the imperialist centers. This requires the forging of a Trotskyist party armed with the perspective of permanent revolution.

We print below a protest letter to the Indonesian ambassador in Japan by the Partisan Defense Committee there.

* * *

19 August 1996

Dear Ambassador Wisber Loeis,

We demand the immediate release of those imprisoned for protesting the Indonesian military's July 27 early morning vicious assault on the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). Drop all charges against those currently imprisoned and those being hunted down! In addition to supporters of the PDI, Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the banned SBSI trade-union federation, and Budiman Sudjatmiko, president of the Partai Rakyat Demokrat (PRD), and others have been arrested and charged with treason, a capital crime.

Less than 36 hours after the imperialist bosses of ASEAN and their counterparts jetted out of the country, the military brutally evicted supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri from the headquarters of the opposition PDI, sparking the most concerted anti-government protests in 20 years. Thousands battled troops and heavily armed riot police who were ordered to "shoot on sight." At least 200 were arrested, three killed, 90 injured and scores are still listed as "missing."

The regime's tirades against a supposed "Communist threat" evoked—as was intended—the spectre of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath of workers and peasants carried out by the military and by anti-Communist mobs in 1965. The message was as clear as it was brutal: All who oppose Suharto's "New Order" government will be slaughtered in the same manner as were the more than one million supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other militants in 1965 and the workers and peasants of East Timor who have been fighting for their independence for over 20 years.

The so-called Indonesian "miracle" has been accomplished through superexploitation and built on the sweat and blood of the Indonesian proletariat and peasants.

The banks and office buildings torched on July 27 were the symbols of a ruling class who number among some of the world's richest billionaires. Indonesia's gap between rich and poor is one of the widest in Asia, and continues to grow; more than 30 million live in "absolute poverty." The bourgeoisie is moving into walled, guarded enclaves surrounded by the millions who labor in their fields and factories, making less than ¥200 a day and living in shanties without running water.

The size and determination of the July 27 protests speak to a deep-going opposition to the repressive Suharto dictatorship. We demand that all detained be released and all charges be dropped.

Sincerely,
Hirata Motomu

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France...

(continued from page 16)

last night from the Evreux military base west of the capital, deporting four of those arrested at the church along with about 50 other "illegal" immigrants. 150 stone-throwing demonstrators who tried to block the flight fought with police.

Although clearly taken aback by the scope of the protests, the conservative government under President Jacques Chirac is determined to deport most of the arrested immigrants. The interior ministry announced that only about 40 of those seized in the church would be granted residence permits. But the judicial proceedings against the 80 immigrants who have so far been dragged before administrative court have been such a travesty—with patently falsified documents, arrestees held incommunicado, etc.—that judges have repealed 45 of the expulsion orders. During the first six months of this year, over 7,000 people have been deported in a steady succession of charter plane flights to Africa initiated by the former president, "Socialist" François Mitterrand. These workers, who came to France seeking a better life, are being thrown back to face poverty, repression and, in some cases, starvation.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, has consistently fought for mobilizing the power of the working class to defend immigrant rights. During last December's strike wave by public sector workers, the LTF insisted on the crucial need for the strikers to take up the fight against racial oppression, warning: "The working-class leaders' refusal to fight against racist terror is an obstacle to the necessary extension of the struggle to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong, combative component of workers from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa" (see *WV* No. 636, 5 January). In the face of widespread anti-immigrant racism and rampant fascist and cop terror, our comrades raise the call: *For worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop racist terror! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

Last Friday, at a workers' general assembly of the SUD and CGT unions at the Paris-Bourseul postal money order center, a supporter of the LTF countered the bureaucrats' insipid motion to write a protest letter to Chirac. She called for the unions to mobilize the power of the working class to stop the deportations:

> "We are still living under the reign of Vigipirate, a campaign of racist terror against which the union organizations did not mobilize last December. If they had, we wouldn't be in this situation. Against this terror what is needed are mass workers actions organized by our unions. At the time of [Zairian immigrant] Makome's murder in the same arrondissement [district] some years ago, what was needed was for the organized working class to converge on the 18th arrondissement. Today, the government wants to load up military charter flights because the pilots unions refuse to fly them. What is posed is mobilizing powerful workers contingents in Villacoublay [military airport] to stop these deportations. And right now it is necessary to demand immediate freedom and the dropping of all charges for all those arrested this morning."

AP

Paris cops storm church, drag away immigrants on August 23.

As French authorities prepared to deport immigrants on a military charter after civilian pilots refused to fly the deportees out, the union of Air Afrique employees issued a formal instruction that none of that carrier's workers throughout Africa "should take part in the base task of helping these flights of shame." When the French military transport carrying the deportees made a stopover in the Senegalese capital of Dakar, it was delayed because the airport ground staff refused to service it. When the plane finally arrived in Bamako, the capital of Mali, airport personnel again boycotted it, and French authorities had to use a military cargo plane to fly in an exit ramp in order to get people off the plane.

Such actions concretely demonstrated the possibility of forging international class unity between workers' struggles in France and Africa. Such a perspective of proletarian internationalism is sharply counterposed to the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the reformist working-class leaders, like the call of the Communist Party (PCF) to "produce French."

The protests over the threatened deportations are an extremely significant event for French workers. The bourgeoisie—joined by the reformist misleaders—relies on exacerbating racial and ethnic divisions in the working class to undercut class struggle. The labor tops supported Chirac's "anti-terrorist" Operation Vigipirate, in which the army was called out to terrorize immigrant neighborhoods. For years, the PCF and CGT leaders have put the blame for unemployment on immigrants, calling for closing the borders and expelling "illegals." And during his 14-year reign, Mitterrand made anti-immigrant racism a hallmark of his rule.

Following the powerful strike wave last winter, Chirac ratcheted up the racist campaign against "immigrants" (which in France means anyone with dark skin). Last March when the immigrant families arrested on Friday, along with others, occupied another Paris church, St. Ambroise, the cops brutally drove them out at the request of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and many were deported. This racist assault provoked protest demonstrations in several cities.

The size of Friday's demonstration, called by the trade unions on just a few hours' notice, testifies to a sound instinct within the working class in favor of class unity. The size of the demonstrations is doubly impressive when one realizes that Paris is virtually deserted in August as most people leave on vacation. During the occupation of the St. Bernard church, hundreds of people came every day to demonstrate their support, including leaders of the CGT and other unions. Friday's demonstration comes after a previous one last Wednesday—which also included sizable trade-union contingents—to protest an earlier cop assault on the same church.

Last week, the CGT and CFDT trade-union federations, along with the FEN and FSU teachers unions, issued a joint statement calling for "direct negotiations" by the government with the hunger-strikers and for a "freeze on deportations." But what was needed was to unleash the power of the working class, including through strikes and mobilizations of thousands to block the military airports until Chirac backed down.

Revolutionary Leadership Is Key

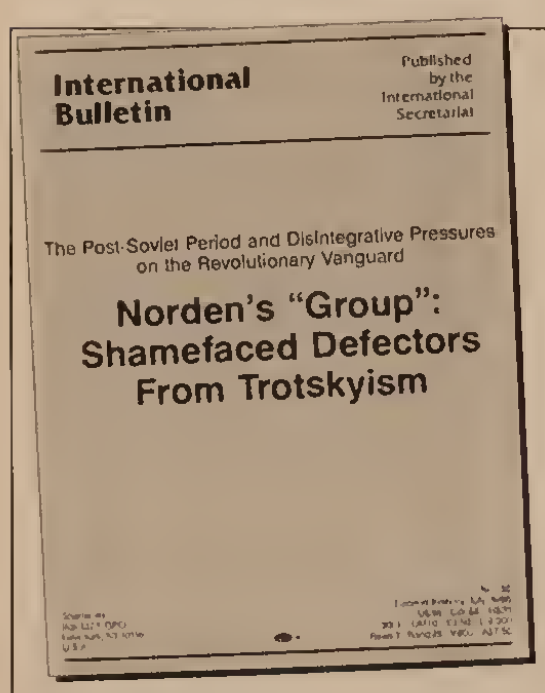
The massive outpouring of protest against the racist deportations exposes the lie of various fake revolutionaries who write off the possibility of winning the working class to the fight against racist attacks. During the strike wave last December, the LTF was unique in underlining the key importance of this issue in its propaganda directed at striking workers. The entire gamut of organizations to the left of the PCF and the Socialist Party (PS)—from Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) to Lutte Ouvrière (LO), Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO) and the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR)—totally ignored, in their leaflets to strikers, the need to fight racial discrimination and segregation, the exclusion of foreign workers from the public sector, and the racist Vigipirate campaign.

The question of revolutionary leadership is key. The most advanced workers must be won to a program which links their immediate struggles to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Otherwise, even the most powerful working-class mobilization can be undercut, dissipated, and channeled into the reactionary dead end of class collaboration. After ducking the question of racial oppression during last December's strikes in order not to antagonize the bureaucrats, who were lined up behind the government's racist offensive, the centrists now seek to cynically use Chirac's attacks on immigrants in order to channel support to the new class-collaborationist popular front which the PCF, the PS and their bourgeois partners are putting together. Thus, the LCR and LO signed a joint declaration last week with the PCF, the PS, the ultra-chauvinist Mouvement des Citoyens (Movement of Citizens) and the bourgeois Radical Party calling on Chirac to negotiate with the immigrants occupying the church—because "the image of France could be lastingly tarnished."

While PO, which is affiliated with the British Workers Power group, formally stands outside this reactionary lash-up, in reality it constitutes the left wing of what Trotsky called a "syphilitic chain" of class collaboration, leading through the PCF and PS to the bourgeoisie. As always, the centrists of PO tail what is popular. With masses of workers on the streets opposing anti-immigrant racism, PO has now issued a leaflet (dated 23 August) calling "For Working-Class Mobilization to Stop the Deportations!" But nowhere is there any mention of last December's strikes. Little wonder, since at the time PO refused to so much as mention the need to mobilize the working class to fight Operation Vigipirate and the all-sided attacks on immigrants. And far from exposing the treacherous role of the reformist bureaucrats, PO builds illusions by calling on the trade-union leaders to "make their acts conform to their words!"

But the union tops have *no words* when it comes to racial discrimination in jobs, housing and education; to racist cop terror and Operation Vigipirate; to the denial of citizenship rights to immigrants. The bureaucrats refuse to challenge racial oppression because it is inherent to the capitalist system, which they uphold. In its August 23 leaflet, PO clamors, "It's Chirac...who must be thrown out!" But to be replaced by what? PO's unspoken answer is obvious: a new class-collaborationist alliance with the bourgeoisie. PO has always supported the popular front by calling for a vote to its reformist working-class components.

The LTF is fighting, in sharp political struggle against such opportunism, to regroup and consolidate the cadres for the forging of a revolutionary workers party. Such a party would be, in Lenin's words, a tribune of the people, uniting minorities, women, youth and all the oppressed behind the proletariat's struggle to overthrow the capitalist system—the root cause of racial oppression—and set up a socialist order. ■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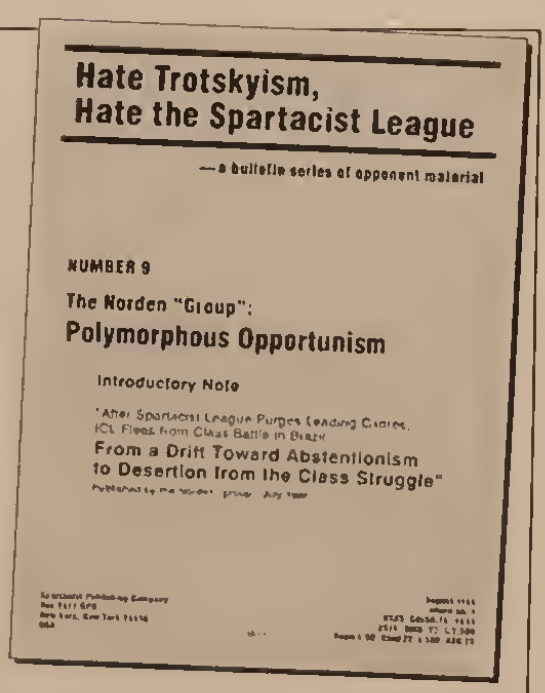
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NUMBER 9

The Norden "Group":
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Introductory Note

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Thousands Rally Against Welfare Cuts, Anti-Union Laws

Workers, Aborigines Storm Australian Parliament

MELBOURNE—In the largest demonstration ever held in the country's capital, 35,000 trade unionists, Aboriginal people and youth converged on Canberra on August 19 to protest assaults on welfare and proposed new anti-union legislation. Called by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), the rally had been planned as a vehicle to pressure Parliament as Prime Minister John Howard's newly elected Conservative coalition government announced its annual budget. But the lid came off when an angry and determined contingent of Aborigines, building workers, miners, university students and others burst through a cordon of cops and stormed Parliament House.

While speakers from the ACTU bureaucracy, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the capitalist Democrats droned on from the platform, thousands of protesters gathered outside the entrance to the new, billion-dollar Parliament building. With Aboriginal protesters in the lead, trade unionists and other marchers streamed up to the doors of the

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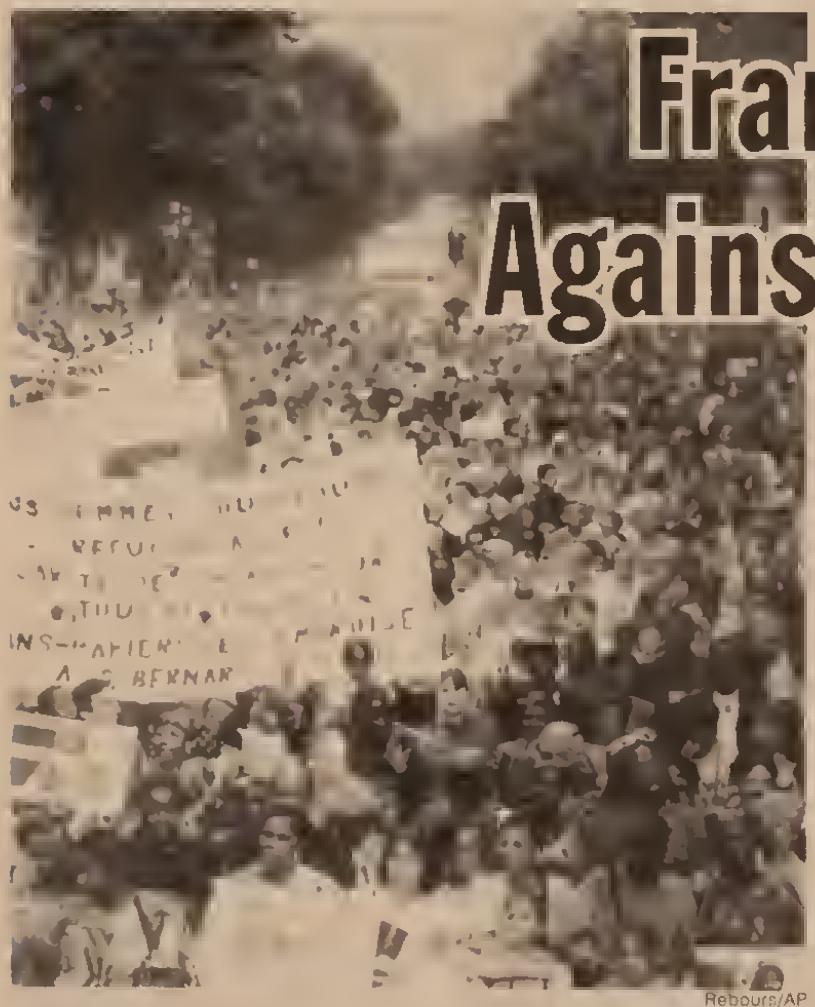
Reuters

Canberra, August 19: Trade unionists, Aboriginal people and students massed outside entrance to Parliament. Demonstrators broke through police lines, raised red flags.

Cops Invade Church, Arrest Immigrants

France: Mass Protests Against Racist Deportations



Rebours/AP

Paris, August 21: Trade-union contingents joined minorities and youth in huge march solidarizing with immigrant hunger-strikers.

AUGUST 25—Twenty thousand people marched through the streets of Paris last Friday to protest the cops' storming of a church occupied by over 300 immigrant workers seeking permits to stay in the country. The protest march came hours after a thousand club-wielding riot cops had assaulted St. Bernard church with tear gas, smashed through the ring of people who had blocked the entrance in solidarity with the immigrants, and broke down the doors of the church with axes. Police completely sealed off the heavily immigrant Goutte d'Or quarter around the church to ensure that none of the immigrants slipped through their dragnet, and many neighborhood residents were chased down and beaten.

The early morning raid came just hours after Prime Minister Alain Juppé railed on national television that the immigrants "have no right to live in France." A leader of Le Pen's fascist National Front applauded the racist assault, declaring, "This should have been done 45 days ago." Ten of the immigrant protesters, who were in the eighth week of a hunger strike, were dragged off to military hospitals where they were placed under guard. Some 210 arrested immigrants, including 68 children, were locked up in the Vincennes military detention center on the eastern edge of the capital.

The government's action provoked a virtually unprecedented protest demonstration in defense of immigrants, in which trade-union contingents marched together with youth of African and North African descent. There were contingents of metalworkers, Air France employees, teachers, postal workers, and others from the CGT, CFDT and SUD union federations. Chanting *"Libérons les sans papiers!"* (Let's free the undocumented immigrants!), thousands of militant protesters continued marching on to the Vincennes detention center. When the police brutally charged the demonstration at Vincennes, the protesters fought back, and there were running fights with the cops until well into the night. When the first plane took off

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 651

13 September 1996

Clinton/Dole Kill Arabs and Kurds as Election Stunt

U.S. Imperialist Butchers Hands Off Iraq!

AFP photos

Clinton's terror bombing of Iraq: cynical election year ploy and a message in blood that U.S. imperialism is top cop of the world.

In a vile display of imperial arrogance, President Bill Clinton ordered death and destruction to be rained down on the Iraqi people to garner a few more votes in the November presidential elections. As dozens of U.S. cruise missiles were fired at Iraq in the early morning hours of September 3 and again the following day, Clinton ranted against the Baghdad regime of Saddam Hussein for *its* "violence and aggression" and "disdain for civilized behavior." The massive U.S. expeditionary force in the Persian Gulf region was augmented by B-52 bombers flown in from as far away as Guam. At least five people were reported dead and 19 more injured.

Not content with this murderous military assault, Washington got the United Nations to tighten the screws on the economic embargo which has strangled Iraq for six years. The UN has now reversed even a token measure allowing Iraq to sell some of its oil on the world market to enable it to buy a trickle of food and medical supplies. Some *600,000 Iraqi children* have already died as a result of imperialist sanctions imposed in the buildup to the 1991 Persian Gulf onslaught. We say: *U.S. hands off Iraq! U.S./UN/NATO out of the Persian Gulf now! Down with the starvation blockade!*

The pretext for the terror bombing ordered by Clinton and applauded by Republican candidate Bob Dole was the movement of Iraqi troops into the city of Erbil in the UN-"protected" Kurdish area of Iraq north of the 36th parallel. In fact, Iraqi forces had been invited in by the bourgeois-nationalist Kurdistan Democratic Party and had already *withdrawn* from Erbil before the U.S. missile assault was launched. Washington's supposed "concern" for the Kurds is no less a lie than its "humanitarian" war propaganda for its invasion of Somalia, for its attacks on the Bosnian Serbs, for its invasions of one Latin American country after another throughout this century. Alongside Germany, the U.S. is one of the main arms suppliers to Turkey, which has been waging a genocidal war against the Kurdish people there for years and has repeatedly invaded the "safe haven" in northern Iraq to round up and kill supporters of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). And days after the U.S. bombing, Secretary of State Warren Christopher gave Turkey a green light to carve out a "security cordon" twelve miles deep into Iraqi Kurdistan.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) immediately mobilized its forces to protest the assault on Iraq (see "ICL Protests Bombing of Iraq," page 9). In the U.S., a September 3 Spartacist League leaflet drew the link between imperialist terror abroad and the capitalist rulers' war on workers and minorities at home: "The same racist rulers, the Democrats and Republicans, who have condemned millions of welfare mothers and their children to death by 'abolishing welfare as we know it,' bomb Iraq and have starved hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. We say: For class struggle at home against racist U.S. imperialism!"

As revolutionary internationalists, we stand with the people of Iraq against imperialist aggression. But workers and the oppressed must have no illusions about the bourgeois-nationalist Baghdad regime. As the SL leaflet said: "Saddam Hussein should be dealt with by his own working people for his crimes against them." While the U.S. rulers now hypocritically denounce the Iraqi strongman as a "tyrant," Washington backed him for years as he cracked down on Iraqi working people and the Kurds and other minorities (see "Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists," *WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991). Meanwhile, the U.S. funnels *$3 billion* in aid every year to Israel to bolster its position as regional gendarme for American imperialism and to fund the Zionist rulers' subjugation of the Palestinian masses. We fight for workers revolution to sweep away all the sheiks, colonels and Zionist butchers in the region. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Defeat U.S. Imperialism: The Main Enemy Is at Home!

There was nothing subtle about what motivated Clinton's bombing of Iraq. A Washington "insider" was blunt: "Whacking everyone's favorite enemy is a no-brainer" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 September). With Dole screaming about Clinton's "weakness" in the face of "Iraqi terror," the Democrat in the White House responded by ordering a bloody attack. Three years ago, Clinton sent cruise missiles crashing into a residential area of Baghdad, killing eight civilians including a baby and noted artist Layla al-Attar, in order to boost his "popularity" in the opinion polls. But the U.S. bombing of Iraq was not only a cynical maneuver in the run-up to the presidential elections. It was also an act of arrogant big-power bullying, laying down the law to the U.S.'

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Drop All Charges Now!

Chicago Anti-Klan Defendants Continue Fight

CHICAGO, September 9—Trade unionists, anti-racist activists and socialists turned out this morning in Cook County Circuit Court to support eight anti-Klan protesters who could face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges. The eight were arrested on June 29 in Daley Plaza by police protecting a nest of Ku Klux Klansmen who had tried to march into a group of 100 anti-racist protesters and were then trounced. Organized in less than 24 hours by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Struggle League, the protest gave notice that the KKK terrorists will not ride unopposed through labor/black/Hispanic Chicago.

In court today, Chicago prosecutors made clear their intentions to continue their attempt to victimize the anti-Klan activists. In what Partisan Defense Committee attorney Jonathan Piper called "a provocation and an affront," prosecutors again successfully argued before the court to consolidate the eight cases with that of the one Klansman arrested on June 29. All of the anti-Klan defendants have demanded a jury trial. Their next court date is scheduled for September 23. The PDC again calls on all opponents of Klan terror to fill the courtroom in their support.

As one of the defendants, PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson, said: "When we stopped the race-terrorist Klansmen as they strutted in Daley Plaza toward us wielding their studded shields and flagpoles like clubs, we were not only defending the anti-Klan protesters. We were also defending blacks, Hispanics, other minorities, immigrants, gays and the entire labor movement. It is by mobilizing the power of the integrated unions in the forefront of struggle against racist terror that the Klan, Nazis and all other fascists will be stopped."

Fill the courtroom on September 23, 9:30 a.m., Branch 46 of the Circuit Court, 1340 S. Michigan Ave. Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies of protest statements and urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931. Or contact the PDC in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. *Drop all charges against the anti-Klan protesters!* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Bourgeois Reaction and the Fight for Marxism

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, much of the left has moved sharply to the right, adapting to the bourgeois lie that "communism is dead." While the 1930s were a time of bitter class struggles, such as the strike waves that engulfed France in 1936, they were also marked by an ideological offensive by the bourgeoisie and its reformist labor lieutenants against revolutionary Marxism. The utter capitulation of the Stalinized Communist International in the face of Hitler's march to power in 1933 led Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky to raise the call for a new, Fourth International forged in political combat against both Social Democracy and Stalinism. In the preface to his 1936 pamphlet, Whither France?, *Trotsky underscored the need to swim against the stream of this ideological reaction in order to retrieve new revolutionary parties of the working class.*

We live in an epoch of the universal liquidation of Marxism in the ruling summits of the labor movement. The most vulgar prejudices now serve as the official doctrines for the political and trade union leaders of the French working class. Contrariwise, the voice of revolutionary realism rings against this artificial sounding board like the voice of "sectarianism." It is all the more insistently necessary *to repeat over and over again* the fundamental truths of Marxist policies before audiences of advanced workers....

The days of the great strike will undoubtedly also have the merit of airing out the musty, still atmosphere of the workers' organizations, clearing it of the miasmas of reformism and patriotism, of the "Socialist," "Communist," and "trade union" varieties. Assuredly, this will not take place at once, nor by itself. Ahead lies a stubborn ideological struggle on the basis of harsh class struggle. But the subsequent course of the crisis will show that only Marxism provides a timely analysis of the interlocking of events and a timely forecast of their further development.

—*Leon Trotsky on France* (1979)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 651 **13 September 1996**

Jimmy Smyth Extradited to H-Block Hell

Maggiora SF Chronicle

Jimmy Smyth outside San Francisco courthouse before extradition to Northern Ireland.

SAN FRANCISCO—Despite an outcry of protest, on August 17 the Clinton administration removed Irish nationalist political prisoner Jimmy Smyth from a federal prison outside San Francisco and handed him over to his British tormentors. He was immediately flown to Northern Ireland and returned to the infamous H-Blocks at Long Kesh prison from which he escaped in 1983. Along with Kevin Barry Artt, Terence Kirby and Pol Brennan, Smyth was one of the "H-Block Four" who sought refuge in the U.S. The other three were likewise imprisoned by U.S. authorities and, though currently out on bail, also face extradition. As the Partisan Defense Committee noted in a protest letter demanding asylum, their "only 'crime' was to be born poor and members of an oppressed Catholic minority in a country occupied by the British imperialist army" (*WV* No. 649, 2 August).

Clinton's vicious act is aimed at furthering U.S. imperialism's attempt to broker a British-dominated "peace" in Northern Ireland in league with Protestant "Loyalist" reactionaries. Referring to the Bush administration's 1992 extradition of Irish nationalist Joe Doherty, Smyth declared:

> "President Clinton once promised Irish-America that there would be no more Joe Dohertys. The plane which takes me back to a British prison is evidence of the value of that promise. 'I am returning to a country I left unwillingly twelve years ago. Unfortunately, little has changed. A foreign army is still on the streets. Loyalist gunmen still dictate British policy and back it up with British bullets. Justice is still just a dream. I am under no illusions about what I face. There are many who will seek revenge against me because I spoke the truth about Ireland."

Smyth has every reason to fear for his life. In recent months, Northern Ireland has seen an ugly upsurge of anti-Catholic terror by the "Loyalist" Orange Order and the brutal suppression of Catholic protests by the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary. Our comrades of the Dublin Spartacist Group and the Spartacist League/Britain call for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops as part of the fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. *Free Jimmy Smyth! Asylum for Artt, Kirby, Brennan and all victims of British imperialist repression!*

Spartacist Forums

Down With Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!

NEW YORK CITY

Friday, September 13, 7:30 p.m.

Brecht Forum
122 W. 27th Street, 10th Floor

For more information (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Thursday, September 19, 7 p.m.

International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College)

For more information (416) 593-4138

BOSTON

Thursday, September 26, 7 p.m.

Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 214
725 Commonwealth Avenue

For more information (617) 666-9453

VANCOUVER

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Friday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (at Commercial)

For more information (604) 687-0353

BAY AREA

Thursday, September 19, 7 p.m.

Barrows Hall
University of California at Berkeley

For more information (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

CHICAGO

Saturday, September 21, 7 p.m.

Regency Room
Blackstone Hotel

For more information (312) 454-4930

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Saturday, September 28, 2 p.m.

University of Maryland, College Park
Reckord Armory Building, Rm. 0116

For more information (202) 872-8240

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, October 12, 4 p.m.

Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland exit off 101 Frwy)

For more information (213) 380-8239

Young Spartacus

California: Racist Terrorist Invited to Campus "Debate"

David Duke, Klan in a Suit, Still a Fascist Killer!

Workers Vanguard *reprints below the leaflet issued on September 8 by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club in Los Angeles.*

"Klan in a suit" David Duke is planning to waltz into Cal State Northridge (CSUN) on September 25 to push racist terror under the cover of a debate with pro-affirmative action spokesman Joe Hicks. Invited by the Associated Students, the former "Grand Wizard" Duke will be paid $4,000 from student fees—while the black civil rights leader Hicks is offered only $1,000!

The driving force behind bringing Duke to campus is not the far right but liberal student bureaucrats—including blacks and Latinos who are at the top of the KKK's hit list. They apparently hope that Duke's defense of the anti-affirmative action "California Civil Rights Initiative" (CCRI—Proposition 209 on November's ballot) will paint the entire pro-CCRI movement with the brush of Duke's right-wing extremism. But what they're calling a "smart tactic" is of immense value to Duke *in consolidating a fascist organization in this state*. This deadly threat stands higher than any supposed electoral payoff. If CCRI passes, those who gave Duke a platform are going to have egg all over their faces; and even if it doesn't, we are left with a newly strengthened fascist movement in the state of California.

The recent epidemic of black church burnings across the South is a reminder of the Klan's despicable purpose—to organize racist terror! The fascists have stepped up their activities everywhere, feeling increasingly self-confident in the face of bipartisan attacks on blacks and other minorities—not least the assault on affirmative action programs in hiring and college admissions. In Southern California this July, black teenager Marcus Cotton was attacked by two skinheads in Lancaster who yelled "white power" as they slashed him with a machete. In February, a Native American was stabbed 27 times in a ferocious attack by skinheads in Huntington Beach. There have been a whole series of fascist anti-immigrant mobilizations in San Diego to "light up the border" with Mexico.

Duke and his fascist stormtroopers are not about academic debate. They are vicious killers and a mortal threat to blacks, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and anyone else who doesn't fit their idea of "Aryan America." At the September 3 meeting of the CSUN Student Senate where the payment to Duke was approved, the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club intervened against Duke's appearance:

> "Since its formation in the reaction in the South following the defeat of the slavocracy in the Civil War, the KKK has spearheaded the attempt to reverse the outcome of that war—to return blacks to a position of chattel slavery. Their methods of "debate" are the lynch rope and the burning cross.... The fascists are a paramilitary *action* group whose public rallies are used to incite racist violence and to recruit to their ranks."

Duke is portrayed as an "ex"-Klansman, but he has not changed his aims; he simply moved on from the Klan to the Republican Party keeping his program intact. By putting his white sheets and swastikas in the closet, Duke is attempting to make himself respectable to mainstream bourgeois society and thereby gain access to a larger audience from which to recruit to his program of racist murder.

Rightist Republicans and CCRI supporters have been trying to distance themselves from Duke. Racist Republican Pat Buchanan ostentatiously fired a Duke supporter from running his presidential primary campaign in the Tampa area. University of California Regent Ward Connerly, godfather of the CCRI, has characterized Duke as "despicable." Their real motivation is to downplay the congruence of their current war on blacks and immigrants with the political program of Duke and other fascists.

Despite not wanting to now be too closely associated, the ruling class actually needs to keep the fascists around. If there were a serious challenge to capitalist class rule, the bourgeoisie would seek to unleash them against the working class. For now, it's enough for the bourgeoisie to use the cop terror which is daily meted out to black and Hispanic youth and workers—from the videotaped beatings of Rodney King in 1991 and of Mexican immigrants in Riverside last April, to the brutal cop attacks on those protesting anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in Van Nuys in 1994.

Before 1933, many people in Germany felt that Hitler was just a semi-comical weirdo and that the Nazis were an insignificant fringe group which could be ignored. The German Communist Party went a step further and argued that Hitler's ascension to power would spark a massive wave of revulsion which the Communists would be able to ride to power, insisting "After Hitler, Us!" As history proved, this was a disastrous perspective! Among Hitler's first acts after seizing power were the arrests and murder of thousands of Communists, followed by the complete destruction of the organizations of the working class and the massacre of 6 million Jews as well as millions of Slavs, homosexuals and Gypsies. To ignore the fascists or to attempt to use them as pawns will only allow them to grow more powerful.

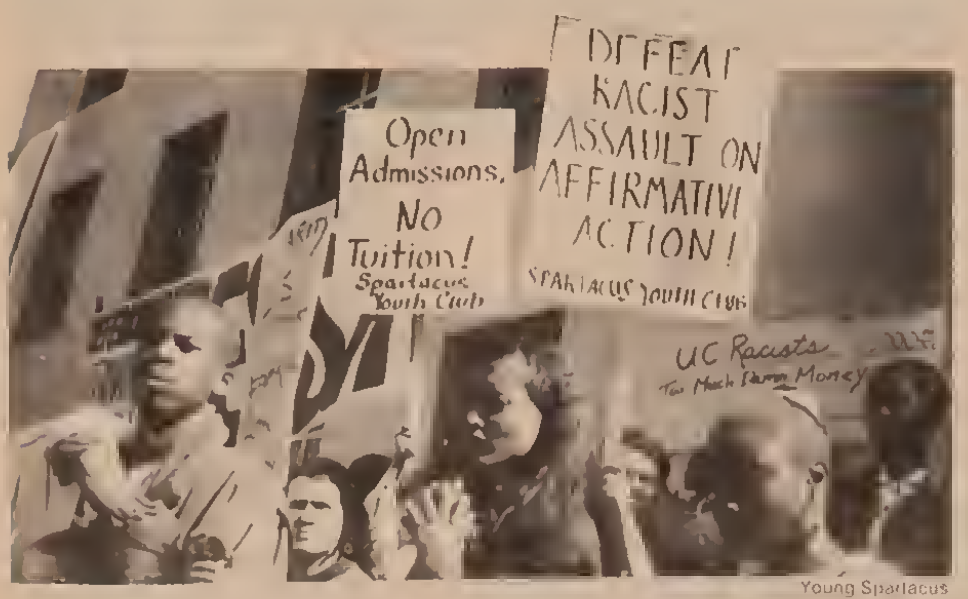
The sort of response with which the KKK should be met was shown by the hot reception given the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" when they tried to rally in downtown Chicago on June 29. Like Duke, the Klan in Chicago insisted that they didn't hate blacks, they just wanted to defend "white culture." But they were prevented from carrying out their provocation. On 24 hours' notice, the Partisan Defense Committee mobilized nearly 100 union members, leftists and youth against the Klan. When the fascist nightriders marched on us with bolt-studded shields, brandishing flagpoles as spears, they found themselves sprawled on the ground, their flag and paraphernalia seized by the anti-racist protesters.

Many opponents of Klan terror look to the government and cops to protect us from the fascists. But the capitalist state exists to protect private property and those who own it, not to protect the intended victims of the KKK. Laws against the fascists are used primarily against the left. Chicago cops arrested nine *anti*-Klan demonstrators in Chicago while forming a barricade to protect the racists, and eight still face sentences of up to a year in the Illinois courts.

A multiracial protest of 1,500 trade unionists and students came out against David Duke in downtown Boston in 1991. Their chants of "Duke stands for genocide—Klan terror will not ride!" nearly drowned out his race-hate speech and left him visibly shaken. This is a taste of the kind of reception Duke should get every time he dares to venture out! Spartacus Youth Club members helped build the Boston protest as we have other labor/minority demonstrations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, which have stopped the fascists cold when they threatened to appear from Washington, D.C. to Philadelphia to San Francisco. We call for mobilizing the social power of labor, together with blacks and other minorities, to stop the fascists when they raise their ugly heads. This is part of our struggle to participate in the building of a multiracial workers party that can lead the working class in a socialist revolution to overturn capitalist class rule and the fascist scum it breeds. ■

WV Photo

Left: Fascist Duke organized anti-immigrant vigilantes on Mexican border. Right: 1,500-strong protest initiated by Partisan Defense Committee against Duke race-hate provocation in Boston, March 1991.



Young Spartacus

Demonstration at UC Berkeley in October 1995 against racist rollback of affirmative action.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025

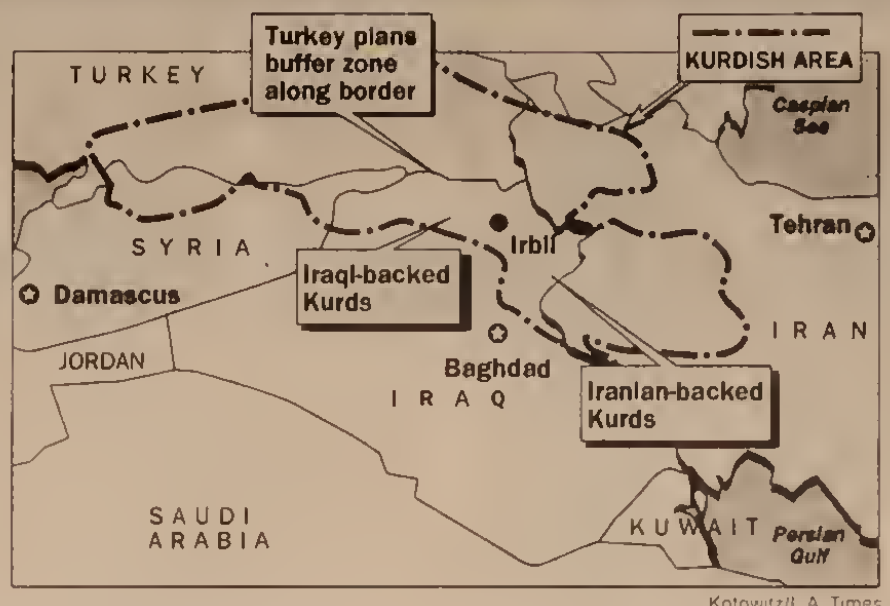
For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

In the U.S. and internationally, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) initiated and joined protests against Clinton's heinous terror bombing of Iraq, demanding "U.S. imperialists hands off Iraq!" At these demonstrations and in protest leaflets issued by different national sections of the ICL, we prominently raised the call, "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!"

The 25 to 30 million Kurdish people in the Near East constitute the largest nation in the world without a state of its own. Since the downfall of the Turkish Ottoman empire in World War I, the Kurdish people has been carved up primarily among four countries—Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq, with a small scattering of Kurds in the Caucasian republics of the former Soviet Union. Thus the realization of an independent Kurdistan cannot be resolved in a capitalist framework, but requires the revolutionary overthrow of four different capitalist powers in the region. But while the Near Eastern bourgeoisies are the immediate oppressors of the Kurdish people, there can be no self-determination for the Kurds without opposing all imperialist intervention in the region. *The various imperialist powers—today, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism—are the chief enemies of Kurdish independence.*

While time and again using the Kurdish people as pawns for their great power ambitions, the imperialists have repeatedly stabbed the Kurds in the back. Clinton's cruise missile attacks on southern Iraq were ostensibly launched in retaliation for the movement of Iraqi troops into the "autonomous" Kurdish region in the northern part of the country. But Washington's claim to act as a "guardian" of the Kurdish people is drenched in cynicism and hypocrisy. State Department spokesman Peter Tarnoff has made it crystal clear that the U.S. "remains firmly opposed to the creation of an independent Kurdish state" (*New York Times*, 4 September). This position is shared by all the imperialist powers, who have installed and armed one dictatorial regime after another with the aim of suppressing any Kurdish struggle which could "destabilize" bourgeois rule in the Near East. The Turkish regime which is carrying out a war of annihilation against the Kurdish people and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) is armed to the hilt by both the U.S. and Germany.

The latest U.S. attack on Iraq came after units of Saddam Hussein's army entered the Kurdish city of Erbil on August 31 to prop up the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in its feud with the rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which is currently backed by



Kotowitz/L.A. Times

Self-determination for Kurdish people requires revolutionary overthrow of at least four capitalist regimes.

thousands of Iranian troops in northern Iraq. Though it labels both Iran and Iraq as "terrorist states," Washington turned a blind eye to the Iranian intervention while moving to "punish" Iraq. During the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, the U.S. alternately armed both sides, even as Saddam Hussein and the ayatollahs' regime in Teheran were perpetrating bloody massacres against the Kurds within their own borders.

Meanwhile, the feudalist and petty-bourgeois nationalist misleaders of the KDP and PUK have repeatedly sacrificed the Kurdish national struggle for ephemeral and illusory support from the imperialists or their regional lackeys. Today PUK leader Jalal Talabani says he is pro-American while aligning with Iran, while Massoud Barzani's KDP looks to Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime. Yet for many years Barzani's father Mustafa, who founded the KDP, was a prime CIA "asset." And during the U.S.-led imperialist onslaught against Iraq in 1991, both the PUK and KDP sided with Washington and entered the CIA-backed Iraqi National Congress. It's true that the present government of Iraq is an enemy of the Kurdish people—and so are all of its predecessors, all the neighboring bourgeois regimes and all the imperialist powers. But a U.S.-sponsored overthrow of the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad would not further the rights of the Kurdish people one iota, only installing an equally murderous, if perhaps more pliant, dictatorship.

The internecine fighting between the KDP and PUK in league with imperialism and the regional oppressors of the Kurdish people underscores the need for *revolutionary internationalist struggle* by the Kurdish masses. Yet even avowedly Marxist Kurdish groups, like the Workers Communist Party (WCPI) in Iraq and Iran, operate on the same premise that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Thus the WCPI appeals to the United Nations—an imperialist den of thieves—to fight Saddam Hussein's regime.

A day before Clinton launched his terror strikes, the WCPI called for international protest actions outside United Nations offices against Saddam Hussein's incursion into Erbil. A leaflet by a WCPI exile group in Australia demanded "the immediate withdrawal of the Ba'ath regime's forces" and called "to impose these demands on the UN." Despite the leaflet's claimed opposition to "U.S./UN intervention," this could only be a call on the UN to move against Iraq. At the same time, at a September 6 protest in London, the WCPI carried signs reading, "We condemn the U.S. military attack on Iraq," while simultaneously a letter to the UN pleaded to "put an end to the arrogance of the United States." It is under the UN fig leaf that the U.S. has imposed a brutal starvation blockade of Iraq for the past six years, and it was under the UN banner that the bloody slaughter of Iraqis was carried out in 1991. And while today condemning the American missile attacks, in 1991 the WCPI refused to take a side defending Iraq against U.S./UN imperialism.

Underlying these contradictory positions is the WCPI's schooling in the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution," putting off the aim of socialist revolution to the distant future while today casting about for "progressive" capitalist and imperialist "allies" to help them achieve a bourgeois-democratic revolution for national independence. This stagist perspective is a dead end everywhere, but it is particularly futile in the case of Kurdistan. The Kurdish people cannot achieve statehood without the smashing of *four* reactionary bourgeois-nationalist regimes. The WCPI's petty-bourgeois nationalism, however, precludes it from advancing such a perspective. Thus, its leaflet issued in Australia focused entirely on the plight of Kurds in Iraq, avoiding any mention of the Turkish regime's genocidal campaign against Kurds in that country. Moreover, Kurdistan is a desperately impoverished mountainous region with not much of an industrial proletariat—or a bourgeoisie—to speak of, indeed, the infighting between the KDP and PUK is motivated by a scramble for control of "tax" revenues from the smuggling of contraband oil and cigarettes, a chief source of income in the area.

The motor force for the struggle for Kurdish independence is to be found in the proletariats of the countries which oppress the Kurds. The workers of Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq have their own scores to settle with their exploiters. There is also a sizable Kurdish working class with a history of militant struggle in the oil fields of Kirkuk and other strategic centers. But by and large the Kurdish proletariat is to be found in such industrial centers as Baghdad and Istanbul, as well as the mining regions of southern Turkey, with a large concentration in Germany. These workers can serve as a living bridge between the Kurdish struggle for independence and the fight for socialist revolution in the Near East, fighting to extend proletarian revolution to the imperialist heartland of West Europe. As we noted shortly after the 1991 Gulf War in our article "Kurdish Struggle: Near East Flashpoint" (WV No. 527, 24 May 1991): "As part of the multinational proletariat of the region, the Kurds can play a leading role in bringing down the whole rotten structure set up to serve the imperialist overlords."

This is the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution—that in the colonial and semicolonial countries in the imperialist epoch, only the proletariat in power can achieve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This perspective is counterposed to the petty-bourgeois nationalism—however much "socialist" rhetoric it is garbed in—embraced by the WCPI. The struggle for Kurdish national and social emancipation requires the leadership of internationalist vanguard parties rooted in the proletariats of the Near East and, in particular, among the workers of Germany, parties which can only be built in the struggle for a world party of socialist revolution. ■

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L.A. Latino Teamsters Strike the "Tortilla King"

LOS ANGELES, September 8—When their contract expired in early August, 160 truckers went on strike against Guerrero Mexican Food Products, a subsidiary of Gruma USA, the largest tortilla manufacturer and distributor in L.A. The strikers, members of Teamsters Local 63, are taking on a Mexican billionaire known as the "Tortilla King," who owns Gruma USA and its parent outfit, Grupo Maseca. The bosses they're fighting are hell-bent on keeping thousands of other superexploited Latino workers unorganized, atomized and in daily fear of anti-immigrant terror. This strike is being closely watched by tens of thousands of predominantly Latino workers in Southern California's trucking and tortilla-manufacturing industries.

Organized just three years ago, the Guerrero truckers are demanding better pay, health benefits, job security and pensions. The truckers, who haven't had a raise in eight years, currently make $40 to $45 after expenses for a 12-hour day delivering tortillas to stores and fast-food outlets throughout the city. Required to buy their trucks from the company and pay for fuel, maintenance and insurance, the truckers barely make enough to feed their families. Now the company wants to impose a $100 per month medical insurance copayment!

With $400 million in annual sales, Gruma USA is raking in huge profits. The Mexican conglomerate Grupo Maseca has cornered the Mexican tortilla market and operates 35 plants around the world. Maseca's owner, "Tortilla King" Roberto Gonzalez Barrera, is a monopolist whose $1.1 billion fortune was made as a lifelong crony of disgraced former Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Salinas and his successor, Ernesto Zedillo, have arranged billions in subsidies for Maseca, and used the government's corn monopoly to ruin its competitors.

David Bacon

Striking L.A. Teamsters take on billionaire "Tortilla King."

On August 28, a caravan of striking truckers headed for a union rally was intercepted on the freeway by 30 security guards hired by Gruma USA. Gruma's strikebreaking thugs forced the workers' cars off the road, then sprayed pepper gas at some strikers while ordering others to lie on the ground at gunpoint. When the California Highway Patrol arrived on the scene, they proceeded to arrest six *strikers*, charging them with assault with a deadly weapon! Only because one of the workers caught the events on videotape did the cops admit their "mistake" and later release the victimized Teamsters.

The Guerrero truckers are facing a hard battle, made harder by the defeatist misleadership of the Teamster bureaucrats. At an August 18 rally, Teamsters president Ron Carey spouted hot air against the "bloodsucking company" while pushing a toothless "consumer boycott" which would derail the strike. Carey is quite prepared to see this strike go down to defeat. All he wants is to get the Latino truckers' votes in his re-election bid against challenger Jimmy Hoffa Jr. Hoffa is supported by the "old guard" that allowed the Master Freight Agreement to be ripped up at the Santa Fe railyards in 1990. And Carey is no better. When 215 Teamsters were fired by Santa Fe in January 1995, Carey supporters in the Local 63 bureaucracy refused to sanction a strike to fight for their jobs. Instead, they put up "informational picket lines" which let scab trucks run in and out unimpeded. And Carey refused to lift a finger for truckers victimized in the national Teamster strike of 1994, as cops attacked picket lines around the country. Pico Rivera trucker Jesse Acuna, a member of Teamsters Local 208, is spending five years in jail for courageously defending his picket line. We say: All labor must fight for Jesse Acuna's freedom!

A Guerrero striker told *Workers Vanguard* that along with 50 scabs hired by the company, some 15 Teamsters are crossing picket lines. This is a scandal! *There ought to be hundreds of unionists—Teamsters, garment workers, longshoremen—on the picket line to teach these scabs a lesson and stop all deliveries.* The many non-union truckers who deliver tortillas for Gruma under different brand names, like Mission, as well as thousands of workers in Gruma's Southern California plants need to be organized and brought out to join the strike! A massive organizing drive in Southern California must be linked to a perspective of reaching out to Mexican workers across the border. But that requires a leadership that's prepared to take on the bosses and their state. Earlier this year, over 4,000 L.A. port truckers struck for union recognition. But the Communications Workers tops bowed before every anti-union court injunction and the organizing drive has gone nowhere (see "Victory to L.A. Port Truckers!" *WV* No. 645, 10 May).

What's needed to win strikes and organizing drives is not only militant tactics—like mass pickets and secondary strikes—but also an understanding that the capitalist parties and the capitalist state are on the other side. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats sacrifice workers' struggles in order to elect capitalist Democratic Party politicians. This year's Labor Day celebration in downtown L.A., while cynically "highlighting" the Guerrero drivers' plight, was turned into an obscene pep rally to get immigrant-bashing, "open shop" Clinton re-elected. What workers need is a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a revolutionary workers party that fights against the capitalist profit system which relies on union-busting, racism and anti-immigrant bigotry. *Victory to the Guerrero truckers!*

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

imperialist rivals, particularly Germany.

This message was not lost on the other imperialist powers. Outside of John Major's failing Conservative government (and the loyal Labour Party "opposition") in Britain, which allowed U.S. bombers to refuel on the British island colony of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, the U.S. got barely a nod of support from other countries. "Where Are the Allies?" wailed the *Wall Street Journal* (4 September), referring to the "coalition" which backed the U.S. in the Gulf War. In the Near East, even Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which served as regional spearheads for the 1991 imperialist attack, refused to go along with Washington. Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov noted acidly that "the attacks cannot be supported by anyone at all, except those who put domestic politics including pre-electoral questions above all else." France, which has significant investment in Iraq, stopped just short of explicit condemnation, and announced that its warplanes in the Gulf would not join Britain and the U.S. in policing the extended area of the "no fly" zone over southern Iraq, which now reaches to the suburbs of Baghdad.

Behind former Republican president Bush's 1991 "Desert Slaughter" was Washington's desire to exert control over the oil fields in the region, which are of vital concern to Germany and especially Japan. Following the Gulf War, the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92 has ushered in a period of intensified interimperialist rivalry reminiscent of that which prefigured the carnage of World War I. Clinton's latest round of air strikes was intended as both a demonstration of U.S. imperialism's role as top cop of the world and as a warning particularly to the rulers of the German Fourth Reich to stop their "meddling" in the Near East. The backdrop to the U.S. bombing attack was the passage during the summer of two measures which threaten economic penalties against foreign companies which invest in Cuba, Libya or Iran.

Notably, Germany's grudging support for the latest attack was announced by Chancellor Kohl's foreign minister as he was touring the region. German imperialism has been making significant inroads in the Near East in the past few years. While U.S. imperialism has demonized Iran, its German competitors have moved in in a big way. German firms have been supplying the ayatollahs' regime with arms, pouring investment in and consolidating "stable contacts" with the Iranian secret service. When Kohl's emissary, Bernd Schmidbauer, negotiated a prisoner exchange in July between Israel and pro-Iranian Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon, he was hailed as a hero in the German press. And Turkey, which has been the focus of direct competition between the U.S. and Germany, recently signed a $20 billion gas deal with Iran in violation of U.S. sanctions. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (13 August) exulted that this was a "slap in the face of Washington."

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism!

The sharpening of interimperialist rivalries in the Near East is a tripwire for a future world war, the next time with all sides armed with nuclear weapons. But simultaneously, countries like Turkey are highly unstable and ripe for class struggle. In 1991, Turkey was rocked by workers' struggles, with strikes and protests not only over economic demands but also in opposition to the Gulf War. And this year, there have been significant strikes by textile and public service workers. Throughout the region there has been an eruption of violent protests against the imposition of draconian austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund, the imperialist bankers' cartel, exemplified by the bread riots which ripped through Jordan last month.

And in the U.S., the drive to sharpen Wall Street's competitive edge against America's imperialist rivals means all-sided war on workers, blacks, immigrants and the poor. Washington is intent on once again demonstrating that it will stop at nothing to assert its dominant position in the "New World Order" proclaimed over the corpses of a hundred thousand Iraqis slaughtered in the 1991 Gulf War. Much of the left tailed behind the Democrats at the time—just as they do today—and either supported UN economic sanctions against Iraq or wrapped themselves in social-patriotic yellow ribbons. We of the ICL fought for labor protest strikes against the war and proclaimed: "Defeat U.S. imperialism—Defend Iraq!"

A class-struggle leadership of the labor movement would have organized mass protests, including strikes, against Clinton's latest bomb attack. But the pro-capitalist misleaders of the unions police the labor movement on behalf of the bosses. By pushing protectionist chauvinism, the AFL-CIO tops line up U.S. workers behind their exploiters and *against* workers in other countries. The multiracial working class of the United States can fight to free itself only if it fights together with the working people of the entire world. The key lies in forging a revolutionary international party of the working class.

The American empire runs on blood and exploitation. The devastation of social welfare programs, the racist cop terror unleashed on the ghetto masses, the union-busting and wage-slashing—this is the domestic side of U.S. capitalism's drive to increase its competitive edge against its imperialist rivals. What is needed is a sharp political struggle to oust the chauvinist labor traitors and break workers and minorities from the Democrats. For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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The Struggle for Trotskyism in the Post-Soviet World

We present below a slightly edited transcript of a presentation given by comrade Jon Brule of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SL forum in New York City on August 1

This talk focuses on what we Leninists call the "party question." As Leon Trotsky, the great Russian revolutionary leader, emphasized in his 1924 work, *Lessons of October:* "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

Elsewhere in the same work, Trotsky observed that sudden changes in the world situation always produce disorientation and confusion in the revolutionary party, especially within the leadership layers. The period from 1989 to 1992 marked the most profound change in this century since the October Revolution of 1917 burst upon the world's stage. All the bureaucratically deformed workers states in East Europe and the degenerated workers state of the Soviet Union itself were destroyed by counterrevolution and the restoration of capitalism.

All organizations and tendencies which claim adherence to Marxism have been struck with cataclysmic force by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The loss of the first workers state, however deformed and attenuated it was by decades of Stalinist misrule, has brought about a period marked by sharpening interimperialist rivalries, nationalist revanchism, and the intensification of the rate of exploitation and the special oppression of women and minorities (particularly black people in the U.S., immigrants in Europe and dark-skinned peoples in the areas of the former Soviet Union). Capitalist counterrevolution has reduced the working people of the former Soviet Union and East Europe to abject poverty, while inflaming murderous national and ethnic hatreds. And in the West, the precedent-setting attacks against the working class which were carried out more than a decade ago in the United States and Britain by the likes of Ronald Reagan and former Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher are now being extended throughout Europe.

In response to this onslaught there have also been and will continue to be huge, raw *defensive* battles by the working class to hold on to its present positions and its gains from previous decades. Many of these gains were wrested not coincidentally in a period when the Soviet Union still existed. The social services which constitute the so-called "welfare state" currently under attack represented a kind of "tribute" that the capitalist class paid to the Soviet Union. In other words, the capitalist rulers recognized that they needed to cut into their own profits and provide the working class with some minimal social "safety net" lest a new October Revolution be brought to *their* doors.

Italy, with its very combative proletariat and what was the largest Communist party in West Europe, is a good example both of how such reforms were granted and the present capitalist moves to destroy them. Or for a graphic "before" and "after" picture which exposes the utter hypocrisy of the imperialists, look at West Berlin before the collapse of the Berlin Wall and what exists now. West Berlin was maintained—at great cost—as a showcase, a chimera, a fraud to lure workers from the East. Well, the wall is down, the DDR (East German) deformed workers state is gone, and life in *west* Berlin is deteriorating for the workers because the capitalist rulers perceive no opposition to their unbridled greed.

WV Photo

Spartacist League forum in New York City, August 1.

While the bourgeoisie everywhere trumpets the "death of communism," its ideological impact varies from country to country. In the former colonial world, it is muted by the naked exploitation of "democratic" imperialism. In such countries as South Africa, Brazil, South Korea, possibly Indonesia, with their militant and restless proletariats, there are opportunities today to plant a Bolshevik standard. When the bulk of the fake Trotskyists gave support to Nelson Mandela's bourgeois-nationalist ANC in the 1994 South African elections, they demonstrated anew their political rottenness. We Trotskyists stand for permanent revolution, the understanding that the fundamental tasks associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries—genuine national independence, breaking the power of the feudal aristocracy in the countryside, etc.—cannot be achieved in the colonial and semicolonial world short of proletarian revolution. Furthermore, the survival and consolidation of socialist revolution in the economically backward countries requires its extension to the advanced capitalist powers.

As the imperialist powers today seek a new carve-up of the world, threatening a new world war while ever more viciously plundering the colonial and semicolonial countries, the national question—the question of the right of national self-determination—assumes a heightened importance for Marxists. Our decision to call for the independence of Quebec, a correction of the earlier line of our Canadian section of the International Communist League, was also a critical step toward dealing correctly with the national question elsewhere.

Bourgeois Reaction and the Communist Vanguard

Bourgeois ideologues today exalt the capitalist "free market," private property in the means of production, and especially the bourgeois state power as "natural" and *inviolable*. And it's not just the right wing that pushes this reactionary consciousness. The former mass reformist parties explicitly reject even the window-dressing of socialist verbiage as they make their bid to govern capitalist societies. In Britain, Labour Party prime-minister-in-waiting Tony Blair seeks to break the historic ties between Labour and the trade unions, while in Italy, an "Olive Tree" coalition government dominated by ex-Communists fronts for Wall Street and the Vatican.

It is not surprising then that in this context even the most combative workers who are leading battles in defense of their class interests are skeptical of parties claiming to represent the Marxist tradition. This has led to a recurrence of syndicalism, while among the most alienated and radical youth an anti-Marxist, "green"-tinged "anarchism" is popular.

What we of the International Communist League are for is a new October Revolution. The instrument to achieve this is a revolutionary-internationalist, democratic-centralist vanguard party. So we are engaged in a *battle* for this: programmatically, theoretically and, to the modest degree that our tiny forces have the opportunity, to connect with working-class struggle and to demonstrate our program in practice before the masses.

In the "Perspectives and Tasks Memorandum" adopted in January by the ICL's International Executive Committee (IEC), we note that "a reactionary period such as this will test the ICL in ways described by Trotsky in his 1937 article, 'Stalinism and Bolshevism'." Trotsky explained that "Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through." From 1923 on, the Trotskyist Left Opposition fought to uphold the principles of Bolshevism against Stalinist degeneration. Following Hitler's rise to power in 1933, unchallenged by the German Communist Party, Trotsky called for a new, Fourth International. When the Fourth International was formed in 1938, it was clear that the (Third) Communist International had decisively passed over to reformism.

When Trotsky referred to a "reactionary epoch," he did not mean that class struggle had ceased. Indeed, in the 1930s, the question of revolution and counterrevolution had been posed sharply in Germany, while France went through a prerevolutionary period and the Spanish Civil War precipitated a period of dual power between revolutionary workers and pro-capitalist forces within the "Loyalist" regions, especially Catalonia. Trotsky was referring to the subjective factor—the question of revolutionary consciousness. Hundreds of thousands of workers retained their enthusiasm for the October Revolution; yet for the most part these workers identified the Russian Revolution with the Stalinized Communist parties. In 1923-24, Stalin had usurped political power in the Soviet Union; by 1937, you had the Moscow frame-up trials and tens of thousands of Old Bolsheviks were being executed. The Communist International had been destroyed as a revolutionary instrument, and the Stalinists were then helping to strangle proletarian revolution in Spain.

In that situation, many ex-Communists

Spartakist

Spartakists initiated 250,000-strong protest against fascist desecration of Red Army memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park, January 1990. Poster for March 1990 election reads: "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!"

Reuters

Pelissier/Reuters

Class struggle in West Europe: Italian workers in Milano protest against unemployment, October 1993 (left); students join French miners in Paris march during December 1995 strike wave.

and even former partisans of Trotsky's Left Opposition were renouncing Leninism, claiming that it was the source and inspiration of Stalinism. In reply, Trotsky reaffirmed the validity of Bolshevism against both the Stalinist usurpers and those who openly proclaimed their desertion of Leninism. He emphasized: "In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow; it must swim against the current."

Centrists in the Popular-Front Swamp

Today even most subjective leftists view as rather esoteric the idea that a proletarian revolution, like that successfully pursued by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917, is the key to the liberation of mankind. Buying into the so-called "death of communism," the left in general is rapidly repudiating even any pretense to Leninism, seeking to merge into larger reformist formations together with social democrats and ex-Stalinists. This process is quite evident in Europe. In France, fake-Trotskyist leader Alain Krivine shares a platform with leaders of the Communist Party and the petty-bourgeois Greens, jockeying to work out slates for the next parliamentary elections. In Italy, the fake Trotskyists have jumped into Rifondazione Comunista (RC), an offshoot of the old Italian CP, the bulk of which has now become the openly social-democratic PDS.

Trotsky noted that the reformist Stalinist parties in the West embodied a dual loyalty, to the Kremlin and to their own bourgeoisie—a dual loyalty that would ultimately be resolved by renouncing any ties to the Soviet Union. This process was well underway by the second Cold War period in the 1980s, where it was dubbed "Eurocommunism." Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, former Stalinists throughout the West have become simply another version of social democracy. Meanwhile fake-Trotskyist centrist formations—tendencies which are "revolutionary in words and reformist in deeds"—openly embrace the social democrats. Ten years ago, centrist groups like the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) were howling in chorus with the pro-imperialist wolves against the Soviet Union. But today, leading Italian USec spokesman Livio Maitan and sometime USec "oppositionist" Franco Grisolia can rub shoulders with the former "hardline" pro-Kremlin Stalinists who run Rifondazione Comunista, the main left prop of the popular-front bourgeois government in Italy.

In Italy, there was a wave of militant strike action against austerity measures dictated by the European Union's Maastricht agreement. This culminated in a one-day general strike in October 1994, in which 25 million people participated. The huge strike wave was cynically manipulated by the reformists for their popular-frontist ambitions, to bring down the right-wing Berlusconi government in order to obtain their own ministerial portfolios. When the trade-union bureaucrats called a one-day general strike, their centrist tails demanded a two-day strike or even an "unlimited general strike." In glorifying economist militancy, the fake left was really tailing the reformists. Thus they all called for a vote to the popular front. Grisolia, an editor of the oppositional journal *Proposta* within Rifondazione and at least at one time associated with the "International Trotskyist Opposition" of the USec, called for votes to *all* candidates of the popular front in the March 1994 election, including the openly bourgeois politicians. More recently, Grisolia took a position to the right of the initial stance of the RC leaders, arguing to support the previous capitalist government of Prime Minister Dini against a motion of no confidence.

The same thing was true in the French strikes that broke out in December of last year. There was much rhetoric about "May 1968" coming from fake Trotskyists who occupied not uninfluential posts in the trade-union bureaucracies which ultimately suppressed the workers' militancy. In every way, there were more *differences* here with 1968 than similarities. This strike wave did not occur in the midst of revolutionary overturns in the former colonial world like Vietnam, which gripped the imagination and support of youth and the oppressed across the imperialist centers. In part what was significant about the recent strike wave in France was that it occurred in the midst of such a reactionary period. It was the first *proletarian* blast of opposition to the New World Disorder—of course, we had already seen the peasant insurgency in Chiapas, Mexico and the Los Angeles upheaval following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King.

What is necessary is a Bolshevik party that can transcend the false division between parliamentary class collaboration and apolitical militancy or syndicalism. As we note in the IEC memorandum:

> "Even as small, fighting propaganda groups, the sections of the ICL embody the revolutionary program. It is our role to intervene with that program, *to provide revolutionary leadership*. Particularly in a period characterized by defensive struggles against bourgeois attacks, and by understandable skepticism in the working class about parties and Marxism, it is vital to struggle for a program of transitional demands that leads the proletarial inchetably to one conclusion: the necessity for socialist revolution. The party is the instrumentality to win workers to this consciousness. Ceding the ground to alien class forces through economist liquidation of the party question or tailing of other currents, or conversely adopting a posture of sterile abstentionism or abstract propagandism, is to renounce our reason for existence."

In his famous work *What Is To Be Done*, Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin fought against glorification of trade-union militancy. Socialist consciousness does not arise spontaneously from trade-union struggle but has to be brought to the working class by a revolutionary party. Lenin argued for and built a party that was a genuine "tribune of the people," seeking to mobilize the proletariat against all forms of oppression—racial, national, sexual. That kind of party is absolutely counterposed to participation in or support for a bourgeois popular-front government. This stands in sharp contrast to how our centrist opponents act. In Italy, for example, the centrists are embedded in RC, which lends its support to the current prime minister, Prodi, a well-known opponent of abortion rights. Meanwhile, Rifondazione holds joint meetings with scum like the chauvinist Northern League, which terrorizes immigrants.

The Fight for Programmatic Clarity

Of course, our small revolutionary international is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. Political fights have been necessary in our Italian and French sections, among others. The former editor of our Italian journal, *Spartaco*, who rhapsodized over the "unlimited general strike," took his liquidationist politics to their logical conclusion and joined RC. Unlike our opponents on the left, who either remain silent, lie or present sanitized versions of their organizations, we strive to be candid in assessing the tasks and difficulties facing us. This is not because we have an inflated sense of self-importance, but a recognition that the state of the revolutionary vanguard is in itself a critical question for the workers movement.

A Leninist party is a vanguard party—it is not a "party of the whole class," like the British Labour Party, in which the more advanced workers are swamped by the more backward ones. A Leninist party strives to recruit into its ranks the most advanced workers and members of the revolutionary intelligentsia. To do so it must politically expose the pretensions of other tendencies in the workers movement, particularly the centrists. That is why we have a polemical press. The overwhelming preponderance of Lenin's *Collected Works* consists not of descriptions of how the working masses are oppressed, but of polemical articles that sharply delineate the Bolshevik vanguard from Menshevism and centrism. This polemical approach toward external political opponents goes hand in hand with keeping one's house in order internally. This is true not least of all because soft spots within the revolutionary party inevitably show up, in more magnified form, as the program of our competitors.

What was particularly sharply posed during Cold War II was the need to stand for unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic

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International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Young Spartacus

Interview with Union Summer Activist

Students and the Labor Movement

Koester/Time

Union Summer activists protest a non-union hotel in Los Angeles.

The enthusiastic response on college campuses to the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program probably surprised no one so much as the union bureaucrats themselves. Over 3,000 young people applied for 1,000 slots, and program organizers scrambled to add extra places. In the end, some 1,200 young people—52 percent of them minorities, 54 percent women, 42 percent from union families—were organized into 41 separate "waves," or groups. Participants were given a place to sleep and $210 a week during three-week stints working as adjuncts to local AFL-CIO unions in 22 different cities across the country.

The increasing gap between the ostentatious wealth of the ruling class and the impoverishment of a widening pool of those at the bottom of this society has led to a renewed popularity of the union movement. A recent *Newsweek* (8 July) poll shows that 68 percent of young people in the U.S. view the unions positively; this spring, campus workers strikes at Yale and Barnard won considerable student support. The existence of a layer of young people eager to associate themselves with the working class is, for Marxists, an important development. While the motivations of the Union Summer youth we encountered varied widely—from those who saw union work as social work, seeking to aid poorly paid workers viewed as less fortunate than themselves, to those looking for opportunities for civil disobedience and "direct action" against racism and injustice—almost all saw the labor movement as a vehicle in the struggle for a better society. The program was pitched in a way that appealed to this sentiment, as explained to the *Nation* (12 August) by AFL-CIO Union Summer coordinator Andy Levin: "Put simply, we want to inject a massive dose of class consciousness into youth politics.... Our message is that labor is where it's at in the fight for social justice in the nineties."

But for the "new" AFL-CIO leadership under John Sweeney, "social justice" is just rhetoric, a useful cover in which to package the real content of their program, which is the same as that of the old AFL-CIO: support to the status quo and pressuring the capitalist Democratic Party. The Union Summer program was consciously modeled on the electoralist strategy and civil disobedience tactics of the liberal-led civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, based on the premise that workers' rights will be won through government action, not through class struggle.

Even a serious effort to organize the mass of unorganized industrial workers in the heavily black South would pit the labor movement directly against the capitalist state—the courts and the cops—as well as the racist terrorists of the KKK. Far from being a neutral arbiter in the struggle between labor and capital, the state defends the private property and rule of the capitalist class. America's rulers foster racial divisions in order to hide the *class* divide fundamental to capitalist society. It is in the interests of the whole working class to wage a frontal assault on the pervasive oppression of blacks in the U.S. The leadership the working class desperately needs is a party which recognizes the bosses' government as the class enemy and champions the cause of black liberation as part of a revolutionary struggle to eliminate the capitalist system.

The unions in this country were built in *opposition* to the bosses' government. But today all the militant tactics used in organizing the unions—from mass pickets and sit-down strikes to "secondary strikes" against the suppliers and transporters of struck facilities—are shunned by the labor tops because they are "illegal." So Sweeney & Co. prate that strikes are "outmoded," that consumer boycotts and impotent campaigns to expose corporate greed are the only possible tactics in labor's arsenal. Most Union Summer youth never even got near a union organizing drive. Rather, they were mobilized in endless public relations gimmicks where they were on show as the supposed "new blood" which Sweeney promised to bring to the labor movement.

We publish below an interview with Momoko, who worked in the Union Summer program in the San Francisco Bay Area. Particularly telling is her account of how Union Summer participants went to the picket lines of striking SEIU janitors only on their own initiative. The one time they were officially dispatched to the lines was...to hand out leaflets telling workers who were honoring the janitors' pickets to "go back to work." So "raising class consciousness" AFL-CIO style turns out to be mobilizing youth to act as scabherders for the capitalists. That used to be the job of the Junior Chamber of Commerce! There can be no effective union movement or labor solidarity without recognition of the fundamental principle that picket lines mean don't cross! *Young Spartacus* supporters showed Momoko *Labor's Turning Point*, a film about the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes, which were led by Trotskyists, to illustrate both what the picket line has meant historically and the crucial need for revolutionary leadership in the labor movement.

No doubt the experience of Union Summer participants varied a bit across the country. *Young Spartacus* would like to hear from other Union Summer activists about their work in the program and the lessons they've drawn from it. There is a great leap involved in moving from simply identifying with the working class as one of the victimized sections of the population to seeing it as the key agency for revolutionary social change. The proletariat has the social power to bring an end to this entire system of exploitation and oppression, wherein the many are forced to toil for the tiny minority who own industry. In freeing itself, the working class will necessarily liberate all sections of society from the manifold forms of oppression

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Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win students to the cause of the working class.

Revolutionary Internationalism in Action

ICL Protests Bombing of Iraq

As soon as the International Communist League's Japanese comrades reported that American B-52 bombers had left Guam for Iraq—hours before the U.S. media announced the imperialist attack—the ICL swung into action from Tokyo to Toronto and from Berlin to Berkeley. The Spartacist League/U.S. immediately issued a protest leaflet. On September 3, the day of Clinton's terror-bombing, Spartacus Youth Club members in New York City organized a soapbox protest rally at Hunter College. Our comrades in the German Jugend Spartakisten (Spartakist Youth) held a rally at Humboldt University in Berlin, while our Canadian comrades demonstrated at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. The next day, the Juventud Espartaquista rallied at the huge UNAM university campus in Mexico City.

In addition to mounting our own protests, the Spartacus Youth Clubs also mobilized contingents for, and had speakers at, demonstrations organized by the reformist Workers World Party in New York City and San Francisco on September 3. Our call that "Saddam Hussein should be dealt with by his own working people for his crimes against them" drew applause from the many Near Eastern protesters. And our insistence that "the main enemy is at home: U.S. imperialism" sharply counterposed our revolutionary opposition to imperialist war to the fake leftists who seek to pressure liberal imperialist "doves." One person who attended the San Francisco protest with the SYC noted the pathetic idiocy of the reformists' bleat, "Money for jobs, not for war" when the same government that bombed Iraq just gutted the welfare system here, condemning millions to death in this country.

Our international protests were not cheap-talk "anti-Americanism" but true examples of Leninist *internationalism*. Many sections of the ICL outside the U.S. issued their own leaflets, which in addition to condemning the U.S. assault on Iraq took aim at their own ruling classes and the reformist misleaders who tie the oppressed to their exploiters. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) carried placards protesting the bombing at a demonstration in Paris in defense of African refugees fighting deportation. Drawing the connection between the crimes of U.S. imperialism and those of the French bourgeoisie, the LTF leaflet headlined, "Cops Attack Africans in Paris, U.S. Imperialism Attacks Iraq—Down with the Racist New World *Dis*order!"

Young Spartacus photos

Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs protest imperialist attack on Iraq (clockwise from left): San Francisco; MIT campus in Cambridge, Massachusetts; University of Maryland; New York's Times Square.

Our German comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) exposed the hypocrisy of the Social Democratic Party's condemnation of "superpower USA." These reformist spokesmen for German imperialism, who are in a de facto coalition with the right-wing Kohl government, are simply reflecting the heightened rivalries between these two imperialist powers since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Germany is today the largest arms exporter to Turkey, which is carrying out a bloody war of terror against the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and the Kurdish people, while the German government viciously oppresses the large Turkish and Kurdish minority in its country. The SpAD's leaflet demands, "Down with the ban on the PKK and all Kurdish groups! Full citizenship rights for all those who have made it here!"

In Milano, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) exposed the reformist Rifondazione Comunista (RC). Our Italian comrades' leaflet denounced RC for demanding imperialist sanctions against Iraq in 1991 as an "alternative" to bombs. In fact, the imperialists did impose a starvation boycott on Iraq, which has killed some 600,000 Iraqi children. The LTd'I leaflet proclaimed that "blood is on the hands of those who supported sanctions." An LTd'I speaker at a September 6 protest outside the U.S. consulate drew the class line against the capitalist "Olive Tree" popular-front government supported by RC, calling on the working class to "Break with the Olive Tree/Rifondazione! For a revolutionary workers party!"

The Spartacist League/Britain exposed the ever more tattered pretensions of the Labour Party to represent the interests of working people. In a leaflet distributed at a protest initiated by a Kurdish group in London, our comrades noted, "The Labour Party leadership gave its wholehearted support to this murderous war; the so-called left of the Labour Party like Tony Benn and the pacifists of CND supported a policy of starving Iraq through UN sanctions." The statement denounced British imperialism's hypocritical talk of "humanitarian aid," explaining that it means "mass terror against oppressed Catholics on the streets of Northern Ireland," "scores of deaths of black people in police custody" in Britain and "brutal incarceration and deportation of refugees and asylum seekers."

The comrades of the Spartacist Group/Japan issued a leaflet noting that it was the Japanese rulers who bankrolled the 1991 imperialist war against Iraq, when for the first time since World War II the Japanese army was sent overseas. Calling for revolutionary struggle against the Japanese and U.S. capitalist rulers, their leaflet stated: "Japan is not a colony of the U.S. but the second-largest imperialist power in the world, with its own appetites—to once again enslave and exploit the workers and toilers of Asia." U.S. warships based in Japan were deployed for the latest cruise missile attack. Our comrades explained, "What is needed are strikes by the Japanese proletariat working on the bases, similar to those that occurred in Okinawa during the Vietnam War in 1971 which prevented U.S. ships and planes from leaving the base for 24 hours. U.S. military out of Japan!"

Here in the belly of the beast, the SL/U.S. called for mass protest against the main enemy of the international proletariat, U.S. imperialism. We reprint the September 3 SL leaflet below.

* * *

In the early hours of this morning, the United States launched a terrorist cruise missile attack on Iraq ordered by the Clinton White House. We say: U.S. imperialism—hands off Iraq! U.S. and all imperialist forces out of the Persian Gulf! This latest attack on Iraq is a cynical attempt by the Clinton White House to boost the Democrats' electoral fortunes in

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ICL protest leaflets against U.S. terror bombing.

Union Summer...

(continued from page 8)

rooted in class divisions. *But the working class will only use its power if it is made conscious of its position in society and its historic mission.* It is the job of Marxists to bring this consciousness to the working class—to fuse our scientific understanding of society with the social power of the proletariat.

The AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, today as before, was aptly described by Daniel DeLeon, one of America's early Marxists, as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." It has been bought off, essentially hired to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement. To many Union Summer activists, the hold of this bureaucratic layer on the working class must seem like a death grip. But this appearance is deceptive. There is great disaffection building up at the base of American society. The power wielded by these venal careerists is not based on any earned authority; it could easily be shattered with the next eruption of class struggle. The task of Marxists is to fight within the working class and among all layers of the oppressed to build the integrated revolutionary workers party necessary to revitalize the labor movement and lead its future struggles to victory. Revolutionary student youth can play an important role on the campuses by organizing Spartacus Youth Clubs, which seek to be the student/youth auxiliary to a class-struggle opposition within the labor movement. We look forward to winning Union Summer activists to this perspective.

* * *

Young Spartacus: What made you take an interest in labor struggles and join the Union Summer program?

Momoko: First of all, I've always been aware that the working class has always been exploited, and I never equated the pro-capitalist view of the bureaucrats with the actual views of workers themselves. I was aware that there has to be economic justice for justice to exist in all areas. My interests were heading in the direction of labor history as a history major, but I had never had any interactions with rank-and-file union members and that's what I wanted to find out about.

When the AFL-CIO sent recruiters to our campus, they showed *Salt of the Earth* [a movie about striking miners in New Mexico] and then after that there was a short question-and-answer session and applications were handed out. I was excited because the organizer who spoke to us was young and Latina. She defied the stereotype of the union organizer, you know, wearing the Democrats' T-shirt or a cap that says "Made in America." She mentioned that her favorite book was [Frantz Fanon's] *The Wretched of the Earth*. She completely related to our frustrations as college students of only learning theory and not being able to apply any of it.

WV Photo

Labor must be mobilized in defense of all the oppressed: trade unionists march in August 1995 Philadelphia demonstration for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

YSp: Where we warned that the AFL-CIO's "new voice" shares the same pro-capitalist program and aversion to class struggle as the old Cold War bureaucrats who preceded them, much of the left has embraced Sweeney's claims that consumer boycotts and civil disobedience will revitalize the labor movement. Were you expecting Sweeney's election as president of the AFL-CIO to make a change?

Momoko: No. A labor organizer came to give us a talk and introduce us to the labor movement. It had nothing to do with the Union Summer recruitment program, but she voiced a lot of hope for the labor movement because Sweeney had just been elected along with [United Mine Workers chief] Trumka and [AFSCME leader] Linda Chavez-Thompson. But I had read either in *Workers Vanguard* or *Z Magazine* about Sweeney, the fact that he was tied to the CIA and that this was just another old AFL-CIO bureaucrat. There was just not much of a difference except in what he was saying in order to appeal to the people, but really with the same program.

YSp: When you joined Union Summer, what were you expecting your activity to be?

Momoko: At first I was definitely expecting a longer orientation which included the history of the AFL-CIO. We were given a lot of reading material, but it was mostly material about the positive side of the AFL-CIO. It was interesting because some of it touched on the general strikes that happened in the '30s and how victorious the unions were. But there was no mention of how much the unions have changed since then and how their strategies have become very limiting and very appeasing of the capitalists. I guess I was naive to expect that the Central Labor Council would actually admit to their weaknesses and their kiss-butt attitude toward the capitalists and that we needed a change. But when I arrived there, you know, I saw that the people who were going to be working with us, the site coordinators, were in their 20s, so I guess for some reason I expected that they would have very leftist views. And I was to find out later that they were very much tied to the Democrats; they're proponents of electoral politics. That was very disappointing. I expect that the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute is graduating all these young, supposed leftists to fight for the labor movement while believing in Clinton as the labor proponent.

YSp: Were you expecting that you would be assigned to help with a union organizing drive?

Momoko: I was expecting to be introduced to organizing and how that's done, although I was really nervous because I've never been a laborer myself. But it turned out that none of us were called out to organize people. I thought that at least we would be able to interact with workers and talk to them and ask them questions about how they feel about the union and what it's doing for them, what it's not doing for them. But it turned out that we were just showpieces for the AFL-CIO. We'd wear our Union Summer T-shirts and we'd help organize these ridiculous rallies, but it didn't do much but maybe vent some frustrations for workers and maybe appease workers who probably want a lot more done for them and their struggles. And so basically the only people I met that have to do with the unions were the leaders.

YSp: What was your main assignment?

Momoko: My main assignment was organizing one rally that was called "America Needs a Raise." We would drive out to various locations and solicit people on the street to come to this rally. We told them they'd be able to voice their frustrations and their opinions on issues that affect the common worker, specifically raising the minimum wage, but also other issues like health care and stability and different things. It was supposed to be a town hall meeting but it really wasn't because the speakers had been hand-picked way before the day. Linda Chavez-Thompson was there. Two people who hadn't been chosen to speak—one was a guy who was really ecstatic about the forming of a new labor party—were told to shut up because they supposedly had "politically biased opinions" that shouldn't have been expressed. This was pretty ridiculous because outside of the town hall meeting there were people holding signs that said, "My president cares about me" and "Vote Democrat in '96." I was outside ushering people in. I was actually told not to let anyone with "those crazy newspapers" come in, meaning *Workers Vanguard* and another group.

YSp: During your three weeks in the Union Summer program, the janitors in SEIU Local 1877 were on strike around the Bay Area. These largely minority workers, many of them immigrants, were fighting to bring their wages up to the federal poverty level and to have health care coverage for their families. Our comrades and supporters joined the picket lines daily yet we never ran across any people from Union Summer.

Momoko: Actually, a few of us did go out on the picket lines. There was one guy, who's at the Organizing Institute now, who suggested a day off for the picketing janitors because it was Father's Day and they should be with their families. So he organized a bunch of us to go and picket for them instead.

YSp: The janitors faced a difficult struggle, especially given their dispersal among many different buildings. They really needed the stationary engineers, Teamsters and garbage drivers to honor their strike. But the Central Labor Councils did nothing to get these unions to shut down the buildings. We have insisted that picket lines mean that no one and nothing must go through.

Momoko: A few days before a rally for striking Safeway workers, a few of us Union Summer people were called out to help the Justice for Janitors program. We went to some place in San Jose where some workers didn't show up for work one day because of the strike.

YSp: They were honoring the janitors' picket lines?

Momoko: They were honoring the picket lines. But when we arrived there, we were given flyers that said "Go back to work" and we were instructed to hand those out to union members who had refused to cross the janitors' line. They told us to rush over there in the morning and hand out these notices to the workers because we "didn't need their help," to quote the notice that we were giving to them. The notice said we will ask for your help when we need it. What the workers were doing that was so wrong was the fact that they hadn't called a vote to honor the picket line! And they looked really pissed off; they didn't want to go in to work.

YSp: The SEIU bureaucrats insisted on a "rolling strike" where the janitors would shut down one building for one day and then go back to work the next day. Janitors in Oakland and San Ramon got fed up with this sabotage after two weeks and voted to stay out until they had a contract. What did you think of the SEIU's rolling strike strategy?

Momoko: I thought that was ridiculous, it was obvious that it wasn't hurting the companies at all. It was just another conciliatory action, voicing anger at the corporations but also saying at the same time, "We just want a piece of the cake. Here, come on, we're not really doing anything to aggravate the situation, so

Cohen/Public Employee Press

WV Photo

Capitalist chief Clinton at AFSCME convention in June. Labor tops tie workers to racist Democrats, push chauvinist protectionist poison.

maybe you can give us part of a deal." The leaders admitted to the fact that one-day strikes weren't really hurting the companies because, you know, how much trash can accumulate in one day?

There was actually a Union Summer intern in my group whose father was a janitor with Local 1877. He was pissed: he wanted a general strike, not a puny rolling strike. And I remember when our group went over to the local hall, right before an action at the Great Mall, we were given this grand speech by one of the leaders about how effective rolling strikes were and how they were replacing the old-fashioned and no longer effective general strike. The woman whose father is a janitor was shaking her head.

The action at the Great Mall was the most aggressive action I experienced while on Union Summer. We ran through the mall with our picket signs, screaming at the security guards and handing out leaflets to the customers about the janitors strike. It was supposed to spread awareness of the plight of the janitors. I don't think they were on strike against the mall. I guess this was supposed to be the time to vent frustrations for the janitors.

YSp: The "corporate campaign" has become a really common tactic of the pro-capitalist labor leadership, where strikers' impulse to use mass picketing to shut down production is derailed into consumer boycotts, letter-writing campaigns and picketing shareholders meetings to "win" liberal public opinion and appeal to "image-conscious" corporations. What do you think it would have taken for the janitors to win their struggle?

Momoko: A general strike: all the other union workers that compose the workforce that the janitors are part of should have honored the picket lines, not shown up for work, and shut the companies down for as long as it takes for them to grant what the strikers were demanding.

YSp: Why do you think that didn't happen?

Momoko: The leadership just wants to appease the corporations and not cause any trouble for the unions and their reputation because they're so tied to the capitalists and the politicians.

YSp: In this election year, given that the labor leadership is trying to mobilize votes for the Democratic Party, you can imagine that it would be a big problem for them to have that kind of confrontation with the capitalists and the Democratic mayors and politicians. As Marxists, we see that both the Democrats and the Republicans are capitalist parties. The welfare bill, which is a direct attack on blacks, immigrants and the unionized workforce, was passed with bipartisan support and signed into law by Clinton. A woman in Boston told us she was disappointed that her assignment was to sign up people to vote. Did any people from your group do voter registration?

WV Photo

Bay Area janitors' rally in May. Union Summer activists were told to hand out "go back to work" leaflets to workers honoring janitors' picket lines.

Momoko: Towards the end of the program, I asked one of the site coordinators what I could continue to do in the Bay Area for the labor movement, and he said, "Oh, you know we're going to have voter registration going on. You can definitely help with that." And I thought, if that's all you want us to do, that's really helping the labor movement! I and another dissenter confronted one of the site coordinators about the issue of proposing voting as opposed to any direct action, and the coordinator just kind of blew us off by saying that "You guys are college idealists. I was one myself, too, you know. You'll soon come to see that it just doesn't work to be an idealist and this is the best way." What was frustrating was that at the beginning of the program, I started befriending a few people and I really saw them as having a lot of potential for changing society. But towards the end of the program a lot of people were buying into this whole electoral politics system.

YSp: From what you describe, it sounds like the Union Summer leaders were pretty consciously looking for people they could train to carry on with their program.

Momoko: Definitely. Towards the middle of the first week, I think they consciously picked out people who had "leadership abilities," people who didn't question why we were having this rally and what it was for, people who were just willing to go out and get as many numbers as they could. I and a few other people live in the Bay Area: we could have easily stayed over to help them. They just selected the people who were obviously not questioning the labor leadership's ideas and strategies.

YSp: Some Union Summer people went to help the strawberry pickers in Watsonville who are fighting for a union. Like the janitors, these workers are overwhelmingly immigrant and are among the most vulnerable and exploited, particularly in the atmosphere of Prop. 187 anti-immigrant hysteria and Clinton's racist "counter-terrorism" bill. Yet the AFL-CIO has been pushing trade protectionism, allying itself with American imperialism's drive for profits and appealing to blatant "yellow peril" racism. You earlier mentioned the union bureaucracy's "American jobs for American workers" flag-waving rhetoric. Can you tell us more about that?

Momoko: I noticed at the Labor Council building different signs that said "Buy only American-made products," "Made in the USA." Their argument was: support American labor and don't support "Them" with a capital T, the "others." The site coordinators kept emphasizing how international the AFL-CIO is, that they support all workers around the world. We were shown a film on the *maquiladoras* in Latin America working for Gap. But there was just no discussion on what the AFL-CIO is or should be doing for them. It was only "Boycott Gap."

One girl, who was probably the biggest supporter of the leadership and the Democrats, said, "Well, maybe we can shut their plants down or something, if we got enough people mobilized to boycott these products." And then another woman spoke out and said, "Wait a minute. If we do succeed in closing a store down, we'll also be succeeding in taking away jobs from people. As awful as their conditions are, they depend on what they're doing for their livelihood. It isn't just a band-aid issue where we can boycott products to hurt a small, minuscule sector of the big problem." I think what she was trying to say was that obviously we have to just completely overhaul this system, because capitalism is the problem and capitalists are the enemy. But she was told to end the discussion because it was getting late.

YSp: What you were starting to discuss is what really needs to happen—organizing workers on both sides of the border to fight their common enemy. Reviving the labor movement requires uniting *all* workers in struggle against racial oppression and anti-immigrant chauvinism. That's why we raise the demand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Some Union Summer activists in Chicago were able to be part of the action on June 29 against the KKK, who were trying to recruit for race terror.

Momoko: I was really excited when I read about Union Summer interns going to the anti-KKK demonstration. I was wondering how they were able to get away with that!

YSp: The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League have mobilized workers and minorities in united-front demonstrations supported by key unions to stop the fascists when they have tried to take their program of race terror to the cities. The fascists are the shock troops of the ruling class. They must be met by the social power of the working class to crush them when they are still small. But, for example, when we organized a labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois in January 1994 against the Klan, the AFL-CIO tops told union locals to stay away. Why do you think that the AFL-CIO bureaucrats don't mobilize the ranks to come out and defeat the racists?

Momoko: If they don't even want to aggressively fight corporations when their workers want to strike, there's no way they'd want to fight the KKK in the interests of their multiracial members and all of society. Because they want to stay away from any kind of action that can cause a lot of tension and aggravate the peace that they have with the cops. I don't know if they see the KKK as a threat. I definitely didn't see the KKK as a threat until recently, until actually when we started discussing the action against the KKK and what it means to have these fascist people in reserve for capitalists in the future when they might be needed, because I never had any economic analysis of fascism. I remember being afraid in high school when I turned on the TV and saw a bunch of skinheads. People basically calmed me down and said, "They're just a stupid group out there preaching hatred, don't even worry about them. We're being protected by our cops and our government."

YSp: The cops and the government showed exactly what side they're on in Chicago when they arrested nine *anti*-Klan protesters for successfully defending themselves against the fascists. A Union Summer activist was among those arrested, and they are still facing charges. You and another woman from your Union Summer program wrote a very strong letter of solidarity to those who had been arrested.

Momoko: The church burnings were heavily reported through the media. Even events like that weren't discussed during the Union Summer program.

YSp: These are critical issues for American labor. The working class cannot win any of its struggles if it's divided along race and ethnic and national lines. A lot of industry is moving to "open shop" states in the South. Last summer, poultry workers in Alabama lost a unionization effort after white plant supervisors burned a cross on company property to intimidate the mainly black workers. And in defending the capitalist profit system, the labor misleaders necessarily adapt to the racism of the system.

Momoko: It's also interesting that there were Union Summer programs in the South. There was a Southern bus tour, and a few of us asked our site coordinators what the Southern bus tour was going to do. And the site coordinator replied that it was going to be a major voter registration campaign—and that was it! And we had been told that the South was the most critical area in the country to organize workers because that's the most unorganized region, but here they were sending Union Summer people to go and register people to vote. That was a direct message to us that they weren't very interested in organizing workers and thereby causing trouble.

YSp: You had expressed earlier that by the end of your Union Summer internship you were somewhat discouraged about the prospects for labor struggle. Can you describe the way you were thinking then?

Momoko: At the rally where Linda Chavez-Thompson told those two people to shut up, a bunch of people in the back rows would cheer and clap their hands; they were wearing the "Union Yes" shirts, they were obviously union members. That was really frustrating to me.

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Trotskyism...

(continued from page 7)

Stalinist bureaucracies. We not only called for this but we put our money where our mouth is. We pushed our resources to the limit to intervene in the decisive battles where the fate of the homeland of the October Revolution was fought out. When the Afghan city of Jalalabad was besieged by CIA-backed *mujahedin*, the Partisan Defense Committee organized a campaign to provide needed assistance. We mobilized our forces internationally for an extensive intervention into the DDR when the Berlin Wall came down; this was followed by our work in the Soviet Union itself.

We were a hundred times right against our fake-left opponents, who claimed that the working class would gain by supporting capitalist restorationists like Yeltsin in Russia or Lech Walesa in Poland. But being right doesn't always make you rich, at least immediately. As Trotsky explained to his followers after the crushing of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, you don't recruit masses in the wake of defeats. We didn't gain a lot of new adherents in the Reagan years, and most of our opponents didn't do us the favor of self-destructing. So effective polemical struggle against our opponents remains an essential task.

A revolutionary party is not built simply through the process of engaging and leading the masses in struggle. A Leninist party has two central tasks: to *maintain* the programmatic integrity of the party by ceaseless vigilance and internal struggle and to struggle always to *extend* the party. The pressure of alien class influences emanating from bourgeois society constantly bears down on the vanguard. Inevitably some party cadre become worn out or demoralized. Challenges to the program emanating from within the party, as well as external challenges, must be combatted politically. As long ago as 1888, Friedrich Engels stated: "It seems that *every* workers' party, in a great country, can only develop itself by internal struggle, and this is based on the laws of dialectical development in general."

A Leninist party is built through a process of splits and fusions with other tendencies. This was true of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and James P. Cannon's Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And it's also been our own history. The Revolutionary Tendency (RT), forerunner of the Spartacist League, originated in the early 1960s as a revolutionary opposition to the SWP majority's capitulation to Castroism and black nationalism. The RT itself underwent a split with the Healy/Wohlforth gang. A few years after the 1966 founding of the SL, there was a split with an unprincipled bloc headed by Harry Turner and Kay Ellens, the latter now with the newspaper *Spark*. But then a couple years later the SL fused with several New Left and former Maoist groupings who had come over to Trotskyism, the most prominent being the Communist Working Collective in 1971. That's all within a decade of the founding of the RT.

Spartacist

Striking municipal workers in Johannesburg, September 1995. Combative black proletariat of South Africa needs a Bolshevik party.

Splits and fusions alike can be methods of building the party, on the condition that both the unification and the split in each case is properly motivated. A false unification can be politically fatal; an example was the merger in Spain in 1935 of Andrés Nin's Left Opposition with the Right Opposition group led by Maurin to create the Workers Party of Marxist Unification, whose Spanish acronym was the POUM, which became the key centrist obstacle to proletarian revolution in Spain. Likewise, to split when necessary is not, as some would have it, a sign of political weakness. No crime can be greater than to put off a necessary party fight out of fear that it might lead to a split. As Cannon, for many years leader of revolutionary Trotskyism in the U.S., put it during a factional struggle in the SWP in the early 1950s: "You can set it down as a law for this party fight as for all others when great issues are at stake; the more resolute, aggressive, and uncompromising the struggle against the revisionist tendency the smaller will be the losses, if any, in the long run."

The counterposition of "mass work" to Leninist party building is dead wrong. The tasks of a party at any given time depend on many factors, including the size and capacity of the organization, the state of the class struggle, and the relationship of forces within the left. In the early 1930s, several years after the Left Opposition in the U.S. was founded, the American Trotskyist movement was challenged by a guy named Albert Weisbord. Weisbord, in point of fact, had some credentials as a mass worker; as a member of the Communist Party (CP), he had led the militant Passaic textile strike in 1926. Now Weisbord argued for ignoring the CP and jumping directly into organizing the masses. This was a period in which the unions were mainly in retreat, and subjectively revolutionary workers were overwhelmingly concentrated in the CP. The Trotskyists rejected Weisbord's advice, and concentrated on recruiting cadre from the CP as the best route to the masses. A few years later, when the American workers began to show some forward motion, it was the Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis general strike. Weisbord's group underwent several splits and disappeared from the scene.

This does not mean that even small propaganda groups cannot lead exemplary mass struggles. On several occasions, we have mobilized significant numbers of trade unionists and minorities to stop intended marches by fascist scum like the KKK and Nazis. Recently, we initiated an anti-Klan mobilization in Chicago on very short notice. Undoubtedly we would have had more forces if Daley's Democratic Party machine hadn't kept the Klan rally secret until the last minute. But when the Klan marched toward the anti-fascist demonstrators, they ran into a much bigger force than their own, and received a well-deserved trouncing.

Germany: No Capitulation to Stalinism

For the past year, we have waged a sustained political fight internally against Jan Norden, longtime editor of *Workers Vanguard* (see "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," *WV* No. 648, 5 July), who was expelled in June along with his associate Marjorie Stamberg for willfully violating our organizational rules: denying in practice that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity of its members. Norden did not openly fly his political colors but took his differences underground, acting as an undeclared factionalist. A long and thorough internal political discussion clarified the issues among the membership. In the end, despite his years of authority in the party, Norden left with only his longtime political collaborator and personal companion, Stamberg, and his protégé Negrete. The following citation by James P. Cannon fits Norden to a T:

> "Experience has shown that when party members cease to be revolutionists their whole attitude toward the party changes. They begin to hate the party; the party becomes a prison to them, and they insist on breaking out. That—and that alone—is what causes splits, if you want to know the real reason."

Norden's split over the party question was the first crack in our central cadre in many years. Had his revisionist course not been fought and defeated, it would have wrecked our party. As it was, he almost succeeded in causing a split in our German section. In our article, which laid out the political issues behind Norden's defection in detail, we labeled him a "Pabloite of the second mobilization." Michel Pablo was an adventurer who emerged after World War II as the leader of the decimated forces of the Fourth International. In the 1950s he predicted "centuries of deformed workers states," discarding the Trotskyist understanding that the degenerated and deformed workers states were unstable and transitional regimes which would be removed either through proletarian political revolution or through capitalist counterrevolution. Pablo prettified the Stalinist bureaucracies, and claimed that "The Communist Parties retain the possibility in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation." Seeking to pressure the Stalinists to the left, Pablo wrote off the forging of Trotskyist parties as the critical factor in carrying out international proletarian revolution.

Norden's outlook is actually very akin to Pabloism, an expectation that various non-proletarian forces, whether it be nationalists, Castroites or burnt-out ex-Stalinists, can somehow under certain circumstances play a social or political role that is in fact precluded by their class composition, history and program. Norden's refusal to accept the reality of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe drove him from episodic impressionism to outright revisionism. He began to prettify alien class forces. He greatly exaggerated the military capacity of Hussein's army, while Stamberg declared that the Cuban masses under the sway of Castroite ideology had "class consciousness." Norden began to infer that anyone under the guns of imperialism or persecuted by the imperialist state (such as former DDR government officials) was by definition "progressive," or at any rate a prospect for "revolutionary regroupment."

In the immediate wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the DDR, Norden, who played a central role in guiding the work of our German section, predicted massive proletarian resistance in eastern Germany and advocated agitation for a general strike. If economist calls for an "unlimited general strike" during the recent strike struggles in France and Italy were wrong, Norden's call in the former DDR was downright absurd. Here was a situation of mass layoffs and factory closures, where the workers were demoralized and bewildered and hadn't yet realized what had happened to them. This was the denial of reality.

Then came suppression of the Trotskyist analysis and program. We had an extensive internal discussion over capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR and the former Soviet Union. This discussion focused on the key role of consciousness. We produced something like six internal bulletins on this. The most cogent analysis of the events in the DDR was published in *Spartacist* No. 45-46 (Winter 1990-91) in the documents by comrades Seymour and St. John, which pointed to the critical absence of class consciousness, eroded by decades of misrule by the Stalinist bureaucracies, that paved the way for capitalist restoration. The Seymour and St. John documents were suppressed from the German-

Monad Press

L'Illustration

Popular Front leaders, social democrat Léon Blum and Stalinist Maurice Thorez, betrayed French general strike of 1936. Thorez declared: "It's necessary to know how to end a strike."

language edition of *Spartacist* for two years.

Then after the denial of reality and the suppression of the Trotskyist program came the overt political capitulation and adaptation to the Stalinists. This plunged to its most grotesque depth in a phrase in our public press in Germany, which Norden himself insisted upon, praising Stalin as commander in chief of the Red Army during World War II. And then there was Norden's speech at Berlin's Humboldt University in January 1995, where he repeatedly cozied up to an audience of the very Stalinist hacks we had intended to lead a workers political revolution against. His key phrase, repeated over and over again, was that "there was no revolutionary leadership." In other words, if he could have played history over again, Norden would have liquidated our party in the key period in which we fought for a workers political revolution in East Germany and for a red socialist Europe of workers councils. Instead he would have had us serve as "erudite" advisers to the Stalinist gravediggers of revolution.

Despite our tiny size, the power of our program was what counted in the prerevolutionary situation presented in the winter of '89-90. At the beginning we were a small propaganda group without connections to the East German proletariat and intelligentsia. *But we were getting connected.* Soldiers in the East German army took our propaganda very seriously and when we called for soldiers committees, they tried to form them.

The January 1990 demonstration against the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial at East Berlin's Treptow Park is itself a flesh-and-blood example of the power of a revolutionary program in action and how even a small vanguard can make the leap to lead in a revolutionary or prerevolutionary situation. A quarter of a million working people came out

G.P. Goldshtein

Lenin, addressing Red Army troops, with Trotsky (right of podium), 1920. We fight for a new October Revolution.

in defense of the Soviet monument at our initiative, which was of course overtaken by the Stalinist SED, then the ruling party of the DDR. But our party speakers addressed 250,000 people in what was the first Trotskyist speech ever at a mass rally in a deformed workers state since Trotsky's Left Opposition was crushed.

The appeal of our program, the mass response to defend the DDR exemplified in the Treptow action, deeply frightened the imperialist bourgeoisie *and* the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats. They literally moved up the date for *Anschluss* (unification)—advancing the elections which would decide the fate of East Germany by more than a month. The recognition that *we were the revolutionary leadership* was not lost on the class enemy or the decrepit Stalinists. The morning after the Treptow demonstration, the radio carried reports of the DDR "round table" government denouncing the Spartacists. The West German social-democratic SPD, the Trojan horse of capitalist counterrevolution in the East, brought maximum pressure to bear on the SED to disavow the action. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of workers political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution.

Leninism vs. Trade-Union Opportunism in Brazil

Norden's different conception of the party—its role and its methods of work—and his centrist adaptation to alien political programs was revealed in Brazil soon after the fight over Germany was resolved. For some time, we had been engaged in fraternal relations with the Luta Metalúrgica (LM) group in Brazil, with Norden and Negrete (then a leading member of our group in Mexico) acting as the chief ICL representatives (see "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica," *WV* No. 648, 5 July). We had made painful cuts to release the necessary cadre and financial resources to pursue the possibility for a historic breakthrough for revolutionary Trotskyism in Latin America. But when the party took control of this work away from Norden and Negrete, we discovered that LM *and* the ICL had been toys in Norden's game of smoke and mirrors. LM's real political problems had been prettified rather than openly struggled with, while the most crucial internal fights in the ICL (particularly those reflecting unfavorably on Norden, like over Germany) had been kept secret from LM. With "fraternal" relations like this, who needs distant cousins?

The October 1994 "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" between LM and the ICL was contrived in the manner of a centrist outfit like the British Workers Power group. Norden and Negrete wrote the document themselves and then claimed falsely that it proved Luta Metalúrgica's deep and broad agreement with the ICL. It is typical for "internationals" like Workers Power's LRCI to concoct such documents as an "orthodox" umbrella beneath which each national section can do as it pleases, in flagrant contradiction to genuine internationalism. Such agreements aren't worth the paper they're printed on. When the LRCI split last year, its two Latin American sections, which had been part of their "international" for several years, simply packed their bags and quit en masse. That shows how little real agreement there was.

Originating as a proletarian formation with a militant history in the steel industry center of Volta Redonda, LM had

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Pabloites of the Second Mobilization

Former *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden and his tiny coterie showed up at the August 1 Spartacist League forum in New York City with a 95-page bulletin, published without a union "hug" (label), claiming that the International Communist League had undergone a "centrist turn" in the few short weeks since their expulsion. In his summary remarks, SL speaker Jon Brule pointed out that in the course of more than a year of internal discussion, during which we circulated at least 392 pages of documents by Norden and Stamberg alone, they repeatedly denied that they had any fundamental differences with the ICL. Brule noted:

> "We characterized that as dishonest, underground, centrist political activity—somebody who has differences and doesn't openly argue them is dishonest. That's manifestly the case, isn't it? Just look at the title 'From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion From the Class Struggle'—this presumably all happened since June 7? In other words, by their own admission, they were pursuing underground undeclared factional activity inside the ICL."

Indeed a few weeks later, the Norden group posted a statement on the Internet that they were now the "Internationalist Group" (IG). They now insist, "We have fought against this turn, and would be doing so today in the ranks of the ICL were it not for our expulsion, which had the character of a preemptive strike to forestall a factional struggle." But less than three months earlier, in their final statement on the way out the door, Norden and Stamberg claimed that there was "not a sufficient basis for the declaration of a faction or tendency," repeatedly complaining about "enormous pressure to declare a faction" coming from the party majority and about the "push to force Norden and Stamberg to declare a faction"!

The Nordenites' cover story for our supposed "centrist turn" is that we "deserted the class struggle" by breaking fraternal relations with the Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica (LM) group, allegedly as their MEL supporters in the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda were about to raise a motion to kick the cops out of the union at a June 19 union meeting. In fact, we broke relations with LM on the fundamental premise that the main task in Brazil was to construct a revolutionary party based on the program of Trotskyism, and to put out a party press reflecting that program. But LM refused to break with a course of trade-union opportunism and rotten-bloc maneuvers.

As we noted in "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica" (*WV* No. 648, 5 July): "Despite a formal advocacy of the class independence of the workers, LM combined with non-Marxist and even sinister elements and brain-trusted the MEL slate without ever mentioning in their election propaganda the question of removing the cops from the municipal workers union." The real story is that given their own centrist appetites, the Nordenites find it incredible that we would break with a group of trade-union militants on something as unimportant to them as the party question.

It was the ICL which pushed LM to engage in a difficult and principled struggle against the police presence in the union. And they did so only when compelled by a police provocation (see "Military Police Invade Municipal Workers Assembly—Brazil: Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!" *WV* No. 642, 29 March). But the June 19 union meeting was *not* advertised as the showdown with the cops the Nordenites would have us believe. The notice for the meeting in the MEL union newsletter (7 June) called on the membership to turn out because "our wage campaign has begun" —with not a word about the question of cops in the union. As comrade Brule said at the August 1 SL forum in reply to the Nordenites' floor interventions regarding the municipal workers union meeting, "Not only do you make up a bogus issue here, but then you lie about that too."

When they were members of our organization, Norden and his protégé Negrete increasingly found themselves at odds with the ICL because they amnestied and conciliated LM's centrist policies, seeking to justify this with the argument that LM was under the guns of the bourgeois state. By this argument, Trotsky should never have broken with the POUM, who were savagely persecuted by the Stalinists during the Spanish Civil War. At the same time, Trotsky

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Le Bolchevik

Ernest Mandel (left) and mentor Michel Pablo at 1988 Paris meeting. Norden "group" follows in footsteps of Pabloite liquidationism, rehashing charges of Spartacist "abstentionism."

The United Secretariat, 1974

> ostensibly Marxist grouping is "in practice."[56] The Spartacist League has demonstrated time and again a sectarian abstention from the real, day-to-day struggles of the working class. It is, after all, not difficult to find

"Spartacist League, Anatomy of a Sect," published by the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group in June 1974. Reprinted in "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" No. 1

The Norden "Group," 1996

> erratic course of the ICL's International Secretariat (I.S.), which has in recent months veered sharply to the right toward a policy of abstention from the class struggle. In order to carry out its bureaucratic

"From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle," by the Norden "group," July 1996. Reprinted in "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" No. 9

Trotskyism...

(continued from page 13)

hroken empirically with the popular front on its own terrain. Their opposition to the now electorally defeated Popular Front led by Lula's Workers Party and their understanding of the importance of the fight against racial oppression provided a basis for what should have been a modest declaration of fraternal relations. Fraternal relations are a process of testing apparent programmatic agreement through common work and debate of differences. We recognized that the transformation of LM, consisting mainly of self-taught workers, into a Leninist propaganda group would not be easy. They had no party press and no conception of polemical work against other groups on the left. In fact, when we sent comrades to Brazil, they discovered that most members of other left groups in the large cities had never heard of LM.

Nor was LM familiar with Leninist organizational norms. They had meetings without motions or minutes. These procedures are no guarantee of Bolshevism hut without them an organization is doomed to Menshevik amorphousness, with no mechanism for internal party struggle. We fought hard with LM over all these political questions. Norden and Negrete, for their part, sought to hlunt these lights, excusing weakness on the pari of LM hy claiming they were only "cultural differences." That is repugnant liberal paternalism—in reality a statement that comrades from the semi-

New York memorial meeting, August 1940, for Leon Trotsky, murdered by Stalinist assassin.

colonial countries would be second-class members of our International.

We fought LM's view that workers don't give a damn ahout Marxist theory and can't he educated. This was first expressed in the appalling statement that "workers don't care about the cops," which arose in the course of our struggle to get LM to carry out a fight against the presence of cops in the municipal workers union in which LM had influence. LM also opposed our efforts to educate the union president in such essential works as Lenin's *State and Revolution* to arm him with an understanding of why the cops do not belong in the labor movement. In hindsight, it is very clear that this despair over the capacity of the proletariat to assimilate Marxism and achieve consciousness as a class *for* itself—i.e., the understanding of the proletariat's need to seize state power—is at the root of LM's deeply ingrained trade-union opportunism. If you don't believe in the capacity of the workers to fight for a revolutionary program, then any unprincipled shortcut or deal is possible. And that's what LM did—and kept on doing—at the top of this municipal workers union, until the police themselves hroke the deal and LM's rotten hloc with centrist and pro-cop elements among the union tops blew up in their faces.

When it did hlow up, LM did indeed wage a principled struggle to get the cops out of the union—at our insistence and with significant assistance from us, including an international campaign of solidarity. And of course we continue to defend LM and the union against police provocations and threats. But LM's unwillingness to break from their amorphous and unprincipled combinationism in the unions led us to break fraternal relations. And we are proud of this split, which is vital in establishing the basis for huilding a revolntionary party in Brazil today, because nothing would eclipse the future of Trotskyism there quicker than a *false unity* with centrists.

This is a reactionary political period, but one nonetheless presenting opportunities for communist intervention and for the growth of our party. The fight against the Norden group and our struggles with Luta Metalúrgica have heen critical to reaffirming the centrality of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in this new, challenging and *transient* post-Soviet period. As Trotsky said to his supporters in the aftermath of Hitler's rise to power in Germany, "Precisely in the periods of revolutionary ebh tide are cadres formed and tempered which will later be called upon to lead the masses in the new assault." A new Octoher Revolution is what we're for and we're building the party to lead it. ■

Pabloites...

(continued from page 13)

of course defended the POUM against Stalinist and capitalist repression, just as we have and continue to defend LM and the MEL in their struggle against the cops and the bourgeois state. Comrade Brule pointed out in his summary:

> "The methodology that because somebody's under attack by the bourgeois state, therefore you cannot break relations is simply a continuation of the whole basic Pabloite methodology of the Norden group. Their argument in Germany was that if former DDR officials are being persecuted by the West German state, we should defend them. That is correct. But what they wanted to do after that was *wrong*, which was to delete our criticisms of these individuals. These were the people who sold out and opened the door to capitalist restoration in Germany. Because we defend someone against state persecution doesn't mean that we drop our political criticisms.
>
> "It's the same thing with Cuba. Yes, we defend Cuba against imperialism. But does that mean that we are any less trenchant in our criticisms of the Castro bureaucracy? But that's the methodology of the Norden group."

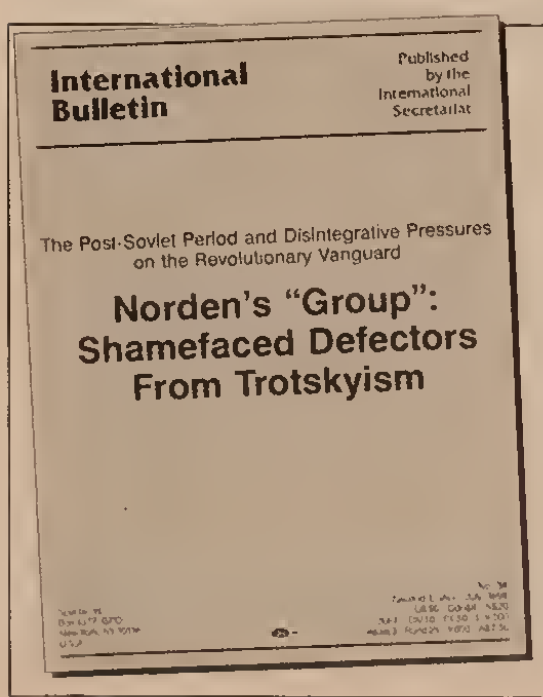
This methodology has a name. In our article, "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism" (*WV* No. 648, 5 July), we characterized Norden's politics as "Pabloism of the Second Mobilization." In the late 1940s and early '50s, the new postwar leadership of the Fourth International centered on Michel Pahlo pushed through a policy of "deep entrism" into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties, despairing at the prospect of huilding an independent Trotskyist vanguard during the Cold War. Pahlo's liquidationist line, justified with the argument that the Stalinists could "ronghly outline" a "revolutionary orientation," destroyed the Fourth International. And while the objects of their affections have repeatedly changed, the Pabloites have continued their liquidationist approach ever since. And what is their favored response to our attacks on their opportunist politics? That we are "abstentionists" who "flee" from the class struggle!

Now Norden has taken his earlier impressionism over Castro's Cuha and the "hardline" Stalinist leaders of the former DDR (East Germany) and theoretically generalized this into an outright revision of the Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy. In their bulletin, the Nordenites fume over a statement by an SL comrade that the East German Stalinist "SED in 1989-90 was *leading* the counterrevolution," claiming that this denies Trotsky's position on the dual nature of the Stalinist hureaucracy. In Norden's interpretation of this dual nature, he takes a page from Pablo, who saw in the bureaucracy an inherently progressive side coexisting with a more reactionary side.

Trotsky understood that the Stalinist hureaucracy was a parasitic caste which sat atop a collectivized economy, while simultaneously serving as a transmission helt for imperialism. This was its dual nature. In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), his decisive analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky stressed that this parasitic layer had an organic tendency to transform itself into a capitalist ruling class, pointing out: "Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property." He further noted that the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

Unahle to play an independent role, the bureaucracy would he shattered when subjected to fundamental class forces. This is in fact what happened. But when the terminal collapse of Stalinism came, the pressures emanated overwhelmingly from one direction, that of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Norden is prepared to concede that the Stalinists may have "*prepared the way* for counterrevolution" and even "*play a counterrevolutionary role*." But actually lead counterrevolntion? Never! But that's what the SED did. Standing at the head of the East German state, the SED *actively* worked to demobilize the working class, dismantling the workers militias (*Betriebskampfgruppen*) and pushing through capitalist reunification under its slogan of "one fatherland." It was only the forces of the ICL, struggling for proletarian political revolution, who offered a program in opposition to the SED's counterrevolutionary course.

While still subject to Leninist discipline as a member of our party, Norden edited an article titled "Soviet Workers: Smash Yeltsin/Gorbachev 500-Day Plan!" (*WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990). The caption under the lead photo read, "Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev plan for restoration of capitalism." Elsewhere the article asserted that "Gorbachev and Yeltsin want to sell off the Soviet Union's industrial and mineral wealth to Wall Street and Frankfurt." It is not the ICL's line which has changed, but rather Norden's. While the Nordenites claim to uphold the program of the Spartacist tendency, their bulletin presents a worked-out perspective that runs counter to the tasks of a Leninist fighting propaganda group. It is clear that they are moving as rapidly as possible to distance themselves from our politics. We don't know where Norden and his IG are going, and probahly neither do they, but it's somewhere very far from Trotskyism. ■



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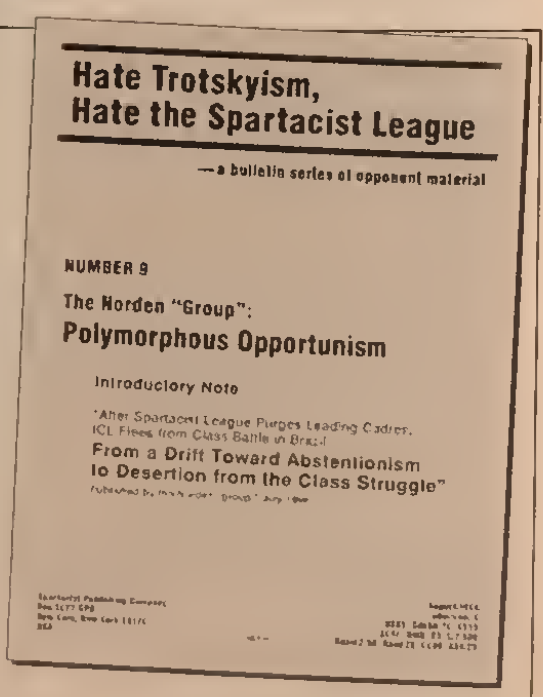

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Farrakhan...

(continued from page 16)

policy. One straightforwardly described how militiamen and troops of the regular army divided up the captives as loot after a raid. The other told how militiamen are "paid" by being encouraged to loot and take captives. He said the troops "return back with children, goats, cows, whatever goods they could loot. It is clear that under government policy whatever you loot, it is yours."

Needless to say, the capitalist owners of the *Baltimore Sun* have their own ax to grind in exposing Farrakhan and the Sudanese slave-traders. For years, Sudan has been ravaged by a bloody civil war between the Arab-dominated regime in the north and the southern-based Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which provided escorts for the *Sun* reporters. As we noted in our previous article:

> "During the Cold War, Turabi and his reactionary Muslim Brotherhood group were considered an 'asset' by the State Department because of his vehement anti-Communism and his alliance with mullahs fighting against the USSR in Afghanistan. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. no longer needed this relationship with the Sudan regime.... Now American attentions have shifted south."

The imperialist vultures have a long history of "divide and rule" aimed at subjugating and exploiting the peoples of Africa. The racist American rulers, who were more than happy to support the slave-trading Turabi Islamic regime in the past, are not opponents of black slavery in the Sudan or anywhere else, despite their occasional hypocritical "human rights" rhetoric. It will take international socialist revolution to put an end to slavery, such grotesque practices as female genital mutilation and all forms of oppression. As Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution underlines, in former colonies and semicolonial countries the gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can only be achieved through workers revolution—in the case of Africa, centered on countries like South Africa and Egypt with their sizable proletariats—and its extension to the imperialist heartland.

Farrakhan: Bad News for Black People

In appealing the government's ban against accepting the money from Libya, Farrakhan said that the funds would be used to aid minority-owned businesses and to help poor people left "in the lurch" by welfare cuts. But while Farrakhan criticized Clinton's signing of the anti-welfare bill, when the yuppie racist Democrat was elected in 1992 the NOI leader called on him to "say farewell to welfare" and "cut federal spending" in order to "eliminate the federal debt in a reasonable amount of time" (*A Torchlight for America* [1993]).

Farrakhan has garnered a measure of support among blacks because he at least appears to speak up to the racist rulers. But what is he saying? Farrakhan's disgusting tirades against Koreans, Jews and Arabs *mirror* the racist reaction being pushed by the Democrats and Republicans. The NOI's Million Man March in Washington, D.C. last October was a reactionary mobilization which called for "atonement," thus blaming blacks for their oppression while forgiving the oppressors and exploiters for their crimes against black people, workers and the poor. Is it any wonder that right-wing Republican vice-presidential nominee Jack Kemp has now praised

Palmer/U.S. News & World Report

Nation of Islam rent-a-cop in Baltimore housing project.

Farrakhan's program as "wonderful"? Farrakhan's backward attitude toward the rights of women was expressed not only in the exclusionist character of the Washington march but in the fact that women are often excluded from his meetings. The NOI leader opposes abortion, calls to "change homosexual behavior," and wants schools segregated by sex. He holds up Saudi Arabia, where people accused of robbery have their hands cut off and women are beheaded for "adultery," as a model of fighting crime.

Far from fighting the all-sided oppression of black people in this deeply racist society, what Farrakhan wants is that a few black capitalists get rich exploiting the ghetto market, while the mass of blacks remain at the bottom of this vicious system of exploitation and oppression. Farrakhan stands for the vicarious creation of a class of black exploiters within an all-black country "somewhere" from within the United States. The NOI's perspective of "black capitalism" is a fraud that has nothing to do with the liberation of blacks from the poverty and racism which are inherent in capitalism. Black people need jobs, housing, schools, health care and a fight to smash all forms of discrimination.

We fight for *black liberation through socialist revolution*, in which black workers will play a key role as a strategic component of the multiracial U.S. proletariat. This requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. ■

ICL Protests...

(continued from page 9)

November, and it is also meant to send a message to the racist U.S. rulers' imperialist rivals, particularly Germany, that American imperialism is the military top dog in the world. Clinton and Dole kill Iraqis and Kurds as an election stunt! Capitalism means racism and war! A workers party is what we're for!

In 1991, U.S. imperialism devastated Iraq, killing tens of thousands of people in the one-sided slaughter called "Operation Desert Storm." In the aftermath of this slaughter, a brutal economic embargo remained in place which has cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis who have died of malnutrition and disease. Now Clinton is planning on tightening the screws, ripping up the lousy UN-brokered deal where Iraq could exchange oil for food. We say: Down with the imperialist embargo of Iraq! United Nations—den of thieves! Overthrow the bourgeoisie!

The same racist rulers, the Democrats and Republicans, who have condemned millions of welfare mothers and their children to death by "abolishing welfare as we know it," bomb Iraq and have starved hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. We say: For class struggle at home against racist U.S. imperialism! Break with the Democrats and Republicans—For a revolutionary workers party!

Clinton says his bombing of Iraq was in retaliation for the incursion of Saddam Hussein's army into the Kurdish "no fly" zone. Yet while the White House now weeps crocodile tears for the embattled and oppressed Kurdish people, U.S. imperialism has been one of the main backers of Turkey, which has waged a war of annihilation against the Kurdish people. We call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! Down with U.S. imperialism! Hands off Iraq! Saddam Hussein should be dealt with by his own working people for his crimes against them. Down with the oil sheiks, emirs and military strongmen! Workers to power! For a socialist federation of the Near East!

In the aftermath of the destruction of the former Soviet Union—a degenerated workers state—the imperialist bourgeoisies around the world see nothing standing in the way of their system of unbridled exploitation, poverty and war. As rivalries between the competing imperialist powers increase internationally, the racist rulers wage war against the working class, the poor, young people, immigrants and blacks at home and rain cruise missiles down on Iraq abroad. The Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party to overthrow the imperialist rulers and build an egalitarian socialist society. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win students over to the side of the international working class and to become active partisans in its struggles against the imperialist bombers who starve blacks and the poor at home and Iraqis abroad. Asian, Hispanic, black and white—Workers of the world unite! ■

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Union Summer...

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I guess I equated them with the rest of the rank-and-file union members in this country since that was the only exposure I got to them. So I did come out of the program thinking, "Oh my gosh, the labor movement's not going to make any mark for workers in general." Although it was really inspiring to see the janitors.

YSp: Workers have shown no lack of combativity and courage but have been systematically demobilized by their own leaders. James Cannon, the great American Trotskyist, said in the 1920s, "The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL...are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such." We think what's needed first and foremost is a *political* struggle against the bureaucrats and for a revolutionary leadership.

Momoko: After discussing about labor issues with you, I guess I realize that there is potential, and what was accomplished in the '30s can be accomplished now. But at this point I'm not sure how that can be done. It's interesting because those of us who were frustrated were demoralized, and we were given really subtle messages that there wasn't a place for us in the labor movement. We were so tired throughout the program because for three weeks we didn't really have a day off and we were working 10 hours a day, so we really couldn't think about what we could do possibly to change things that were really wrong and what alternatives there are.

YSp: What we're trying to do is win revolutionary-minded students to our view that only the working class has the power to overturn the capitalist system, which is the source of racism, unemployment, war, homelessness and discrimination. In order to replace the capitalist system with socialism, the working class has to come to an understanding of this task and has to build its own political party to lead this struggle. And we think that students, as part of the revolutionary party, can play a key role in bringing these ideas to the working class. For my last question, I wonder if there's anything that you would like to say to other Union Summer participants now that you're looking back on your whole experience.

Momoko: When I left the program I was really pessimistic about the labor movement, having seen what the leadership is about, their strategies. But I suggest that people who are frustrated with the program and the labor movement itself should not focus so much on the misleadership but delve into labor history because that will allow them to see the great potential that the labor movement has to mobilizing to fight against the capitalists, and to delve into Marxism and to discuss with Marxists what strategies should be used against the capitalists. I think realizing the potential of the working class can lead us into a real fight, a genuine fight against capitalism, rather than the conciliatory actions that are really not taking the working class anywhere. That's my suggestion. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Louis Farrakhan: Apologist for Slavery in Sudan

U.S. Government Hands Off— Let NOI Leader Get His Libyan Money!

Azzopardi/AP

NOI leader Farrakhan at award ceremony in Tripoli, Libya.

Last month, Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan went to Tripoli to accept a "human rights" award from Libyan strongman Muammar el-Qaddafi. But Farrakhan was forced to decline the $250,000 prize money because the U.S. government had made clear that if he accepted, they would threaten him with jail for violating yet another "anti-terrorism" bill signed by President Clinton in August. When Farrakhan visited Tripoli earlier this year as part of a world tour, Qaddafi had also pledged a $1 billion contribution to the NOI. This has also been blocked by Washington, citing economic sanctions imposed on Libya in the name of the United Nations. Farrakhan is a reactionary, anti-Semitic demagogue. But as a September 10 protest letter by the Partisan Defense Committee declared: "The U.S. government has no business dictating who or where Farrakhan gets his funding from. This imperious ban is a threat to humanitarian groups, religious denominations, political parties—indeed, any organization with international supporters and cothinkers."

The U.S. imperialists push their economic boycott against Qaddafi's Libya by claiming it is a "terrorist state." At home, the "war on terrorism" is a convenient catchword to justify the government's "right" to arrest, intimidate and spy on anyone they wish. Now the racist rulers are using the "terrorism" label they had pinned on Qaddafi as a stick to beat Farrakhan. Despite the declamations about Libya supposedly being an "outlaw nation," the real terrorists are the masters of America's imperialist empire, who delight in bombing semicolonial countries like Iraq any time they feel the need to demonstrate their military might. Qaddafi was himself targeted for assassination by U.S. air strikes on Tripoli in 1986, which killed his baby daughter.

Even an article in the *Wall Street Journal* (26 August) expressed concern over the Clinton administration's ban on Farrakhan getting his award from Libya, asking: "Does the administration want to get into a battle over an ostensibly humanitarian contribution to a religious organization—thus sparking a constitutional fight that other religious groups might join?" This mouthpiece of the bankers is far less concerned about Farrakhan's constitutional rights than it is about the international repercussions of the legislation Washington is using to go after him.

The new "anti-terrorism" law passed last month would impose U.S. sanctions on foreign firms investing in Libya or Iran. This came just days after Congress passed the Helms-Burton bill, mandating penalties against foreign companies which operate in Cuba and use property expropriated from American firms by the Cuban Revolution. Canada, Mexico and various West European countries were already up in arms over the Helms-Burton bill. The latest measure has created a furor in Europe—particularly Germany, which has considerable investments in Iran—and the European Union promptly threatened to retaliate against U.S. companies. In the name of "anti-terrorism," Washington thinks it can throw its weight around the world at will.

Slavery in Sudan "Touches the Lives of All"

The U.S. government's recent moves against the NOI will likely enhance Farrakhan's reputation among some as a "black leader" who stands up to this racist system. But as we have warned repeatedly, Louis Farrakhan is bad news for black people. One need look no further than Farrakhan's support to the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Sudan, where chattel slavery has become increasingly widespread. When Farrakhan's cozy relationship with the slave-trading Sudanese regime was exposed late last year, it provoked an uproar in the black press (see "Farrakhan and the Sudan Slave Trade," *WV* No. 638, 2 February). Seeking to amnesty his ties to Sudan's Islamic fundamentalist leader Hassan al-Turabi, Farrakhan has consistently denied the existence of the slave trade in that country. But the abduction and enslavement of black women and children in Sudan has been abundantly documented by Anti-Slavery International in London and other human rights organizations, as well as the UN and others.

Now this has become a red-hot issue once again, after the recent publication of an investigative series on slavery in Sudan in the *Baltimore Sun* (16-18 June). When Farrakhan indignantly challenged reporters at the National Press Club in Washington last spring to go to Sudan and see for themselves, the *Baltimore Sun* took up the challenge. The *Sun* sent two reporters to Sudan with instructions "to see if they could buy slaves"—and they did. The dramatic three-part series by foreign correspondent Gilbert Lewthwaite, who is white, and black columnist Gregory Kane thrust the issue of chattel slavery in Sudan back into the news.

The reporters were introduced to an Arab slave trader in the village of Manyiel in the southern province of Bahr el Ghazal, who specialized in returning slaves from the predominantly Arab north and selling them back at a profit to their families in the largely black south. The reporters described the rueful group of a dozen young boys who were offered for sale:

> "Some have bruises and scars to attest to their maltreatment....
>
> "There is no trace of hope in their expressions. Their eyes are downcast. Those who dare to glance up do so with mistrust. These are boys whose childhood has been wrenched from them."

The reporters decided to buy the oldest child and his half-brother, aged twelve and ten, who were immediately returned to their families. The two youths had been in bondage for six years, forced to work in the fields without any pay except scraps of food. The price was $500 or five head of cattle apiece. The journalists described the transaction as "a negotiation of breathtaking simplicity, struck just 50 yards from where people are buying and selling salt, dried fish and other ordinary commodities.... We put $1,000 into the outstretched hand of El-Haj, and two young souls pass from bondage into the embrace of family and home."

Lewthwaite and Kane personally witnessed the horror of villages haunted by slavery. In one village where they sought testimony on the slave trade, a 60-year-old man spoke of his humiliation at being offered for sale as a slave in a town square. A 17-year-old girl recounted her harrowing escape while her master debated whether to adopt her as his daughter or take her as a concubine. And a desperate blind widow said she was contemplating suicide because her four-year-old daughter, who served as her "eyes," had been abducted by slave traders. As the reporters wrote: "Here in southern Sudan, there can be no doubt that slavery exists. Like the heat of the sun or the onset of the rainy season, it touches the lives of all."

The Sudanese government insists—parroted by the NOI—that if forced captivity exists in Sudan, it is because of hostage-taking in intertribal conflicts and does not reflect government policy. However, on two separate occasions, the *Baltimore Sun* reporters were able to interview officers of the government militia who explained how the slave trade was encouraged by government

continued on page 15

Kane/Baltimore Sun

Lewthwaite/Baltimore Sun

***Baltimore Sun* reporter (left) pays $1,000 to a Sudanese slave-trader to buy freedom for two youths held in bondage.**

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 652

27 September 1996

NAFTA/IMF Front Men Shaken by Guerrilla Insurgents

Military Crackdown in Mexico

In the last few months, Mexico has been subjected to a virtual state of siege. On September 15, Mexico's Independence Day, 30,000 troops and over 1,000 armored personnel carriers, tanks and artillery pieces roared through Mexico City during the traditional parade. Two weeks earlier, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government of President Ernesto Zedillo deployed more than 80,000 military and police personnel in the capital, along major highways, and around dams, refineries and electrical and communications towers. In June, the army took over direct responsibility for policing Mexico City. In the impoverished southeastern part of the country, radical peasant organizations have been besieged by the army and many of their leaders arrested or killed. Tens of thousands of troops and police armed with helicopter gunships have fanned out through villages and peasant areas in at least seven states, as the Mexican president vows to hunt down and crush guerrilla "terrorists" with the "full weight of the state."

Zedillo seized on the appearance in late June of a hitherto unknown group calling itself the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) to ratchet up this draconian military crackdown on peasants, workers and radical organizations. Days after masked EPR guerrillas showed up at a June 28 commemoration of the police massacre a year ago of peasants in the southwestern state of Guerrero, the government mobilized 12 infantry battalions backed with tanks and helicopter gunships to descend on impoverished villages in the region. Meanwhile other divisions of the 180,000-strong Mexican armed forces were sent to terrorize poverty-stricken areas in the states of Oaxaca, Chiapas, Puebla, Hidalgo, Veracruz, Morelos and San Luis Potosi. The search for guerrilla sympathizers is now a blanket justification for brutally barging into people's homes and detaining any "suspect."

In late August, the EPR carried out actions in several different southern and central Mexican states, reportedly staging raids on police offices, military outposts and radio stations. However, the government's escalating repression is aimed at a far broader target than a handful of isolated guerrilla actions. Since the imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 and the peso crash engineered by Wall Street, at least 22 million people have been pushed to the brink of starvation. In Guerrero, 40 percent earn less than the abysmal minimum wage and have no running water. In Oaxaca, fully one-third of the population lives off meager garden plots. Meanwhile, sales of Mercedes have skyrocketed and new Gucci boutiques spring up in swank parts of Mexico City. In a country of 100 million, 1,000 families own 25 percent of all the wealth, and NAFTA boosted several dozen of these to the status of billionaires.

Lopez Mills/AP

AP

Brutal repression unleashed by Mexican president Zedillo (above, center) against EPR guerrillas targets all workers' and peasants' organizations. Top: Police attack demonstration of striking teachers last May in Mexico City.

U.S. Rulers Demand "Law and Order" in Mexico

The U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, which virtually took control of the Mexican economy with its "bailout" following the collapse of the peso, is alarmed at the spectre of widespread revolt in Mexico. A recent article in the *New York Times* (20 July), headlined "Income Gap in Mexico Grows, and So Do Protests," invoked scenes of the 1910 Mexican Revolution as it described peasant seizures of *haciendas* and of freight trains carrying corn. The article expressed concern about "a loss of respect for the rule of law and a frightening lack of Government control."

Spokesmen for Wall Street have not minced words about what they expect from their lackeys in Mexico City. An editorial in *Business Week* (2 September) is headlined: "A Growing Mexico Needs Law and Order."

Especially since the Zapatista peasant uprising in Chiapas in 1994 and the imposition of NAFTA, the Mexican military has been rapidly upgrading with the Pentagon's help. With the *Bolsa* (stock market) up 22 percent this year and industrial production beginning to revive, the PRI regime wants to reassure the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Wall Street and other imperialist investors. In the past year military spending shot up by 16 percent. The PRI government recently purchased over 70 U.S. helicopters and 250 French tanks, and has agreed to have Mexican soldiers trained at American military bases.

Military torturers from other Latin American countries have for decades been trained at such infamous facilities as the "School of the Americas" (more aptly known as the "School of the Assassins") at Fort Benning, Georgia. But the new U.S. training pact with Mexico is unprecedented, flying in the face of intense national feeling against Yanqui imperialism going back to the 1836 Texas war, the Mexican-American War of 1846-48, U.S. support for the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship which was swept away by the 1910 Revolution, and the endless looting of Mexican mineral wealth by American corporations.

The peasant revolts and working-class unrest in Mexico are accompanied by a wave of workers' struggle throughout Latin America against the starvation policies imposed by the IMF. From Argentina and Chile to Uruguay, Brazil, Columbia and Venezuela, there have been sharp class battles in recent months. Advised by Washington, Latin American governments recently held a summit in Cochabamba, Bolivia to agree on plans for economic and military cooperation to confront the threat of heightened class struggle. Indeed, Zedillo's current "war on terrorism" looks ominously like the bloody start of many other Pentagon "pacification" programs elsewhere in Latin America. In the last three decades, U.S.-supported military regimes and death squads have killed or "disappeared" hundreds of thousands and produced a million refugees in Central America alone.

For a Leninist Party!

Nearly all of those detained and "disappeared" since the military mobilization against the EPR began are members of peasant groups—the Organization of Towns and Neighborhoods of Guerrero, the Council of Popular Defense and the Peasant Organization of the Southern Sierra (OCSS)—whose "crime" is to demand credit, tractors, seed and a piece of land. The "free trade" rape of Mexico

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Immigration and Racist "Fortress Europe"

SEE PAGE 6

13 Years Later

U.S. Official Admits: They Lied About KAL 007

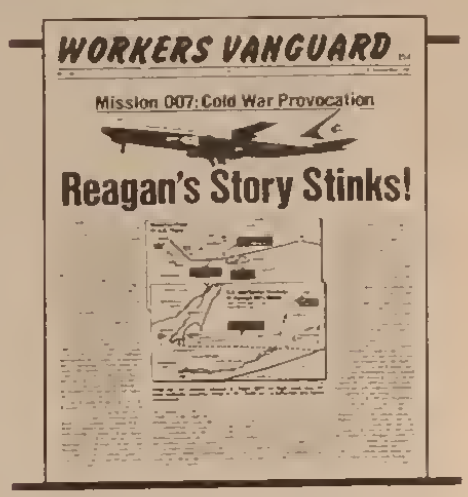
When the Baghdad regime of Saddam Hussein supposedly fired a handful of surface-to-air missiles into thin air in the U.S.-dictated "no fly" zone over southern Iraq in mid-September, Washington responded as though it was about to start World War III. The U.S. sent yet another aircraft carrier group and thousands more troops into the region, as Defense Secretary William Perry threatened a "disproportionate" response—on top of the dozens of cruise missiles which had already been fired at Iraq two weeks earlier. While Clinton has yet to order a new attack, the Pentagon's propaganda mills now have a ready-made pretense for another imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf.

Thirteen years ago this month, Washington and its media machine whipped up a similar war fever against the Soviet Union when Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 was brought down while flying over sensitive military installations deep inside Soviet airspace. Then president Ronald Reagan railed about an "act of barbarism" by the Soviet "evil empire." In a world broadcast, his ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, presented to a special session of the Security Council a supposedly damning tape recording of the Soviet pilot proclaiming, "The target is destroyed." The tape was crucial in bolstering U.S. claims that the Soviets *knowingly* downed an innocent civilian passenger plane without warning. But as the front-page headline of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 337, 9 September 1983) declared at the time, "Reagan's Story Stinks!"

Now, 13 years later, the U.S. Information Agency propaganda official who put together the tape admits it was a lie. Alvin A. Snyder, who was then director of worldwide television for the USIA, excuses himself in a *Washington Post* (1 September) article by claiming that "I was given only selective information—some of the pilots' words and none of the comments of the ground controllers. Those full conversations reveal that the Russians believed the intruder aircraft was an American [Air Force] RC-135 reconnaissance plane." He admits that "the tapes show that" the Soviet pilot "could not identify the plane, and that he fired warning cannons and tipped his wings, an international signal to force the plane to land." But no matter that it was a lie. As one former State Department official told Snyder, "Although untrue and unfair, it intimidated the Russians"—and that's what they wanted. So don't expect any apologies from Jeane Kirkpatrick or the U.S. government.

Indeed, to this day the U.S. still proclaims that the plane "accidentally" strayed into Soviet airspace, citing the "black boxes" produced by Yeltsin four years ago as the supposed final evidence. But analysis of the black box data does not jibe with the available radar tracks of KAL 007. The only really professional analysis of this radar data, by aviation expert Robert Allardyce, appears in a recent book, *Desired Track* (1995), by Allardyce and James Gollin. We published details of the Allardyce/Gollin analyses three years ago in "KAL 007 Cover-Up Continues" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). They conclude that KAL 007's curving flight path could not have been an "accident," but must have been "preplanned" to take the plane into Soviet airspace, and that U.S. authorities must have had "real time knowledge" of the deviation. In short, the plane was part of a U.S. intelligence mission to probe Soviet defenses.

The U.S. is now spending millions of dollars to recover every last bit of TWA Flight 800 lying under 120 feet of water off Long Island. But there is no such effort to salvage the wreckage of KAL 007, even though the U.S. and Yeltsin's Russia claim to know exactly where it is. Mysteriously, no bodies were ever recovered from the wreckage and no pictures of it released. The U.S. Navy's "after action" report on its 1983 search claimed to have found nothing when it was finally released after being strangely "classified" for ten years. In fact, there would be no technical obstacles to a recovery. According to Yeltsin's government, the KAL 007 wreckage is only 570 feet undersea. U.S. deep-diving experts explored the *Titanic* in 1985 at a depth of more than 10,000 feet, and U.S. Navy submersibles can recover wreckage from such depths. But criminals don't go searching for evidence of their crimes.



You read it here first! *Workers Vanguard* denounced Reagan's KAL 007 Big Lie from the outset.

As we wrote at the time, the KAL 007 spy mission was a bloody imperialist war provocation, at a cost of more than 200 innocent lives. The capitalist rulers are past masters at manufacturing provocations when they need an excuse to go to war. In 1964, there was the Tonkin Gulf incident, when Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson used a supposed North Vietnamese attack on an American ship—which was later acknowledged to have been a fabrication—to launch a massive troop invasion and carpetbombing of Indochina. In 1939, Hitler dressed up some German

continued on page 4

The 1971 Attica Massacre—We Will Not Forget!

TROTSKY

LENIN

Twenty-five years ago, on 13 September 1971, then New York governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered prison authorities to drown in blood a revolt at the Attica penitentiary, killing 32 inmates and 11 of the prison guards being held as hostages. The multiracial Attica rebellion reflected the radicalization taking place outside its walls under the impact of the Vietnam War and the U.S. ghetto revolts, expressed as well in the prison letters of Black Panther supporter George Jackson, who had been gunned down by San Quentin guards several weeks earlier. The Attica bloodbath, like the subsequent massacres of the Philadelphia MOVE organization in 1985 and the Branch Davidian commune outside Waco, Texas in 1993, was a bloody warning by the "democratic" capitalist state that it will tolerate no challenge to its order. We reprint below excerpts from the front-page article denouncing this heinous massacre in the first issue of Workers Vanguard.

The brutal, bloody murderers of Attica are none other than the ruling class of this society. The direct executioners were Rockefeller, State Commissioner of Correction Oswald and their man in the field—Capt. Williams. Nixon immediately proclaimed his public support for this cold-blooded and calculated act.

Rockefeller cut down the Attica prisoners in the manner of his father and grandfather before him—ruthlessly and to protect the system from which his profits spring. From the murder of the Ludlow miners to the present, this family has carried the policies of the armed fist over the entire globe....

The class responsible for Attica is responsible for My Lai, for Vietnam, for Hiroshima, for all the other massacres over which it had "no choice"—no choice if American capitalism was to be preserved.

Prisons represent, in concentrated form, the repressive power of the state. Parliaments rest on the prisons; the prisons do not rest upon parliaments. In this sense, a prison rebellion challenges part of the foundation of the capitalists' power and must accordingly be crushed.

The ferocity of the attack is simply a magnification of the daily workings of prison life, as "Soledad Brother" George Jackson's prison letters so eloquently show. The prisons in turn are an extension of the normal functioning of the capitalist system. Every clash between the owners of industry and those who have nothing but their ability to work, every strike, every work stoppage, contains in embryo all the ingredients of Attica....

We support the most militant struggle against the state. We only seek to give that struggle the strategic perspectives that will lead to the workers conquering state power....

The heroic Attica martyrs and George Jackson will long be remembered for their courageous stand against overwhelming odds. It is not the crimes (real or alleged) for which the prisoners were jailed, but the stand they took—rising far above capitalist-imposed ignorance, poverty, brutality and frame-up—for justice and against oppression, that the world's working people will remember.

—"Massacre at Attica," *WV* No. 1 (October 1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is September 24

No. 652 27 September 1996

Spartacist Forums

Down With Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!

BOSTON
Thursday, September 26, 7 p.m.
Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 214
725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information: (617) 666-9453

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Saturday, September 28, 2 p.m.
University of Maryland, College Park
Reckord Armory Building, Rm. 0116
For more information: (202) 872-8240

VANCOUVER
Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Friday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (at Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, October 12, 4 p.m.
Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland exit off 101 Frwy)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago!
Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Thursday, October 3, 7 p.m.
UC Santa Cruz, Third World Lounge
UCSC Student Center

SANTA CRUZ, CA For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

Squirming Away from Leninism

On the Norden Group

In "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism" (WV No. 648, 5 July) and "Pablites of the Second Mobilization" (WV No. 651, 13 September), we detailed the politics behind the defection from our organization of Norden, Stamberg and Negrete. We publish below two of the letters we have received on this question. The first was sent to us by comrades Judith and Jean, former longtime members and now sympathizers of the International Communist League in Paris, and was written by them in reply to a letter they received from Negrete. The second letter is from Pat M. Robertson, a hitherto unobtrusive sympathizer. Our reply to his letter is drawn heavily from a letter of September 13 to him by our comrade Jim Robertson.

The reference to Socorro concerns a heavily policed May Day march in Mexico City where she had been assigned by our Mexican section to be a photographer. Socorro's behavior there was so undisciplined as to endanger both herself and other comrades. She also had her partner Negrete, who was then on leave from any political activity, attend, supposedly to bring camera equipment she had forgotten. After an internal party trial was held to adjudicate the facts of the situation disputed by Socorro and Negrete, she then claimed that rapists found "more justice" in the bourgeois courts than comrades did in our revolutionary party. For this grotesque statement crossing the class line, she was expelled by a unanimous vote of our Central Committee, including the votes of her current bloc partners Norden and Stamberg.

Paris, France
30 August 1996

Negrete,

We received your packet on the 23rd of August.

Whatever our common militant past has been with you and Norden and Stamberg, after having read the ICL documentation and your bulletin we do not see a single reason to give your group any financial support.

Why did you three not call for a tendency or a faction? Your three times 20 or so years in the party hadn't prepared you for that? External faction is bullshit.

Why did Norden and Stamberg refuse to hand in their phone bills? Stamberg on this is just obfuscating. If they had intended to fight inside, or eventually to prove their case outside more fully, they would have done so. Why didn't they show up for their trial?

You try to hook us into dismissing the trial of Socorro by sort of winking: *you* know how it is easy to lose your sales team in a mass demo in Mexico. Well, yes we know. And that is why one assures more than adequate preparation for any assignment. In the case of the photographer: film and lenses. And why the quotation marks around your "leave." It was voted by the GEM and the IS.

And finally why the insistence on how half of *WV* No. 648 is devoted to this affair? Well, yes. It is an important affair. (Would Norden have liked another article in its place?)

Should you send us further mail do not expect an answer. We already had the impulse not to reply but that would have been impolite.

Obviously a copy of your letter and ours is being sent to the International Secretariat of the ICL.

No abrazo!

Judith, Jean

Berkeley, CA
2 September 1996

Comrades:

I have long been a sympathizer of the SL/U.S. and the ICL. I have read a good deal of your archived material in English and Spanish and consider some of it to be on a par with the best Marxist analysis existent anywhere. I must now vociferously protest your unjust, ideological expulsions of Norden, Stamberg and Negrete and your cowardly abandonment, in the heat of battle, of the LQB/LM [Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil/Luta Metalúrgica] in Brazil.

The root cause of this unhinged behavior is the fact that your recognized leader, Jim Robertson, has gone into semi-retirement and decided to eliminate Norden as a possible successor to himself. Robertson's fear of Norden as the possible ultimate leader of the ICL is based on his view that Norden is impressionistic, his associate, Stamberg, has "rad-lib" appetites that the both of them, in this reactionary environment, would embark on an eclectic search for a different path to revolution which would turn the ICL into a version of USec [United Secretariat]. Granting for the sake of argument that Norden's creative impulses might lead to impressionism or that Stamberg can function in rad-lib milieux (which you want in a public spokesman), what is one to say of the opposite tendencies of Jim Robertson? He has an inclination to shoe horn analysis into sectarian formulas and slogans which only the initiated can understand. In a healthy party these conflicting tendencies would create a dynamic tension which would illuminate analysis and action. Yours however is a very sick party.

The bloodhound in this entire operation, as you admit, is Al Nelson, a pompous individual who has the "evident capacity" to wrap a flea in bloated Marxist terminology and then call the poor insect world historic. Let's look at some of his analysis. He states that the ICL was "ready to take the power" in the DDR with a handful of cadre who spoke German. You may have been ready, but your worthwhile efforts failed to cause a landslide of support in your favor either among the working class or a fraction of the SED tops. This support was an absolutely necessary component of your activities if you were to have resolved the crisis of leadership. For Norden to say that you failed was simply telling the truth. Nelson says that the Stalinists in the DDR led the counter-revolution. The SED/PDS tops were routed in battle and in full retreat before West German capitalists and their agents, the SPD; they did not lead the counter-revolution, they were semi-willing victims of it. Nelson states the East German proletariat was in no mood for sharp class battles after their world historic defeat. Yet a substantial portion of the population did not think that the collapse of Stalinism or the swallowing up of their country was a defeat, but on the contrary, felt these events would lead to a social democratic, Swedish style paradise. When they did not there was a classic case of a crisis of rising expectations dashed by material reality and an opening for hard class conflict—an opening which Norden tried to intersect.

And what is one to make of Seymour's letter to Norden? Can one imagine anyone telling Lenin, in 1910, that he has not changed much, the party has not changed much but the times, they are a changing and for the worse and we need to wait for "better times"? As Norden remarked, this letter is reflective of the "new ICL", one animated by deLeonism.

Your abandonment of the Brazilian LQB/LM in the middle of a battle you had yourselves initiated against cops in their union is the most sordid act of this rotten process because it could in fact lead to the murder of these heroic comrades. I have lived and worked in Mexico City and Guatemala and have been held against my will by the Mexican Army, and the Guatemalan National and Military Police. Such risks come with the territory. Do you intend to limit your activity to North America, Western Europe, Australia and N.Z. where the veneer of capitalist democracy is thicker and there is an abundant supply of rad-lib lawyers to defend you? I can think of several taunts your enemies will throw at you: "When the going gets tough, the ICL gets going." Or: "When the running dogs of imperialism bark, the ICL runs." Get used to it, you will hear more.

. Finally I will address the sick behavior of one Richard G. who verbally abused and threatened Socorro and Stamberg outside a public meeting in N.Y.C. Your cadre are becoming unraveled from top to bottom. This is caused by your circling the wagons ever tighter around yourselves and becoming a narrow sect. You need the wider "radical public" to extend your influence beyond your slim numbers. These expulsions and the deviant behavior of some of your members will only isolate you. If you do not radically reverse your course it can easily be predicted that in a few years you will be led by a Jack Barnes type and will pass from the scene as an orthodox Marxist party. And a few historians of the Marxist movement will wonder why Jim Robertson, arguably one of the finest Marxists native to the USA, destroyed his life's work in the twilight of his career.

Very truly,
Pat M. Robertson

cc: Norden's group

WV replies: In an earlier letter dated July 7, Pat M. Robertson expressed concurrence with us regarding the Norden group. Since then, he has moved to very strong and even fulsome support to the Norden group's views. Presumably he has read both the ICL's International Bulletin "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism" and Norden's "From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle" (reprinted as *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* No. 9).

There is one particular and crucial point in his latest letter which must be taken up, concerning the ICL's intervention into the incipient political revolution in the DDR (East German) deformed workers state in 1989-90. He writes, "The SED/PDS tops were routed in battle and in full retreat before West German capitalists and their agents, the SPD; they did not lead the counter-revolution, they were semi-willing victims of it." This could not be more wrong. "Routed in battle"... The ICL's German section did pull the SED, the ruling Stalinist party, into the state

continued on p

Endlicher/AP

DDR prime minister Hans Modrow with West German chancellor Helmut Kohl in February 1990, on eve of capitalist *Anschluss*. East German Stalinist SED/PDS rulers sold out DDR deformed workers state.

AP

Street children in suburb of Rio de Janeiro murdered by Brazilian police death squad.

Free Ride for Klan in Chicago—Why?

Twenty Klansmen, half of them wearing the hoods and robes of nightriding terror, rallied in Chicago's Daley Plaza on September 21. Two months ago, when a gang of KKK thugs tried to stage a similar provocation in Daley Plaza they were trounced by anti-fascist protesters who had responded to the Partisan Defense Committee's call to mobilize against the racist killers. This time the Klan was unopposed. Why? Because those who purport to be the leaders of labor and of the black masses are desperate to keep the union ranks and minorities off the streets for fear of damaging Clinton's re-election bid. So they leave the streets clear for Klan terror!

While the AFL-CIO bureaucrats peddle their red-white-and-blue "Vote Clinton/Gore" decals, Jesse Jackson (whose "Operation PUSH" is based in Chicago) and other black Democrats want blacks to ride on the back of Clinton's bus with them. Farrakhan, who plays himself up as the black leader who is "in the face" of the white racist rulers, also calls for getting out the vote in November. Two months earlier, when the PDC put out an urgent call on 24 hours' notice to dozens of unions and black organizations to mobilize to stop the Klan on June 29, the response was *only* from individual leftists and trade unionists. The labor tops didn't lift a finger, while many black radio stations in Chicago—who buy into Farrakhan's message that the black ghetto masses should "atone" for their own oppression—refused to even broadcast appeals to turn out in force against the Klan.

Some 100 people did respond on June 29—mainly youth, anarchists, leftists and individual trade-union members. These determined anti-fascist militants gave the Klan a well-deserved lesson. But in a union town like Chicago, with its huge black and Hispanic population, there should have been thousands on the street that day to stop the Klan.

Since the June 29 protest the Chicago city authorities and the notorious Chicago police force have continued working hand in hand with the Klan, waging a legal vendetta against eight of the anti-fascist protesters who were arrested and face up to a year behind bars. At a court hearing on September 9, a Klansman gloated, "See what happens when you mess with us." Later a plainclothes cop "casually" told a lawyer for some of the anti-Klan defendants that the KKK was planning another rally for September 21.

We smelled a real set-up here, manufactured by the cops and the Klan, where the cops would be mobilized in force to beat up and arrest anti-Klan protesters only two days before the next court hearing for the anti-Klan defendants. Reports from the site of the September 21 Klan rally certainly bore out that assessment. About 35 Chicago cops—headed by police commander McNulty, who led the vicious assault on anti-Klan protesters on June 29—were visible at Daley Plaza itself. In an adjacent walled-in construction site, there were an estimated *30 unmarked police cars with four uniformed cops in each car*. There were also two horse trailers and three police wagons on the north side of the plaza. Thugs wearing black T-shirts with "Security" lettered in white on them, standing across the street from Daley Plaza, later put on hoods and sheets to join the Klan rally.

To have prevailed against this deadly cop/KKK alliance would have taken a powerful, integrated, labor-centered mobilization bringing out thousands of trade unionists together with black and other minority organizations. In 1982, a gang of Nazi would-be stormtroopers were protected by hundreds of cops in their bid to stage a provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago. They were met with a 3,000-strong mobilization of unionists, blacks, Jews, gays, leftists and others which was initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S.

In 1994, a determined demonstration of 500 people—representing the hard core of the Chicago-area union movement—came out in Springfield, Illinois to take on a Klan race-hate rally against Martin Luther King Day. Frightened that the union ranks might be mobilized in some actual struggle against racist terror, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats came down hard in trying to knife any union support. Now, with the labor and black misleaders keeping their heads down for Clinton, the fascists are seizing the opportunity to organize for their program of genocide.

On September 10 in a black neighborhood in downtown Oakland, California, a meeting featuring Hitler apologist David Irving was *defended* by goons from Farrakhan's Nation of Islam. Suit-and-tie Klansman David Duke has been invited by *liberal* student bureaucrats to "debate" affirmative action at Cal State Northridge on September 25. And in Chicago on September 21, the Klan got away with rallying under the protection of a massive cop mobilization. This was a state-sponsored provocation against—and a trap intended for—the left.

The fascist nightriders must be stopped! But, unlike organizations like Progressive Labor, we do not seek to substitute our own small forces for the necessary social power of the multiracial working class. When we heard that the Klan was planning to rally again on September 21—a plan that was "leaked" by the cops and otherwise not publicized—we knew it smelled of a police/Klan trap designed to set up the most effective fighters against fascist terror. We considered it our responsibility to call other organizations in the Chicago area to inform them of what we had heard and advise them that we considered this to be a police trap which we weren't about to walk into.

This decision was based on the bitter recognition that the kind of class-struggle mobilization that was desperately needed for the working people and black masses to prevail was blocked by the misleaders who would sell their mother to get Clinton re-elected. They have presided over the decimation of organized labor. They have allowed, and even encouraged, the racist rulers' war on desperate immigrants. They did nothing when the Democrats and Republicans axed welfare.

This devastation—the product of a profit-crazed system based on the exploitation of the many by the few—nourishes the Klan in its quest for a "racially pure" America, one in which there would be no trade unions. Now these kill-crazed racists are feeling their oats, having gotten away with staging a provocation in the heart of labor/black Chicago unopposed. Here is the bitter fruit of shackling labor and the oppressed to their exploiters in its Democratic Party face. ■

Despite massive cop protection, Nazi provocation against Chicago Gay Pride Day in 1982 was met by 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League.

Drop the Charges Against *All* Chicago Anti-Klan Defendants!

SEPTEMBER 23—At a hearing in Cook County Circuit Court today, charges were dropped against five of the eight anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 at Daley Plaza. But the D.A.'s office and Chicago cops continue their vendetta against three defendants who still face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges of assaulting police during the June 29 anti-Klan protest. The labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must rally to the defense of the Chicago anti-Klan fighters.

A new hearing has been scheduled for September 30 for the three remaining defendants. Fill the courtroom in their support! Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies of statements and urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee. For further information, contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

KAL 007...

(continued from page 2)

soldiers in Polish army uniforms to declare war in the face of a supposed Polish "invasion" of Germany.

As we noted in our first article on KAL 007, another example was the Spanish-American War of 1898, which was launched under the war cry "Remember the Maine!" With the U.S. determined to seize Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines from Spain, the Hearst press concocted a story that the United States warship, the *Maine*, had been blown up by the Spanish in Havana harbor. Subsequent inquiries showed there was no conclusive evidence of what happened. However, the explosion came from within—i.e., one of its own magazines blew up and out rather than from without, which would have been typical of a mine detonated against the outside of the ship's hull. And when German chancellor Bismarck wanted to wage war against France in 1870, he sought out a "pretext...that would cast France in the least favourable light," releasing the inflammatory "Ems Telegram" which provoked France to declare war (Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris* [1965]).

Returning to KAL 007, we note that Alvin Snyder ends his article by lamely vowing that "the press must be ever more vigilant." That's what Oscar Wilde was talking about when he defined hypocrisy as the homage vice pays to virtue—once their dirty Big Lies have done the job, the imperialists occasionally offer a cynical paean to "truth." Where was the press all these years when a number of books came out exposing the government's lies? For instance, there was David Pearson's *KAL 007: The Cover-Up* (1987), and R.W. Johnson's *Shootdown* (1986). And from the beginning, *Workers Vanguard* has detailed the truth behind Washington's KAL 007 Cold War provocation with more than a dozen articles over the years. The capitalist media has all along served their imperialist masters by abetting the cover-up.

And you won't find the imperialist press going back to review and correct their massive 13-year-old lies in this incident. After all, they don't want to undermine their "credibility" for future missions, from Iraq to Bosnia. ■

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Key Witness Ready to Testify to Police Coercion

New Hearing Before "Hanging Judge" Sabo

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

AP

Mumia Abu-Jamal in handcuffs outside Sabo's court, July 1995.

On September 18, the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was back in the Philadelphia court of Judge Albert Sabo—the same "hanging judge" who presided over Jamal's 1982 "trial." The case was remanded (sent back) to Sabo's court on the order of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in response to a sworn statement by Veronica Jones. Jones was an eyewitness to the 1981 shooting of police officer Daniel Faulkner for which Jamal was falsely convicted and sentenced to death. Now she has provided powerful new evidence of police coercion of witnesses and fabrication of evidence.

In her statement, Jones revealed that days before she took the stand at Jamal's 1982 trial, Philadelphia police detectives visited her in jail—where she faced major felony armed robbery charges—and coerced her into repudiating her eyewitness account of seeing two men flee the scene of the shooting. Yet when Jones appeared in court on September 18, Saho rejected defense arguments that she be allowed to testify, setting October 1 as the date for a hearing.

Veronica Jones' statement of police coercion, which was filed by Jamal's defense last May, underscores the depths to which this racist capitalist government, its cops and prosecutors have gone to have an innocent man sent to death row. With the Democrats and Republicans locked in a competition over who best represents the politics of punishment and death, the fight to free Jamal takes on renewed urgency. A measure of Clinton's "law and order" bloodlust is his recent endorsement by the national Fraternal Order of Police, the cop "union" which has been in the forefront of the deadly vendetta aimed at silencing Mumia and intimidating his supporters.

Leonard Weinglass, Mumia's lead counsel, underlined the importance of Jones' testimony:

> "Veronica Jones opens the door to what actually happened in 1982. The prosecution's theory is that Mr. Jamal had to be the shooter because only he and his brother and officer Faulkner were there. Veronica Jones gives the lie to that theory—that two others ran away from the shooting. That is what she told the police within a week after the event and that's what she denied on the stand [at the 1982 trial]."

Given the obvious importance of Jones' statement that she was threatened by the cops to change her original testimony, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court granted Jamal's request for a remand. Outrageously, however, the court ignored the defense request that the case be reassigned to a judge other than Saho. Known by even former prosecutors as a "prosecutor in robes," Sabo's utter contempt for Jamal, his defense team and constitutional rights was manifestly demonstrated both in Jamal's original trial and at his 1995 post-conviction relief hearing.

In court on September 18, Saho refused a defense demand that he remove himself from the case, sneering, "Who knows this case better than I do?" While feigning confusion over the order for a further hearing based on Jones' statement, Saho indicated his evident contempt for the Supreme Court's order, declaring that he would have ruled differently. Meanwhile, the D.A. demanded that Saho quash a defense subpoena for all of the prosecution's files in the Jamal case. While withholding files that contain evidence of the intimidation and coercion of various witnesses in the Jamal case, the prosecution tried to claim that the defense team has not shown "due diligence" in pursuing evidence and witnesses like Jones!

At the same time, the D.A. haughtily declared that Jones' testimony was more "suspect" than any "supposed" allegations of police misconduct. Supposed?! The Philadelphia Police Department is notorious for routinely fabricating evidence, coercing and terrorizing witnesses and manufacturing frame-up convictions. In the past year, the city has been rocked yet again by exposures of this legal-lynching machine. Betty Patterson, a 54-year-old black grandmother who was jailed for three years on charges brought by cops who had planted drugs in her house in an attempt to frame up her sons, recently won a million-dollar lawsuit against the city.

The drive by the cops and prosecutors to frame up and kill Mumia is a graphic illustration of the fact that the capitalist state—the police, prisons and court system—is an instrument of repression for keeping down minorities and working people. What stayed the hand of the executioner last summer, when Jamal was scheduled to die, was demonstrations by thousands and protests by unions representing millions of workers around the world. That effort must be redoubled, particularly bringing to bear the power of the multiracial working class *in struggle* to save Mumia and win his freedom. *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

* * *

Funds are urgently needed! Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For more information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. ■

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Immigration and Racist "Fortress Europe"

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Across Europe, racist attacks on immigrants are at the cutting edge of the capitalist rulers' assault on the living standards and union organizations of the entire working class. Most recently, on September 19 the German government of Christian Democratic chancellor Helmut Kohl announced plans to expel 320,000 Bosnian refugees from the country. This comes at the same time as the German bourgeoisie is preparing to push through a massive package of austerity measures.

The same holds true in France, where the government of President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppé is proposing $12 billion in budget cuts affecting workers, pensioners and students, while carrying out vicious racist attacks on immigrants and residents of African and North African descent. When French riot cops last month stormed a Paris church occupied by immigrant workers seeking permits to stay in the country, it provoked unprecedented protest demonstrations in which trade-union contingents marched together with black and Maghrebin youth (see "France: Mass Protests Against Racist Deportations," *WV* No. 650, 30 August).

The International Communist League has consistently fought for mobilizing the power of the working class to defend immigrant rights, raising the calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop racist terror. Moreover, in countries like France, Germany, Italy and Britain, foreign-born workers are a central and often strategic sector of the proletariat. During last December's strike wave by public sector workers in France, our comrades insisted on the crucial need for the strikers to take up the fight against racial oppression, emphasizing that this was necessary to extend the struggle to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong component of workers from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa.

We publish below, in slightly edited form, the first half of an article on the question of immigration in Europe which first appeared in *Spartacist* (French edition, No. 29, Summer 1996). This article was initially published as an introduction to a French translation of "In Defense of Revolutionary Integrationism" (*Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94).

* * *

For most of modern history the United States was the only advanced capitalist country in which there existed a large oppressed minority defined by race. The famous and influential study of blacks in the U.S. by the Swedish social democrat Gunnar Myrdal in the 1940s was entitled *An American Dilemma*. European social democrats and liberals adopted an air of moral superiority toward anti-black racism and segregation in the United States as if their own societies were immune from such despicable prejudices and practices.

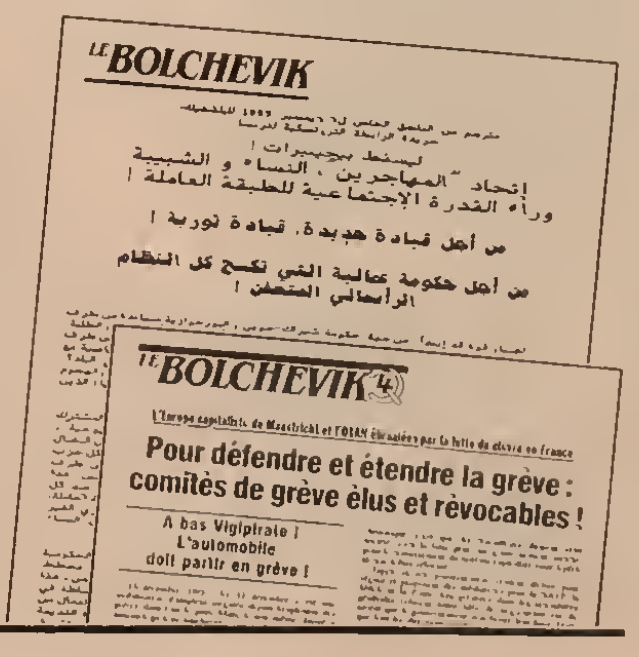
Today, from southern Italy to northern Germany, it has become commonplace for dark-skinned people—immigrant workers and their children, refugees from civil wars and communalist massacres in the Third World—to be killed by fascist gangs or the police. The cultural event of the year in France was the film *La Haine* which depicts 24 hours in the life of three rootless young men who hang out together, all second-generation immigrants: an East European Jew, a North African Arab and a West African black. "An Arab in a police station doesn't last an hour," one of them remarks as a truism. It is telling that in France, the term "immigrants" is used routinely to include people who were born in France and are French citizens.

Rebours/AP

Paris, August 21: Trade-union contingents joined mass demonstration in solidarity with immigrant protesters besieged by cops.

Over the past decade large fascist parties, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in France and the Austrian Freedom Party of Jörg Haider, have arisen on a platform of "ethnic cleansing"—the mass expulsion of non-Europeans living in their countries. A British Labour Party member of the European Parliament, Glyn Ford, decries "the rising quagmire of racism and xenophobia, promoted by right-wing extremism, into which our societies run the risk of sinking." But those who bewail the trend while accepting the framework of capitalism can do nothing to resist or reverse the increasing descent of "respectable" politics into an orgy of chauvinist immigrant-bashing.

It is understandable that militants in West Europe's immigrant communities, living in ghettos under racist police occupation, now identify with American blacks, their historic struggles and especially their most radical spokesmen. The powerful personality, writings and speeches of Malcolm X—inspirer of "revolutionary" black nationalism in the U.S. in the 1960s—are admired by young North Africans and blacks in France as well as youth of African and Caribbean descent in Britain. Groups defending immigrant rights in Europe have rallied to the international campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and radical journalist on Pennsylvania's death row as a result of a police/FBI frame-up. They see in Mumia not simply a victim of injustice but a comrade in the fight against racial oppression.



Ligue Trotskyste intervened in last December's strike wave with leaflets in French and Arabic, calling for elected strike committees and revolutionary leadership, emphasizing need for workers movement to defend immigrant rights and fight racist oppression.

While in the past the presence of a large oppressed racial minority was regarded as unique to the United States, one now encounters an opposite tendency, a failure to recognize certain *fundamental differences* in the social character of the American black population and the recently formed non-European communities in West Europe.

The descendants of black Africans enslaved and taken in chains to the New World at the birth of the capitalist system were *integral and central* to the building of the American nation and later of the American nation-state. The American nation was formed in the era of mercantile capitalism through British colonial settlement of a region inhabited by a sparse population of aboriginal peoples with a stone-age culture who proved horribly vulnerable to Afro-Eurasian diseases. The massive importation of slaves from sub-Saharan Africa provided the labor force for the establishment of large-scale plantation agriculture in the southern tier of Britain's North American colonies. The owners of these slave plantations, who developed an aristocratic mentality akin to the European landed nobility, became a dominant component of the ruling class in the American colonies.

When the colonies achieved independence from Britain in the late 18th century, the United States of America was formed as a bourgeois democracy for white, male property owners. Within a few generations, however, male suffrage was extended to the white lower classes. Southern plantation agriculture, centrally cotton, supplied the principal exports for the early American bourgeois state, thereby providing the financial resources for the rapid growth of mercantile and industrial capitalism in the North based on "free" wage labor.

The increasing conflicts of interest between the Southern plantation owners and burgeoning Northern capital led to a full-scale civil war in the 1860s which resulted in the abolition of black chattel slavery when the North won, in part due to the recruitment of hundreds of thousands of blacks into the Union Army. After a tumultuous decade of interracial bourgeois democracy ("Radical Reconstruction"), a new form of white supremacy was established in the South. The so-called Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial segregation and totalitarian police-state control lasted three-quarters of a century, until the civil rights struggles of the late 1950s-early 1960s brought about a semblance of bourgeois democracy in the region.

American blacks have *always* shared with whites the two main determinants of a national culture: language (English) and religion (Christianity). Interestingly, when the Plains Indians—aboriginal peoples living in the central part of North America—first encountered blacks in the late 19th century, they termed them "the black white men." Blacks in the U.S. are

Detroit News

AP

Black workers played militant role in UAW strike at Detroit Chevrolet plant in mid-1940s, while Jim Crow segregation reigned in the South. The fight against black oppression is key to American workers revolution.

an *oppressed race-color caste* integrated into the American capitalist economy, including strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat, while at the same time largely segregated at the bottom of American bourgeois society.

There will be no social revolution in the United States without the united struggle of black and white workers led by their multiracial vanguard party, which must be the most consistent and active defender of all the specially oppressed layers of society. The revolutionary cadres will certainly be drawn heavily from black proletarians as militants are won to recognizing that there can be no other road to eliminating the special oppression of black people than the conquest of power by the American working class.

Capitalist Counterrevolution Fuels Anti-Immigrant Racism

Unlike the black color-caste in the U.S., the presence of a large non-white population in West Europe is, in historical terms, a quite recent development. It was only in the 1960s that the Caribbean islands and Indian subcontinent displaced Ireland as the main source of immigration into Britain. It was not until the 1970s that the number of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) surpassed Italian *Gastarbeiter* in West Germany. And only in the past decade has the number of foreign workers, mainly North African Arabs, in Italy exceeded the number of Italians working in other European countries. We are thus seeing the recent formation of large non-European, predominantly traditionally Muslim (except in Britain) communities in long-established bourgeois nation-states.

Hence the thrust of nationalist reaction in West Europe is toward the mass expulsion of the non-white population. In last year's presidential election in France, Le Pen, who got 15 percent of the vote, campaigned to "send back home" three million non-European "immigrants." And it would not require the victory of fascism or even the entry of a fascist party into the government in France or elsewhere to forcibly expel hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of immigrants and refugees, especially those who do not have citizenship rights.

By way of historical analogy, during the Great Depression of the early 1930s the number of foreign workers in France—mainly Italians, Poles and Algerians—was reduced by *half a million*, equal to 5 percent of the total labor force. Some left because they couldn't find jobs, but many were simply rounded up and deported. Throughout the decade anti-immigrant demagogy, directed especially at Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and East Europe, fueled French fascism and other right-wing political movements, thus setting the stage for the deportation of Jews by the Vichy regime to the death camps of Nazi-occupied Europe.

Over 20 years ago, when anti-immigrant sentiment re-emerged as a major factor on the West European political scene, our tendency stated:

> "The line between reformist social chauvinism and proletarian internationalism in Western Europe must be drawn on the demand that *all* foreign workers are entitled to immediate and full citizenship rights in the nations where they labor. As any Jamaican or Bengali 'citizen' of Britain will attest, formal citizenship rights do not automatically end the oppression of immigrants. However, winning full citizenship rights for West Europe's foreign workers would be a great victory for proletarian internationalism."
>
> — "West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution" (*WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973)

In the present climate of political reaction—marked by mass unemployment, the drive to dismantle the social-democratic "welfare state" and the effects of the counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union—even formal citizenship is not in itself a guarantee against "ethnic cleansing" in West Europe. The immigrant communities are subject to increasing racist oppression—ghettoization, police brutality, fascists. Increasingly segregated, prey to cop and racist violence, and on the bottom of the economic "ladder," dark-skinned European citizens would recognize a lot in the conditions of American blacks.

In the United States, a central slogan of the ICL is "Finish the Civil War—Black liberation through socialist revolution." A central slogan in Europe is for "full citizenship rights" for all immigrants, reflecting the fact that the immigration question is fundamentally a democratic question, which is, however, strategic to proletarian unity. And today, democratic rights—e.g., equal rights for women, national independence of the colonies, immigrants' and minorities' rights—can be won and secured only by the proletariat fighting to take state power away from the bourgeoisie and establish a socialist economy in a society free of exploitation and all oppression.

Like black Americans, West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just defenseless victims but a very important component of the forces capable of destroying the racist capitalist system. West Indian transport workers and South Asian nurses in Britain, North African Arab and Berber auto workers in France, Turkish coal miners and Kurdish chemical workers in Germany will play an important part in a European proletarian revolution. These workers are a bridge to the workers and peasant masses of the neocolonial Third World, a living link in an international socialist perspective. To transform this perspective into reality requires above all the construction of revolutionary parties, the reforging of the Fourth International based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.

Illustrated London News

Irish emigrants leaving home in mid-19th century. Chauvinist prejudices against Irish immigrant workers undercut development of class consciousness of British working class.

Immigration and Labor in 19th-Century Britain and France

Unlike in North America, mercantile and then industrial capitalism in Europe developed on a preexisting feudal socio-economic structure based on the exploitation of the peasantry, which constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. Thus in most of Europe the industrial revolution entailed the massive emigration, so to speak, of peasant youth from the countryside to the cities rather than the importation of labor from foreign countries with radically different national cultures (e.g., language, religion). There were, however, two important exceptions, each in a very different way: Britain and France.

Beginning with the 16th century, the development of mercantile capitalism in England pauperized the peasantry, sharply reducing its size as peasants became agricultural laborers and artisan proletarians (e.g., weavers of woolen cloth working in their own homes). In England, the pioneer country of the industrial revolution, factories soon absorbed the indigenous surplus population despite the massive use of child labor. From the mid-19th century onward, the expansion of British capitalism required the importation of impoverished peasants from its oldest and nearest colony, Ireland.

In many important respects, especially in its *political* effects, the Irish immigration in late-19th-century Britain was similar to the Third World immigration in present-day West Europe. Differences in religion—Roman Catholic for the Irish, Protestant for the English—acted as a formidable barrier to intermarriage in an era when the church played a far more important role in working-class communities than it does in contemporary Europe. Furthermore, the colonial subjugation of Ireland impeded not only intermarriage but even social ties between the two main national components of the proletariat in Britain. Many English workers were deeply infected with their rulers' imperialist chauvinism toward the Irish, while Irish immigrant workers viewed all Englishmen as members of the oppressor nation.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels considered the Irish/English antagonism to be a major factor, if not *the* major factor, contributing to the relative political backwardness of the working class in the British Isles despite the existence of a mass trade-union movement. Addressing the 1871 London conference of the First

continued on page 8

Le Bolchévik

Demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Paris, September 1995. Leftist and immigrant activists in Europe have taken up Jamal's cause as part of fight against racism.

Immigration...

(continued from page 7)

International, Marx stated:

> "You will know that between the English workers and the Irish workers there has existed of old very considerable antagonism the causes of which are actually very easy to enumerate. This antagonism has its origin in the differences of language and religion; and in the competition between Irish workers and English workers over wages. In England this antagonism is the dam that holds back the flood of Revolution, hence it is skillfully exploited by the government and upper classes, who are convinced that no bond would be able to unite the English and Irish workers."

The following year Engels, speaking at the International's General Council, condemned "the belief, only too common among English workingmen, that they were superior beings compared to the Irish, and as much an aristocracy as the mean whites of the [American] Slave States considered themselves to be with regard to the Negroes."

Throughout the rest of the 19th century, the English trade unions remained politically subordinate to the bourgeois Liberal Party, while Irish working people remained under the sway of petty-bourgeois nationalist movements. It was not until the early years of this century that there emerged even a reformist party of the British working class, the Labour Party. It is perhaps not a historical accident that the Labour Party became the hegemonic party of the British working class in the early 1920s, the same time that Ireland gained its independence from Britain, albeit with the partition of the northern counties of Ulster. Nonetheless, the Irish Republic remained a relatively impoverished neocolony of Britain, exporting labor to the factories and construction sites of London and the Midlands. And to this day, the British upper classes continue to skillfully exploit antagonism between English and Irish working people to impede the forces of social revolution.

In France, the radical bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1789-93 effectively destroyed the landed aristocracy and produced a large and entrenched class of peasant smallholders. The birth rate in 19th-century France, unusually low by European standards, further reduced the supply of surplus labor necessary for the development of an industrial capitalist economy. With the beginnings of the industrial revolution under the Second Empire of Louis Napoleon (1850-70), the French ruling class deliberately opted for the large-scale importation of foreign labor. Given their well-grounded fear of social revolution, they wanted to preserve traditional peasant villages dominated by the local parish priest as bastions of social and political conservatism.

The working class in France was therefore made up in large part of immigrants from Italy, Spain, Belgium, southern Germany and, somewhat later, Poland. In certain periods the scale of immigration exceeded even that of the United States. Many of the members and supporters of the National Front would not today be Frenchmen if Le Pen's program had been applied to their grandfathers and great-grandfathers!

Until the 1930s, the mass of these white, mainly Catholic immigrants were assimilated through widespread intermarriage with the French within a single generation. A number of factors contributed to this development, unique in the history of European industrial capitalism. First, the overwhelming majority of immigrants came from countries which, like France, were traditionally Catholic. Nor were these countries French colonies or semi-colonies. Thus there was no longstanding political antagonism between Italian immigrant workers and Frenchmen in the late 19th century as there was between Irish immigrants and Englishmen at that time or between Algerians and Frenchmen in France today.

An assimilationist policy was also strongly promoted by the bourgeoisie. In 1889, the anniversary of the Revolution, a new law granted automatic citizenship to anyone born on French soil. While this law was certainly objectively progressive, its authors were by no means motivated by liberal democratic ideals. Faced with the new, more powerful and populous German Second Reich, the French ruling class wanted to conscript the sons of Italian and Spanish immigrant workers into its army.

Nonetheless, the cosmopolitan character of the working class in France strengthened the forces of the left. This became manifest in the Dreyfus Affair of the late 1890s, when the frame-up of a Jewish army officer by an anti-Semitic cabal in the general staff resulted in a sharp left/right polarization leading to the brink of civil war. A heroic and effective role in defense of Dreyfus was played by the famous writer Emile Zola, the son of an Italian immigrant engineer father and a French mother.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

under NAFTA has brought an avalanche of cheap products, brutal exploitation and savage austerity. Millions of impoverished *campesinos* are not seen as competitive producers of an attractive market, which means that there is no place for backward Mexican agriculture in the "New World Order." However, the current state of siege is directed against all the organizations of the working class and the oppressed. The working class in particular must mobilize its social power to stop the relentless persecution being unleashed against the EPR and all those who dare oppose capitalist misery.

The power to defeat the starvation assault of the Mexican ruling class and the U.S. imperialist overlords lies with the industrial proletariat. In the imperialist epoch, even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—like providing land to the tiller—can only be completed if the proletariat takes state power into its own hands and fights for the international extension of socialist revolution. This requires a revolutionary party armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution to lead the industrial proletariat, standing at the head of the poor peasantry and all of the oppressed and uniting with the multiracial working class of the United States through the human bridge forged by millions of Mexican and Central American immigrants toiling in *el norte*.

The massive attack on living standards has led to a rising tide of labor combativity and a radicalization of the working class. Recent opinion polls indicate that 22 percent of Mexico City residents believe "violence is justified when there is injustice," and this figure jumps to 32 percent for the country as a whole. At the same time, many workers chafe at the stranglehold of the PRI corporatist union tops of the CTM labor federation. But radical workers and leftist intellectuals should have no illusions about petty-bourgeois guerrillaism. Guerrilla struggle in the countryside—based on the atomized, parochial and petty-bourgeois peasantry—cannot lead the powerful forces of the proletariat and the oppressed who, all over the country, want to fight for a radical change. As always, the key question is program—*what class shall rule*.

AP

Press conference of Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP), new guerrilla organization targeted by PRI government.

The Zapatista EZLN, whose short-lived armed struggle launched them into the international political spotlight, now participates in the PRI government's "state reform" and has repeatedly allied with the bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. The myth of the PRD as the "party of the poor peasants" was completely exposed with its open support to the Mexican army as it was shelling the insurgent Zapatistas in Chiapas in the first days of January 1994. When the PRD demanded that the EZLN publicly distance itself from the EPR, the Zapatistas quickly complied. The Zapatista struggle in Chiapas is now at a dead end. And the EPR offers at best only a more militant "armed struggle" version of the same nationalist petty-bourgeois politics.

Writing in 1963 in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, the precursor of the International Communist League, the Revolutionary Tendency in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, noted:

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class."
>
> — "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

The *exceptional* circumstances of the Cuban Revolution cannot be repeated, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Sandinista guerrillas seized power in Nicaragua in 1979, but after trying for over a decade to find a mythical "third road" between capitalism and socialism, ceded power to the U.S.-backed political heirs of the dictator Somoza. Today, 29 years after the murder of Che Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia, after the signing of "peace accords" by the Salvadoran FMLN and the Guatemalan URNG guerrillas with death squad regimes, with Cuba being pushed inexorably in the direction of capitalist restoration, it is patently clear that the "guerrilla road" offers no way forward in the struggle against capitalist and imperialist oppression.

The EPR and all fighters against the Mexican bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism must be defended against state repression. However, it is only the working class which can put an end to this capitalist system of repression and misery. It is necessary to break with all the parties of the bourgeoisie and to forge an internationalist Leninist party that acts as the tribune of the people. The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, fights to build such a party in irreconcilable opposition to nationalism, reformism and all forms of class collaboration. ■

AFP

PRD leader Cárdenas with EZLN spokesman Marcos. Zapatistas' petty-bourgeois nationalism leads to alliance with bourgeois parties.

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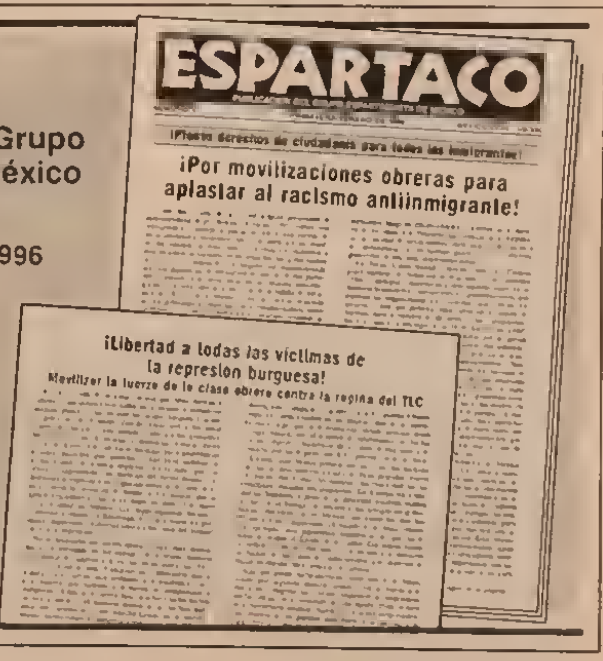


Norden Group...

(continued from page 3)

Treptow Park rally in January 1990, a united-front protest over the fascist desecration of the Soviet war memorial there. But the huge turnout was for the East German Stalinists the last blow. They jumped right over the West German social-democratic SPD to make an immediate deal directly with Kohl's Christian Democrats for accelerated elections and for dissolution of the DDR. Not a battle—an eager and total panicky sellout.

Pat M. Robertson apparently shares Norden's thought that the "root cause" of his and Stamberg's departure, along with Negrete and Socorro, lies in Norden's not becoming the principal leading spokesman of our international and U.S. organizations. Norden may feel this to be true. But our central cadres have a long history together, and Norden never enjoyed the kind of confidence necessary for the role he evidently desired.

One example why that was so came in 1973, at the time of the signing of the accord leading to the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. Norden wanted us to denounce the North Vietnamese government and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as selling out their own side in the long, bloody revolutionary war. Since the Spartacist tendency had done some more or less unique analysis concerning the formation of "deformed workers states," we were able to draw correct political conclusions from the empirical fact that the truce agreement provided for all Vietnamese military units to remain intact and in place. *Workers Vanguard* did *not* denounce this provisional peace agreement as a "betrayal," and in a very few years the southern capitalist government was militarily smashed and its cadres fled to San Jose, California and elsewhere.

This misjudgment by Norden likely undermined his revolutionary political self-confidence and did his standing in the eyes of other comrades no good either. Leaping ahead to what turned out to be end game, in 1990 Norden had to be forced, kicking and screaming, to get *WV* to denounce the political atrocity of Fidel Castro's execution of the honorable and all-too-successful General Arnaldo Ochoa, who led the Cuban military in defeating the South African apartheid troops in Angola. A similar conciliation by Norden of the by then fragmented East German Stalinists can be seen following their collapse and betrayal of the East German deformed workers state.

The other reason why comrades believed Norden unsuitable for a more leading role was that he was indifferent to the needs of those whose work was controlled by him—particularly our press composition department. "Those who knew him best, loved him least."

Norden and Stamberg were nonetheless an important part of a broader leadership collective for many years. It was only with the terminal difficulties of Stalinism that they showed a polarization away from the rest of the leading collective, albeit reluctantly—because of a happy combination (for the ICL, that is) of their lack of support in the membership and their lack of appetite for principled political struggle. Hence their "non-factional" and mealy-mouthed opposition.

This evidence of Norden's political mindset is a promise for the future for his authoritarian and disingenuous role should he find or build an organization to try to preside over.

Pat M. Robertson also has us abandoning the Brazilian LQB/LM in the middle of a battle that we ourselves had initiated against the cops in a union. We have some experience with left-centrist formations in various spots in the colonial and semicolonial world. While perhaps not relevant in Pat M. Robertson's eyes, our biggest single difficulty in winning over all or part of such groups to revolutionary Marxism has been lack of effective common language—a direct reflection upon our partial and limited forces and meager resources. Police, hostile guerrillas, murderous fundamentalists and the like have usually run second as obstacles, although they are occasionally decisive, often at a crucial time.

On the historical plane, the destruction of the Chinese Trotskyists after 1927 was indeed overwhelmingly through terror—by the Guomindang (Kuomintang), the Stalinists and the Japanese military. This almost total obliteration included both founding cadres, including the principal leader Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), as well as hundreds of newer younger militants, especially "students" returning from Moscow academies. Moreover, in East Asia at that time, there was *no* place to establish an émigré Trotskyist center and *no* material means to do it with.

This loss to international communism was incalculable. The opportunity of the Chinese Opposition, both to consummate a workers revolution in China and to vastly politically strengthen the International Left Opposition, was simply lost. The Chinese Left Opposition had an enormous potential, second perhaps only to the Russian Opposition itself. The American Left Opposition was not then in the mainstream of the international labor movement. The Nazi victory destroyed the Central European Trotskyists. The French were not sufficiently serious and...the Fourth International got as leaders: Michel Pablo, Ernest Germain (Mandel) and Joe Hansen. Regarding the fate of the Chinese Trotskyists, a new book, *China's Urban Revolutionaries: Explorations in the History of Chinese Trotskyism, 1921-1952* (Humanities Press, New Jersey, 1996) by Gregor Benton, is particularly valuable.

Finally, Pat M. Robertson suggests that "our enemies," among whom he seems to number himself, consider us cowards vis-à-vis the LQB/LM. He offers "taunts" like "When the running dogs of imperialism bark, the ICL runs," telling us. "Get used to it, you will hear more." Yes, indeed, especially in Latin America—where besides "Yanqui dog" also very common among petty-bourgeois strata are "Jew!" "Heretic!" "Homosexual!" and the always flavorful "Cabrón!" Our late comrade Martha Phillips—murdered while at her post in Moscow in 1992—and her comrades thank him.

We did not abandon the LM, but after the decisive visit of two well-qualified Portuguese-speaking comrades to Volta Redonda, we deemed it politically necessary to break off "fraternal relations" with them—because we found that they were presenting us with a political "Potemkin village" which had been constructed by Norden and Negrete and entered into by LM's leader Cerezo. In our letter breaking off fraternal relations, we particularly made the point that "We look forward to opportunities for common struggle." Pat M. Robertson should ponder that.

After we distanced ourselves from LM, an article appeared in the *London Review of Books* (22 August) by Martha Gellhorn titled "Mean Streets of Salvador." She writes that "One class of the citizenry is entirely apart: the police," and "as a rule civilians avoid all contact with the police." A young Brazilian comrade of ours said that this perception of the police is a commonplace truth in her country. One has to wonder about the real character of the public employees union containing policemen in a country where they are so viewed. We know that everywhere the police are the armed agents of property and of its owners. But national perceptions vary. In the United States, many white propertyless people believe that the police serve to protect them against blacks and perhaps Hispanics. In Britain, after long years of Tory rule, most ordinary people now know that the "bobby" is against *them*, not just South Asians, blacks, Irish, strikers, "wild" youth, vegetarians, etc.

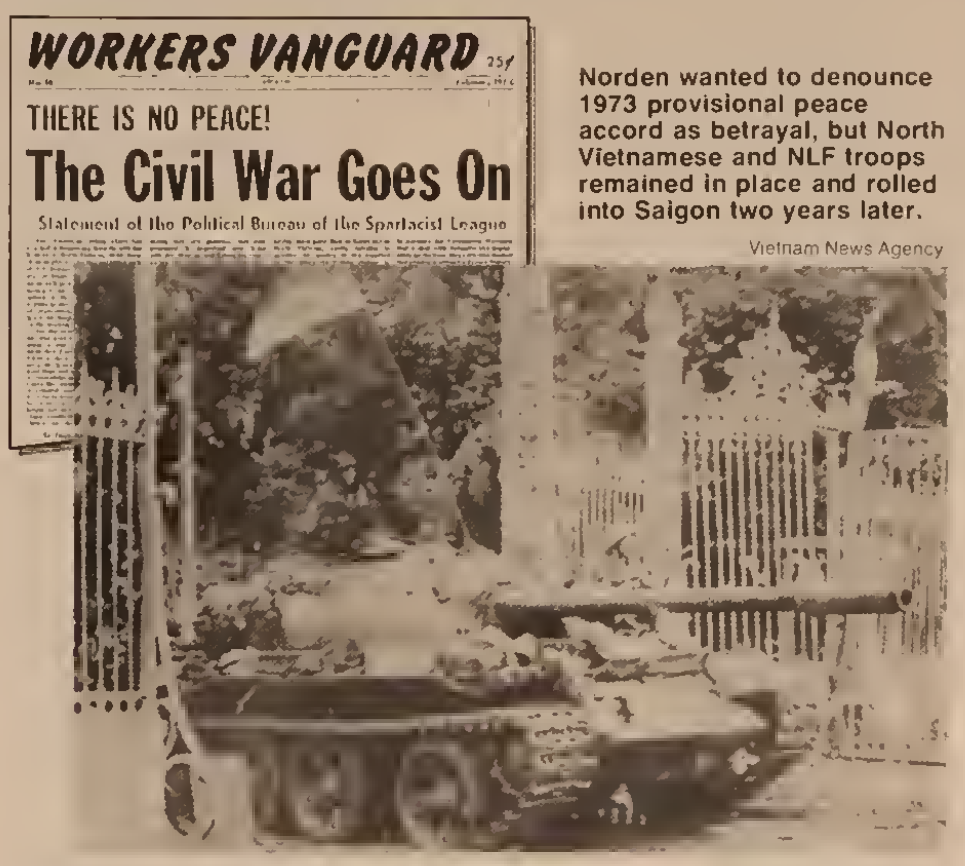
So why did Cerezo sign on as adviser to this pro-police and police-inclusive "union"? And why did the ICL establish fraternal relations in the first place? For our part, because going through such an experience is *how* you learn, up close and really. That's what fraternal relations are for. Let us be clear that the ICL established fraternal relations with LM *before* Cerezo moved into the top of the municipal workers union—if LM had links with the union at that time we were not aware of it.

And what about the Volta Redonda municipal workers union today? The cops are still in the union. Cerezo is still tied to the union as a top-level consultant, nothing has changed. Would Pat M. Robertson want formal fraternal relations with such a figure?

The world is full of fictitious, highly mutable international lash-ups and combinations invented by nationally based centrist organizations. We *counterpose* to this the struggle to build national sections of a programmatically cohesive international organization, in accordance with Trotsky's injunction:

> "It is false that world economy is simply a sum of national parts of one and the same type. It is false that the specific features are 'merely supplementary to the general features,' like warts on a face. In reality, the national peculiarities represent an original combination of the basic features of the world process. This originality can be of decisive significance for revolutionary strategy over a span of many years. Suffice it to recall that the proletariat of a backward country has come to power many years before the proletariat of the advanced countries."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution*, "Introduction to the German Edition" (1930)

Norden's pathetic pretensions out on the left wing of this imperialist-dominated world will change nothing for the better. ■


WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

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The Civil War Goes On

Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League

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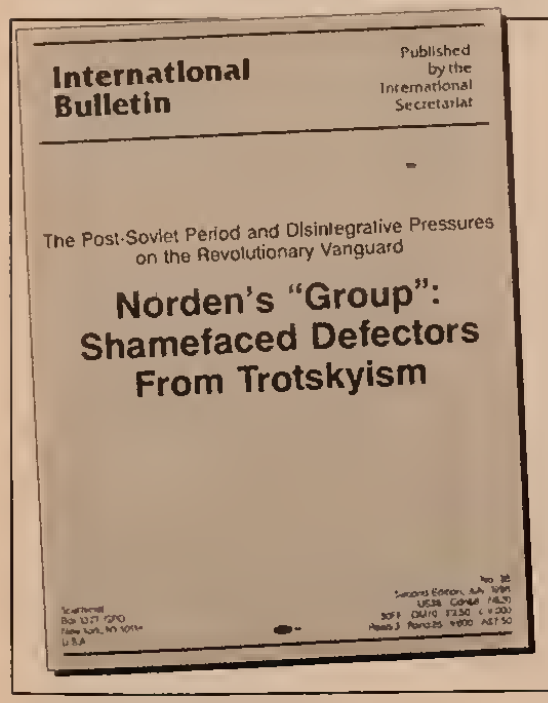
Vietnam News Agency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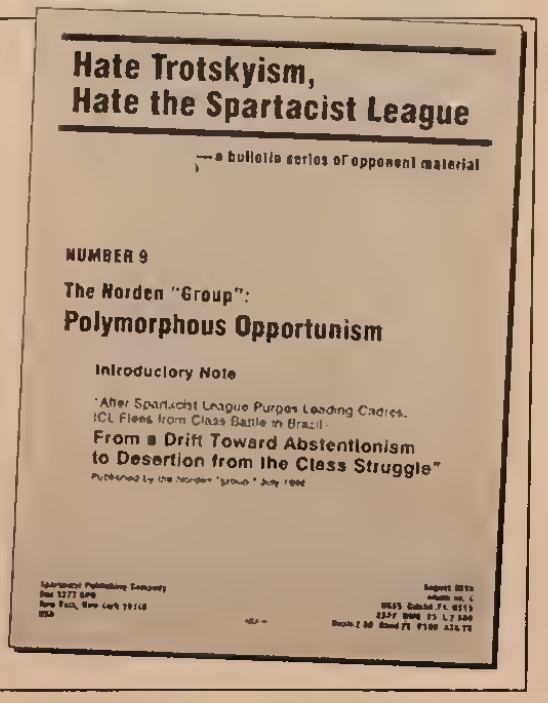
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—a bulletin series of opponent material

NUMBER 9

The Norden "Group":

Polymorphous Opportunism

Introductory Note

"After Spartacist League Purges Leading Cadres, ICL Flees from Class Battle in Brazil"

From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle"

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Protest ISO Gangsterism Against the LRP!

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its British parent group, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, have a long, sordid history of exclusionism and violence directed against other leftists. The Cliffites have particularly singled out supporters of the Spartacist League and International Communist League for thug attacks—from Chicago and Boston to Toronto and London—in an unsuccessful attempt to suppress our revolutionary criticism of their social-democratic politics, their groveling before imperialist anti-Communism and their embrace of the racist cops as "workers." Recently, we learned from two other leftist groups, News & Letters (N&L) and the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), that they were physically excluded from ISO "public" forums in Chicago in June and August.

The first incident occurred on June 14, at an ISO "Midwest Summer School" held in the student center at the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois. Prior to the event, ISO goon Joe Allen prowled the area outside the building with a walkie-talkie, announcing he was on "Spart patrol." A phalanx of ISOers first tried to block News & Letters supporters from even entering the building, then from taking the escalator up to the meeting room, and finally from bringing literature inside. When the N&L supporters protested this censorship, ISO honcho Paul D'Amato brazenly replied, "There is no right of free speech." The three were told to leave or the cops would be called. Soon, eight Chicago cops arrived in full riot gear and dragged the News & Letters supporters off the campus.

Two months later, the ISO forcibly removed two LRP supporters from another "public" meeting at DePaul University on August 6. Cynically attempting to trade on the revolutionary heritage of Trotskyism, the ISO titled its forum "Who Was Leon Trotsky?" But ISO goons made clear that Trotsky's writings are *verboten*, snatching a copy of the Transitional Program away from one LRPer. At least ten ISO thugs then pushed the LRP supporters out of the meeting room, after which campus cops arrived on the scene.

Such censorship and violence not only violate the basic tenets of workers democracy, but open up the left as a whole to police attack. The ISO's grotesque use of the cops to police its events against other groups on the left is par for the course for this social-democratic outfit. The cops are the racist, strikebreaking fist of the capitalist state, who tear-gas leftist protesters, shoot down black youth on the streets and bust up strike picket lines. But the reformist ISO—whose bottom line is that the bosses' state can be pressured into acting on behalf of working people and the oppressed—calls for bringing cops and prison guards into the union organizations of the working class. An article on the 1971 Attica prison rebellion in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (13 September) bemoans "the brutality displayed by police in putting down the uprising." But earlier this year, the ISO's Canadian co-thinkers were enthusing over a "strike" by Ontario prison guards, and in 1993 the British Cliffites boasted of having "a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives" (see *WV* No. 642, 29 March). That says a lot about the "objectives" of the Cliffite social democrats!

Aping the bureaucratism of the pro-capitalist union misleaders and big-time reformist politicians they tail, the ISO seeks to draw a blood line to keep its members from asking too many questions. That the Cliffites' practice of substituting the fist for the brain has now become a stock in trade is revealed by their recent attacks on News & Letters and the LRP, groups which share the ISO's renunciation of Trotskyism. Like the ISO, these groups long ago capitulated to the capitalist rulers, refusing to defend the Soviet Union when it existed against imperialist attack and counterrevolution. But whoever on the left is targeted by ISO exclusionism, it's a dangerous business for everyone in the workers movement, seeking to surpress the contest of political programs which is necessary to anyone interested in struggling against the oppression and exploitation of capitalist society. ■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

> mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

Rip Up the Sellout!

James & Co. are trying to sell the proposed contract by pointing to a purported "no layoffs" clause. But the agreement explicitly states that 500 cleaners' jobs will be slashed through attrition. Particularly in the Stations Department, where hundreds of token booth clerk and other jobs are already threatened with elimination, management has been stepping up disciplinary actions—victimizations—aimed at driving out workers. The new deal would come down hardest on the most vulnerable sectors of the TA's workforce, particularly women and younger black and Hispanic workers for whom cleaners' positions are often the avenue into better-paying transit jobs. It would also place some TWU members in the position of being straw bosses over the slave-labor crews, under a contract provision creating a new union job category of "lead cleaner" at higher pay than other TWU cleaners.

We have warned that "the widespread creation of phony 'workfare' programs has meant a direct attack on municipal unions" (*WV* No. 649, 2 August). This could not be clearer than with the latest TWU deal. The effect of the contract would be to pit the union *against* predominantly black and Hispanic welfare recipients. This would inflame racist reaction, which the capitalist rulers have long used to divide the working class in order to drive down wages and increase the rate of exploitation of all workers. *The labor movement must be mobilized on behalf of all the oppressed: union rights and black rights either march forward together or fall back separately.*

This is particularly obvious in the case of Local 100, with its heavily black and Hispanic membership. Moreover, the TWU is potentially one of the most powerful unions in the U.S. Local 100 can shut down the finance center of American capitalism by stopping the subways. This puts the union in a strategic position to fight not only for its own membership but to lead all of city labor and the millions of unorganized working people and minorities who are all being slammed by hospital closings, school cutbacks and the axing of social services.

The unions should be in the forefront of organizing mass protests against the epidemic of cop terror in the ghettos and barrios which accompanies the racist cutbacks. The racist cops who cut down black and Hispanic youth also attack Teamsters' and other workers' picket lines. Labor must demand full citizenship rights for immigrants, who have been at the top of the government's hit list under the anti-welfare and "counter-terrorism" laws. And it is necessary to combat any manifestations of racist backwardness within the unions. In the case of the TWU, that means fighting to put a stop to the racist ethnic-baiting on the rise inside transit workplaces, promoted by the TA's divide-and-rule policies which pit blacks and Hispanics against Jews, South Asians against West Indians, and U.S.-born workers against immigrants. This is *poison* to the cause of labor!

Transit workers are being told to vote on the contract by mail. This is a standard procedure by the union bureaucrats to diffuse anger over the sellout which undermines the whole purpose of the union. There should be a mass meeting of the entire Local 100 membership to *vote down the sellout* and begin to prepare union action against TA threats of widespread layoffs and "privatization" of everything from bus maintenance to transit construction.

The decisive question is one of leadership. It is clear what Hall and James have to offer—more givebacks and concessions. Before the "workfare" deal, the Local 100 tops had already caved in on speed-up and safety conditions. Most recent was the beginning of "one person train operation" (OPTO) on September 1 on selected subway lines—a deadly dangerous cutback in conductors' jobs which management had sought for years.

Some TWU members look to the "New Directions" caucus in Local 100 as an opposition to the Hall/James leadership. After maintaining a stony silence on the "workfare" deal in workplace meetings last week, New Directions has now come out with a leaflet calling for a "No" vote on the contract. But then what? New Directions is itself an integral part of the Local 100 bureaucracy, controlling a significant section of the union executive board. They have consistently cringed from calling for strikes over past contract battles. Moreover, New Directions has repeatedly hauled the union into the bosses' courts to settle what should be internal union affairs, while supporting a "job action" by sadistic Riker's Island prison guards.

This is a violation of the most elementary principles of the labor movement. Labor must clean its own house—cops and courts out of the union movement! The cops and courts are central institutions of the racist capitalist state, which is nothing other than an apparatus of repression of the working class and the oppressed. The precondition for any real struggle by the unions against the bosses is the *complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state*. New Directions, like the various other reformist "oppositions" within the unions, share the same pro-capitalist outlook as the AFL-CIO tops, squabbling only over the spoils of power. To transform the unions from secondary instruments of the capitalist class for the subordination and disciplining of the workers into organizations that actually defend the interests of the working class, it is necessary to forge a *class-struggle leadership* of the labor movement.

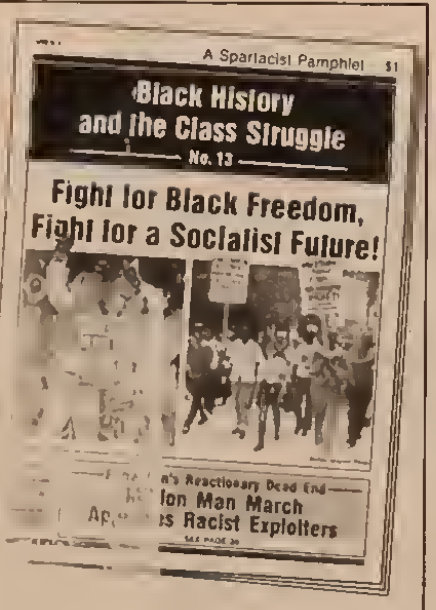
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

City and state governments around the country are watching what happens with the transit "workfare" agreement. If a powerful union like the TWU accepts it, then everyone else is fair game. Republican New York City mayor Giuliani, who has waged his own brutal war on the homeless and welfare recipients, reacted angrily to the proposal because it blew the cover off the sweetheart deal cooked up with AFSCME District Council 37 city workers chief, Stanley Hill, which pretends that union jobs will not be sacrificed to "workfare." The truth is that more than 20,000 formerly unionized city jobs are now being done by "workfare" crews getting miserly welfare benefits. Meanwhile, city hospitals are laying off thousands of nurses and other workers, and the public schools are abysmally overcrowded and in dangerous disrepair. There is plenty of seething anger among city workers, teachers and hospital workers over the state of New York City.

But particularly in this election year, the labor traitors, who are shelling out tens of millions of dollars for the re-election of welfare-hasher Clinton, intend to make sure the union ranks don't do anything which could embarrass the Democrats. Reflecting pressure from outraged union members, Stanley Hill is now pleading for a "moratorium" on "workfare." But all the DC 37 tops can offer to back this up is a "threat" to support Giuliani's Democratic opponent in next year's NYC mayoral election. And the public employees unions have announced a moratorium on even their pitiful efforts to beg ("lobby") Congress to "amend" the anti-welfare law until after November.

Labor needs a leadership that knows workers' interests are counterposed to those of their exploiters; that the Democrats are no "friends of labor" but represent the bosses just as much as the more openly anti-union Republicans; that the government—with its arsenal of anti-labor weapons like New York State's Taylor Law banning public workers strikes—is nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class. The fight to mobilize unions and the oppressed in struggle needs a political expression: not a phony "Labor Party" of the sort now being touted by sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which acts as a shill for the Democrats, but a *revolutionary workers party*. A successful fight to defend and improve the present conditions of the working class can only be waged as part of the struggle to get rid of the entire capitalist system.

The destruction of social welfare systems is occurring not only in the U.S. but around the world, as the capitalists attempt to cut "overhead" expenses and drive down wages to sharpen their competitive edge against each other. But these policies are creating enormous pressure at the base of society: people don't like the idea that there is no future for themselves and their kids. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, by fighting for demands like a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a sliding scale of wages, "the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery." The need for socialist revolution to break the power of the corrupt, racist ruling class and rebuild this society for the benefit of all is posed ever more sharply today. ■



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California...

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shot back. "We were solely following federal direction." Clinton's feigned concern for immigrants is a hypocritical grandstand play aimed at locking up minority votes. In fact, Clinton and the Democrats have led the assault on immigrants, arm in arm with Wilson, Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole.

The bourgeois politicians are engaged in a frenzied competition over who can be the most sensational persecutor of the foreign-born. The Democratic president brags that his drive for "illegal immigration enforcement has done more in three years than was done in 30 years before" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 September). Indeed, Clinton's militarization of the border has led to an unprecedented level of harassment, beating and killing of Mexican immigrants who—driven to desperation by NAFTA's devastation of the Mexican economy—cross to do the back-breaking dirty work in California fields, hotels and sweatshops.

Now a federal version of Prop. 187 is pending in Congress, with Clinton and Dole quarreling only over whether to include a clause kicking immigrant kids out of the public schools. Regardless of its legal status in the courts, Prop. 187 has already had its destructive effect, emboldening the police to carry out more attacks such as the vicious videotaped beating of immigrants in Riverside last April. In the month of March alone, five Mexicans and Mexican Americans were killed by police in the L.A. area. Meanwhile, chauvinist "English only" laws are proliferating in states and counties around the country. One such bill now making its way through the U.S. Congress is similar to a state bill Clinton signed as governor of Arkansas in 1987.

The bipartisan anti-immigrant onslaught is designed to whip up chauvinism and to regiment the population in the face of escalating interimperialist rivalries over who gets to exploit the rest of the world, reflected most recently in Clinton's vicious bombing of Iraq. The racist rulers scapegoat immigrants to deflect anger and divide the working class in order to drive down wages and extract more profits. The U.S. working class must be mobilized to defend the foreign-born and demand: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

In 1994, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and the Democratic Party Latino organizers channeled the fight against Prop. 187 into a "Stop Pete Wilson" campaign aimed at getting out the votes for the Democrats. Not only did this fail to defeat Prop. 187, but the anti-immigrant frenzy has intensified. In the wake of this betrayal, the assault has broadened into an open racist mobilization against blacks with the deliberately misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) to end affirmative action on the ballot this November. Today these pro-Democratic Party forces are carrying out the same treacherous policy to derail the fight against the CCRI—deflecting anger against this racist attack into a campaign to re-elect the same Democrats who are busy running the anti-immigrant drive in partnership with Wilson and the Republicans. The multiracial working class must break from the racist Democrats and oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders. To defend immigrants and blacks, to turn back the general capitalist assault on the whole working class, requires a fight for an integrated, revolutionary workers party that champions all the oppressed.

What is needed to defeat the anti-immigrant offensive and the racist mobilization against affirmative action is *class struggle*. During the mass protests against Prop. 187, we called to "Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" (*WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994). But the narrow bureaucracy that sits atop and strangles the unions in this country is chauvinist to its very core. Long ago separating itself from its working-class base, this privileged layer sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government, acting to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. The labor tops embrace the predatory aims of the U.S. imperialists abroad, taking aim against workers in other countries as well as immigrant workers in the U.S. with job-trusting protectionism. Ultimately this means mobilizing the working class to die in imperialist wars to defend the profits of Wall Street.

In line with this poisonous policy, last January the Teamsters union staged reactionary mobilizations against a NAFTA provision allowing Mexican truckers to haul goods throughout the U.S. But victory for the workers lies in united international combat against their common capitalist oppressors. The power of the Mexican and U.S. workers must be mobilized on both sides of the border in joint struggle against the capitalists of Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund, whose "free trade" rape of Mexico is aimed at driving down workers' living conditions and wages throughout the continent. Immigrant workers in the U.S. are a bridge to the proletariats of Mexico and Central America, with their rich experience in the class struggle.

A key task is to organize the unorganized, including especially the immigrant workers who have been among the most combative and class-conscious workers in recent California labor struggles. But while the AFL-CIO tops spend millions to re-elect Clinton, they "support" immigrant workers by systematically sabotaging any struggle that might pose a real threat to the capitalists.

In one glaring example last July, the misleaders of the overwhelmingly immigrant membership of the SEIU Local 87 janitors union in San Francisco prevented a strike against union-busting contractors, telling their members to put their faith in black Democratic mayor Willie Brown. One bargaining update even declared: "Mayor Brown Joins Janitors Contract Campaign." But Brown was elected with the backing of the city's racist cops—the same cops who beat to death Latino Teamster Mark Garcia last spring—and the downtown financial interests who would like to break the janitors union. Four days after a near-unanimous strike vote, Brown's cops carried out a mass arrest of nearly 300 Local 87 members and supporters at a downtown rally. This was a pre-emptive warning to the combative janitors only hours before their contract expired, and a bitter lesson in the value of the bureaucrats' Democratic Party "friends of labor."

Tailing along behind the labor bureaucracy, a rainbow of pseudo-socialist organizations lines up in word and deed with the racist, capitalist Democrats. When the National Organization for Women staged a big Clinton re-election rally in San Francisco last April 14, most of the left—from openly pro-Democratic Party types like the Committees of Correspondence to Workers World to the International Socialist Organization and the "feminist-Trotskyist" Freedom Socialist Party—not only participated but *formally endorsed* it. Centrists like the Revolutionary Workers League tagged along, proclaiming themselves the "most militant" lobbyists of the capitalist politicians. And this came barely two weeks after the brutal Riverside beating, a direct product of Clinton's militarization of the border!

Now these fake lefts aim to do with the upcoming October 12 demonstration in Washington, D.C., called by the L.A.-based Coordinadora 96 to "defend immigrant rights," what they did with the big L.A. rallies against Prop. 187 in 1994—use them to mobilize votes for the Democratic Party "lesser evil." According to *Workers World* (8 August), the march's official demands call for "citizenship for all eligible persons." In thrall to the Democrats, these opportunists can't even bring themselves to call for the elementary democratic demand for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants—not just for those the bosses consider "eligible," while millions are consigned to a permanent second-class status. In fact, the October 12 rally's call is a servile echo of Clinton's hypocritical promise to make citizenship "easier" and his administration's push to get tens of thousands of residents naturalized—in order to bolster the vote for Clinton in November!

It is no accident that it takes communists to defend the basic rights of the oppressed in this epoch of capitalist decay, which offers no possibility of serious reform but on the contrary seeks to liquidate all the historic gains of the working class. The politics of class collaboration—in whatever guise—are counterposed to the historic interests of the working class and to *any* effective defensive struggle against the current attacks. The capitalist state must be *smashed* by a workers revolution, sweeping away this racist profit system and creating a workers state which sets about to construct an egalitarian socialist society, here and worldwide. To lead that socialist revolution, the Spartacist League fights to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party founded on a program of internationalist class struggle. ■

WV Photo

80,000 march in Los Angeles against anti-immigrant Prop. 187, October 1994. Protests against racist measure were derailed by liberals into support for immigrant-bashing Democrats.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Transit "Workfare" Deal

Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions

Jobs for All at Union Wages!

Romero/NY Times

"Workfare" street cleaning crew in New York City. Slave-labor program forced on welfare recipients has already replaced over 20,000 unionized city jobs.

On September 18, the New York City Transit Authority (TA) and the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 leadership announced a new contract proposal in which hundreds of unionized cleaners will be replaced by desperately poor welfare recipients forced into slave-labor "workfare." This betrayal by the Local 100 tops is not only a vicious attack on overwhelmingly minority welfare recipients but is a dagger pointed straight at the heart of the TWU—and all NYC municipal unions.

In reporting the "workfare" deal, the *New York Times* carried a front-page feature on Local 100 president Willie James, who was recently appointed by TWU International president (and former Local 100 head) Sonny Hall. The *Times* played up the fact that James is the local's first black president and that his mother had worked her way off welfare. This cynical "pull yourself up by the bootstraps" theme is constantly being hammered at the ghetto and barrio masses by America's racist rulers as they prepare to eliminate the last shreds of any social "safety net" for the poor.

From the standpoint of the American ruling class, "communism is dead" and the unions are toothless. With the union leaders acting more like low-wage labor contractors than even labor lieutenants of capital, the capitalist rulers see no need for "New Deal" or "Great Society" entitlement programs and other "welfare state" sops to workers, blacks and other minorities. Except instead of a Reagan or Bush leading the attacks, it's the racist, cop-loving "law and order" Democrat Clinton, working hand in hand with Dole and Gingrich, who just consigned millions of babies and mothers, poor people and immigrants, to starvation, sickness, homelessness and death. And the AFL-CIO tops devote all their efforts and millions of dollars in union funds to get Clinton re-elected.

A lot of the TWU ranks understand the danger of the latest contract proposal, and they're making that clear at angry meetings in subway barns and bus depots around the city. But they also know that they can expect nothing from the union tops. From Sonny Hall and Willie James on up to the "new voice" AFL-CIO leadership of John Sweeney and their predecessors, the labor bureaucracy has presided over and pushed through large-scale destruction of jobs, massive cuts in real wages and the decimation of the unions themselves. Now the union misleaders have also taken on the role of overseers for the capitalist rulers' union-busting slave-labor programs.

Any serious effort to beat back the all-sided attacks on workers, minorities and the poor necessarily entails a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which "demands" only what is acceptable to the racist ruling class. What is required is a fight for *jobs for all*—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York needs a *massive program of public works at union wages*—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels, for everything we need for a decent life. It is necessary to demand *equal pay for equal work*. The city wants to bring in hundreds of poor people to clean the filthy subway stations? Fine. They should be hired at *union wages with full union protection!* The TWU should lead a fight to *organize the unorganized!*

Even to defend the most basic right of the working class—to a job at decent pay—leads directly to challenging the capitalist profit system. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program (1938) during the devastation of the Great Depression:

> "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token, of the future of

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Clinton Gives Green Light

Wilson's War on Immigrants in California

Gropp/Sipa

Kennerly/Newsweek

INS rounds up immigrants in San Rafael, California. Now California governor Wilson has cut off social services to "illegal" immigrants.

On August 27, California governor Pete Wilson issued an executive order banning "illegal" immigrants from state-funded services, citing as justification that he was carrying out the federal "welfare reform" bill signed by Clinton less than a week earlier. This bill not only "ended welfare as we know it," condemning millions, particularly black women and children, to poverty and starvation. It singled out immigrants for special attack, barring even "legal" immigrants from most federal benefits. And the anti-welfare bill came months after the draconian "anti-terrorism" bill which allows *any* non-citizen to be deported on the flimsiest of pretexts.

Declaring that the new welfare law mandates states "both to report and to deny benefits to illegal aliens," Wilson seized the opportunity to appeal court rulings which have partially blocked the implementation of Proposition 187, the California anti-immigrant initiative passed in 1994. To underscore his vicious intent, Wilson particularly targeted pregnant immigrant women, eliminating prenatal care for some 70,000. His racist edict also cancels access for undocumented immigrants to public housing, long-term health care, child abuse programs and financial aid for higher education.

Having given Wilson the green light to push through his racist attack on immigrants, Clinton then cynically ordered California to "suspend" implementation of the welfare bill clause denying food stamps to legal immigrants. A California state official

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 653

11 October 1996

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants

Nikitin/AP

Der Spiegel

Racist cop terror enforces all-sided assault on working people, immigrants and minorities.

Break with the Democrats— For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the lead-up to the November presidential election, the Democrats and Republicans have been engaged in a grotesque competition over which party can be most vicious in attacking black people and immigrants. Last week, Democratic president Clinton signed yet another anti-immigrant bill that puts up barriers to refugees seeking asylum and denies legal redress in the courts against arbitrary roundups and deportations by the hated *migra* cops of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). This new racist measure comes hard on the heels of last spring's "counter-terrorism" law, which vastly expands the racist death penalty and mandates draconian new restrictions on the rights of all non-citizens, and the anti-welfare bill, which consigns millions of women and children to homelessness and starvation and denies food stamps and other social benefits to immigrants.

A march has been called for October 12 in Washington, D.C. to "defend immigrant rights." But the sponsors of this demonstration have made it clear that they intend this march to be a vehicle not for opposing the *bipartisan* assault on immigrants but rather for mobilizing votes for the Democratic Party "lesser evil." Coordinadora 96, which initiated the protest, declared that the purpose of the march is to "get out the vote for November 5th." Instead of forthrightly

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AP

Veronica Jones, jailed for telling the truth.

Sabo's Court: Racist Capitalist "Justice" in Action

Key Witness for Mumia Abu-Jamal Arrested on the Stand

Free Mumia Now!

For the many thousands around the world who rallied to stop the execution of black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal last year, his continuing persecution by the cops and courts has been an object lesson in the racist American "justice" system. The capitalist state's intent to silence Mumia and his supporters and to kill this fighter against racism and oppression was demonstrated again last week in the Philadelphia court of "hanging judge" Albert Saho, who presided over Jamal's 1982 frame-up "trial" and death sentence.

In a supplemental evidentiary hearing on October 1 ordered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Veronica Jones, an eyewitness in the 1981 shooting of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner for which Jamal was falsely convicted, gave powerful testimony pointing to Jamal's innocence. In retaliation, in front of scores of Jamal's supporters who had filled the courtroom, Jones was dragged from the witness stand and taken to jail. Jones, a black mother of three, had taken the stand to testify that in 1982 she was coerced by police to retract her eyewitness account of having seen two men run from the scene of Faulkner's shooting while Jamal lay wounded on the ground. After two hours of browbeating Jones, Assistant District Attorney Arlene Fisk declared, "I'm promising to lock you up." Moments later, Jones, while under oath, was placed under arrest for an outstanding bench warrant *issued more than*

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Again on Norden: Truth, Lies and Centrism

September 28, 1996

Dear Comrades,

I am sending to you the copy of a letter I am mailing to Norden's Internationalist Group. They contacted me a few weeks ago, and have been aggressive in trying to "recruit" me. I must say, as the accompanying letter details, that I have reason to be dismayed by your recent actions regarding their expulsion and your split from the Brazilian group. Nevertheless, I find that there is good coin in your concern over the opportunist appetites of this group. It is very unfortunate that this battle did not take place in the party. Could it be that the party leadership was too afraid of the numbers Norden et al. would take with them after a bitter factional fight? If I were in the party leadership (a very presumptuous thought on my part, I know) I would have said "so be it." Such a loss, though draining in a long slow period of seeming capitalist ascendancy, would have been salutary for those who remained and most importantly, would have clarified things much better for the long-time fence-sitters like myself. In any case, a fuller presentation of my case is enclosed (the copy of my letter to the Internationalist Group).

Fraternally,
Jeff K.
former member of the Bay Area, Detroit and Los Angeles locals

---

September 28, 1996

Internationalist Group
Dear Norden, Stamberg, & Negrete,

I am sending you a check for $20. Eight dollars should cover the cost of the bulletin you mailed me. Two dollars is for the copy of *Vanguardia Operaria*, and another $10 is a small contribution to help offset the cost of phone calls from Negrete to myself. It is partly due to these conversations with Negrete, and no doubt to his dismay, that I have been forced to think hard regarding my reactions to the recent fight/expulsion/split in the SL.

There are two reasons why I am not sending you more money at this time. One, as I explained to Negrete, I make very little money, as I am still in the last months of a years long training program. And two, and more substantively, I am not sure, upon considerable reflection, to what degree I am in political sympathy with your current. While I disagree with your bureaucratic expulsion from the SL, and am appalled at the treatment of Socorro outside a recent SL forum, I have recently come to have serious doubts about where you are politically headed. While I do not agree with the SL, recent perusal of your literature leaves me in some doubt as to where your group is politically headed. (In particular, recent defense leaflets by your group seemed to have an opportunist slant, e.g., the 9/22 leaflet which demands that "The courts must cease their intervention in the union and their attempt to block Ribeiro etc."—This formulation without anywhere in the leaflet stating that you have no faith in the courts, the bourgeois state, etc.) In short, I share some of the SL's cautions regarding your centrist appetites (without sharing their final formulation of yourselves as new order Pabloites). In addition, I share your doubts about the SL's political direction.

At this time, I believe the SL has degenerated under the pressure of the world historic defeat of the deformed and degenerated Soviet and Soviet-allied workers states into two unstable, centrist-tending components. Neither component, the SL or the Internationalist Group, will remain where it is for long, politically speaking. I do not pretend to know either in which direction either is headed. I do not share Negrete's view, and I assume that of the whole group, that the SL is dead for the revolution in Latin America, and by implication, everywhere. On the other hand, I do not share the new SL regime's bureaucratic outlook, and blame the current muddy waters on their own organizational insecurity, stemming from centrist wobbling. (As an example of proto-centrism, I ask, along with the IG, why the SL has buried for so long an emphasis upon the transitional program.)

It is a very undialectical and unMarxist view to believe that in reality an organization is one day revolutionary and the next day centrist or reformist. The turn from quantitative change to qualitative change is not a magical one which transforms essences, but in historical terms is usually worked out over fairly long stretches of time[1]. The SL abandonment of the Brazilian group, which seems to have been precipitous and wrong, was not equivalent to a Trotsky-like declaration of organizational and political Thermidor, as the Internationalist Group seems to maintain. Nevertheless, the Brazilian events, the SL confusion in the aftermath of the fall of East Germany and the USSR, and the frenzy to find scapegoats within the party and resort to overly bureaucratic measures is a serious sign of danger in what was formerly, and still may be, the only seriously revolutionary international organization on the current world scene.

I am, I am afraid, too far from much of these events, to be able to accurately and convincingly understand what is going on. I do not, however, wish to have any more organizational contact with either the SL or the IG at this time. I have not actually been politically active for a number of years, especially since I resigned from the SL for personal reasons over ten years ago. In reality, I am probably representative of a large amorphous circle of long-time, interested SL supporters, who follow the party press, and contribute small sums of money now and then, either to the SL, the PDC, or PDC-supported causes. The recent expulsions of Norden, Negrete, Stamberg and Socorro, have shaken me, and to be honest, have made me wary of turning toward a greater degree of political commitment at this time. And yet—strange contradiction—I remain in formal agreement with the program of revolutionary

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[1] I have thought over these matters for a long time in the process of my own work researching the development of Charles Darwin's thought. Darwin's own decades-long study of species, hybridism, and transitional forms of plants has convinced me that the change from one form to another is usually longer, more complex, and historically conditioned than the classic dialectics example of water transformed into steam at the boiling point.

TROTSKY

LENIN

On the Revolutionary Press

Marking 25 years of Workers Vanguard, *we reprint below an excerpt from a November 1958 speech by James P. Cannon on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the* Militant, *the paper of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. Weakened by, among other things, its isolation during the Cold War, by the mid-1960s the SWP had degenerated into reformism. This departure from Trotskyism was fought by the Revolutionary Tendency, the precursor of the Spartacist League, which was expelled from the SWP in 1963.* Workers Vanguard *has been guided by the principles Cannon laid out for the revolutionary press since its inception in 1971. For most of that time, Jan Norden served as editor of our paper. Uniquely on the left, we continue to make available bound volumes of all the back issues of* WV. *Just as Cannon pointed, with rightful pride, to the crucial role of the American-based* Militant *in extending the Trotskyist movement internationally, so* Workers Vanguard *has been central to the development of the International Communist League and its struggle to reforge the Fourth International.*

We did not pretend, when we started *The Militant*, that we were producing a great mass paper, simplifying everything to the lowest common denominator. On the contrary, our paper was devoted to the education and reeducation of the vanguard militants of the Communist movement. It was primarily a cadre paper, the educator and guide of the cadres. The people who hold the party together and keep it going in all kinds of weather. The people who never quit, who never float down the stream like dead fish, but swim against the current no matter how rough it may be. That is the meaning of "militant," and that was the meaning of the paper we started to represent such people.

We had learned a good deal by then, although we have learned a great deal more since, and were applying something from Lenin's program for *Iskra*. Many of you have read in his great pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?*, what he considered to be the role of a national paper. As Lenin conceived it, the role of a revolutionary paper is to function not merely as an agitator dealing with protest issues, not merely as a propagandist concerned with educating people and dealing with questions of theory and politics, but as the best organizer of the party....

From its first issue *The Militant* was an internationalist paper. It has always been concerned with the great problems of the world, and has done all it could to help the world movement of revolutionary socialism. It was through *The Militant*—and in this we take special pride—that the message of the Russian Opposition was carried to all corners of the world and even penetrated the Soviet Union itself.

In Europe, Latin America and Africa, Ceylon, India, China, and many other parts of the world, the message of *The Militant* sparked and inspired the organization of the first cadres of the International Left Opposition, so that when Trotsky, six months later, was deported to Turkey, he found a forum all ready for him in *The Militant*, and groups and organizations springing up throughout the world very largely as the result of the preliminary message of *The Militant*.

— "Revolutionary Journalism," *Speeches for Socialism* (1969)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Nation of Islam: Bodyguards for Hitler Apologist David Irving

Oakland, CA
1 October 1996

To the Editor:

Workers Vanguard has repeatedly warned that Louis Farrakhan is bad news for black people [see, for example, "Louis Farrakhan: Apologist for Slavery in Sudan," *WV* No. 651, 13 September]. Just how bad was demonstrated recently here in Oakland, California, where about 43 percent of the population is black and another 28 percent is Latino and Asian. Many black people settled in Oakland during and after World War II, moving here from the Deep South to work in the Richmond shipyards and other industries. Many black families had firsthand experience with the night-riding Ku Klux Klan race-terrorists. So if the hooded Klansmen ever tried to have a rally in downtown Oakland, you can bet they wouldn't last five minutes.

But no less of a racist provocation occurred here on the night of September 10, when one of the world's most notorious Hitler-loving Nazi organizers and propagandists, named David Irving, slipped into downtown Oakland to give an organizing speech titled, "Freedom of Speech and Adolf Hitler's Final Solution Finally Solved"! His presence here was an insult and a threat not only to the majority black, Latino and Asian population, but to every person who hates racism and fascism. How could this have happened without a massive mobilization by all the people—many of them trade-union members—who would be the intended victims of this dangerous racist? The answer is that *Irving's meeting took place in cooperation with and under the protection of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam* (NOI) on the basis of their shared program of Jew-baiting anti-Semitism!

The time and location of the meeting was kept secret until the day it occurred, when an ad appeared in the *Daily Californian* at the University of California-Berkeley. On site at 24th Street and Telegraph Avenue, six of the NOI's Fruit of Islam (FOI) stood guard at the front door of the hall where Irving spewed his anti-Semitic filth. Other members of FOI security stood on nearby street corners with communications devices and more were seen going into the meeting. Oakland police also mobilized to guarantee Irving a platform. A racist white-supremacist like Irving should have been run out of Oakland. The fact that instead he had the protection of the Nation of Islam is a condemnation of Farrakhan's program of black separatism, which puts the NOI in a bloc with racist segregationists and violent terrorists like the KKK and Nazis, since they all believe in the "separation of the races."

Young Spartacus

When David Irving tried to speak in Berkeley in October 1994, militant protest initiated by Spartacus Youth Club broke up his fascist rally.

This British fascist Irving seeks to use "academic" credentials to deny that six million Jews, and hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, homosexuals, Catholics, communists and others designated as *Untermenschen* ("sub-humans") were gassed in Hitler's concentration camps. He is the star attraction at meetings of European fascist terror gangs which have carried out murderous campaigns against dark-skinned immigrants and Jews: the British National Party, the Hitlerite "Nationale Offensive" in Germany, the white-supremacist Heritage Front in Canada.

Irving has twice been denied a platform by militant demonstrations here in the Bay Area for his fascist recruitment meetings. In October 1994, an integrated protest of 300 students, leftists and workers initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club broke up a fascist rally outside UC Berkeley. Irving was reportedly flattened on the floor, sprawled amongst his Nazi paraphernalia. In February 1995, the grotesquely misnamed "UC Berkeley Free Speech Coalition," a front group of anti-Semitic, gay-baiting, racist Islamic fundamentalists, organized a second provocation on campus with UC administration support. This time Irving's intended meeting site was surrounded by a spirited 400-strong demonstration that stopped the Hitlerites from daring to enter the building.

Humiliated, Irving and his cohorts have been probing for a way to get a foothold in the Bay Area. It is an outrage that Irving was given this opportunity under the auspices of Farrakhan and the Fruit of Islam, thus setting up a potential scenario of integrated anti-racist demonstrators clashing with black nationalist security squads protecting the meeting of a white-supremacist in heavily black Oakland.

This is not the first time the Nation of Islam has joined with fascists. In 1961, Elijah Muhammad invited a delegation from the American Nazi Party to an NOI convention. In 1985, Farrakhan invited California Klan leader Tom Metzger to an NOI rally in L.A. and accepted a $100 donation from this racist terrorist! Farrakhan also recalls with nostalgia the Jim Crow era: "When civil rights broke down the segregation laws we began to lose black businesses and spend our money with white businesses. So throughout the South the economic advancement that we gained under Jim Crow is literally dead" (*Emerge*, August 1990). The Farrakhanites use anti-Jewish, anti-Arab or anti-Korean bigotry to create scapegoats and divert black people away from the struggle for equality. For the Farrakhanites, their program for black capitalism *requires* the continued existence of segregated black ghettos to guarantee a market for blacks exploiting blacks.

In this period of open racist reaction, a racial demagogue like Farrakhan gets a certain hearing among black workers and youth because he appears to be anti-racist. But as the NOI's defense of the notorious racist David Irving shows, this "leadership" is based on smoke and mirrors, designed to conceal its reactionary accommodation to the racist capitalist exploiters.

The acceptance of separatism has historically meant accommodation to oppression and *renunciation of struggle*.

Eve Arnold

Nation of Islam invited American Nazi Party delegation to 1961 convention.

The separatist doctrine is the cover for the black nationalist misleaders' program of peace with the racist ruling class. In fact, the fundamental truth of the race question is that the interests of the working class and those of blacks—an oppressed race-color caste—are not antagonistic but go hand in hand.

As an oppressed racial minority, blacks find a driving force in their struggle for emancipation in the demand for full equality, the right to complete integration and assimilation into American life. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black Leagues fight to mobilize the working class on the program of revolutionary integrationism—complete social, political and economic equality in an egalitarian, socialist society. Achieving that goal requires the building of a multiracial, revolutionary vanguard party which can lead the multiracial working class to the seizure of state power. The road to black freedom lies here—in proletarian emancipation, the building of a society in which those who labor rule!

Comradely,
Deborah Maguire

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Young Spartacus

Fascist Duke Spews Racist Filth at Cal State Northridge

David "Klan in a suit" Duke, flanked by armed campus cops, strode into the Student Union at Cal State Northridge (CSUN) on September 25 to engage in a "debate" on affirmative action with black civil rights activist Joe Hicks. Liberal student bureaucrats, many of them minorities, had invited the fascist Duke in the hopes of discrediting the right-wing forces behind the racist, misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative" (CCRI—Proposition 209 on November's ballot), which is designed to dismantle affirmative action programs. This suici-

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Duke Demonstrators!

dal "electoral tactic" has given Duke both the mainstream "respectability" he craves as well as a national platform to recruit to his program of lynch-mob terror.

In the weeks before the debate, Duke spewed obscene racist filth on radio and TV talk shows throughout California. And while he continued to agitate for race-terror from the "debate" platform, with armed cops on both sides of the stage to prevent any disruption, nearly 200 LAPD and state university cops maced and beat protesters outside, six of whom were arrested. Drop the charges against the anti-fascist demonstrators!

There is nothing "ex-Klan" about David Duke, who highlighted his Klan history in the bio provided for his introduction before the debate. A known Nazi as a youth, KKK Grand Wizard in the 1970s and current head of the "National Association for the Advancement of White People" (NAAWP), Duke's active role as a racist terrorist cannot be disguised by donning pinstripes. Duke seeks to sow his seeds of fascism in the fertile ground tilled by the Democrats' and Republicans' savage gutting of welfare and all-sided attacks on immigrants, which have left millions of blacks, Latinos and the poor in desperate need of the basic means of survival—food, housing and medical care.

With the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 already passed in California, and the local Democrats and Republicans vying with each other in proposals to further militarize the border, Duke thinks he has an audience for his brand of raw nativist race-terror. "I don't want California to look like Mexico," he railed on one talk show. "I don't want to have their pollution. I don't want the corruption. I don't want their disease." Duke left no doubt that he represented a deadly threat to the multiracial working class of California, ending his Northridge presentation with a steely-eyed stare into the TV cameras and a call to action for whites to join the battle "for their civil rights" lest they become "second-class citizens in their own country."

Savage Cop Attack on Anti-Racist Protesters

Kevin Eng

Riot cops assault anti-Duke protesters at Cal State Northridge, September 25, to prevent "disruption" as Klansman Duke agitated for race-terror.

What an obscenity that Duke was given a platform on this heavily minority campus 30 miles northwest of downtown L.A., with the area's powerful multiracial proletariat including tens of thousands of militant Latino workers. It is only due to the utter prostration of the current trade-union leaders, who loathe social struggle and preach the electoral "lesser evil" of Clinton's Democrats as the only alternative for working people, that this provocation was allowed to happen. Members of the heavily minority Service Employees International Union locals 399 and 660 have a real interest in fighting against the likes of Duke and his natural constituency, the skinhead gangs which plague the L.A. area, regularly meting out racist violence to immigrants and blacks. But the labor fakers leading Southern California's unions—who are willing partners in the capitalist offensive of wage-slashing and job-cutting, and who figured big in a red, white and blue Labor Day fundraising event for Clinton/Gore—did *nothing* to counter Duke's incursion.

The working class in L.A. was not always so prostrate. In 1945, American fascist Gerald L.K. Smith attempted to set up a headquarters in Los Angeles. Smith hoped to establish a mass base among the discontented middle class, aiming to demonstrate to big business that he could aid in settling accounts with the labor movement. Smith sought to organize anti-union combat forces by manipulating race antagonisms and provoking race riots against the growing black population of Los Angeles. It was communists, our forebears of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who skillfully initiated a united-front campaign to stop Smith and his forces. As summarized in an SWP document analyzing the campaign, "Our task was to hammer home the meaning of the fascist threat and to organize the pressure of the workers to force the organization of labor onto the road of struggle." The result was a mass counterdemonstration of 17,000 largely industrial workers—many of them blacks, Latinos and Jews—which dwarfed Smith's turnout and sent him scurrying out of town without a headquarters on the West Coast. This mass mobilization of the labor movement in alliance with minority organizations is exactly the response the fascists should meet whenever they rear their ugly heads.

The ostrich-like attitude of today's labor tops and black and Latino "leaders" toward the race-terrorists has resulted in a real lack of understanding, especially among young people, of the deadly threat posed by fascism. Though the audience of some 800 was, by all accounts, not sympathetic to Duke, the "debate" was conducted in a nauseatingly polite manner. Three Latina students actually sought Duke's autograph after the event, and the liberal idiot Hicks shook Duke's hand and posed with him for the camera. Even those students who opposed the invitation to Duke didn't see him as a particular threat. Many students who argued with Spartacus Youth Club supporters saw Duke simply as part of a continuum of racist bourgeois politicians spanning the gamut from Clinton and Dole through the reactionary populist "militia" movement to Duke.

While Duke's newfound respectability certainly reflects a social climate which has made his virulent racist nativism almost mainstream, there is a difference between the bourgeois electoral parties represented by the Democrats and Republicans and fascist paramilitary groups like Duke's NAAWP. The fascists seek to build a mass movement, based on the panicked petty-bourgeoisie squeezed by the convulsions of a deteriorating capitalist economy, which aims for the total atomization of the working class through the destruction of labor unions and any other organizations by which the proletariat could struggle for its own interests. In the name of "racial purity," fascists play on backward racist consciousness to deflect discontent toward Jews, blacks and immigrants. It is the paramilitary *action* program of fascist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, Duke's NAAWP and the Nazis that distinguishes them from reactionary bourgeois propaganda societies like the John Birch Society or the virulently nativist and anti-communist "Voices of Citizens Together," currently active in Southern California.

Fascists prove their effectiveness not through arguing their racist "ideas" but through their murderous *actions*. Stopping them is a matter of *self-defense* for working people and the oppressed. Just a week after Duke's appearance at Northridge, skinheads in Newport Beach spouting "white pride" garbage and carrying white-supremacist literature attacked a Latino fisherman with a knife. From the recent wave of black church burnings in the South to L.A.-area skinhead attacks on a Native American in Huntington Beach and black youths in nearby Lancaster, fascism is about racist terror.

A leaflet distributed by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club (reprinted in *WV* No. 651, 13 September) explained why the fascists are integral to capitalist society:

> "Despite not wanting to now be too closely associated, the ruling class actually needs to keep the fascists around. If there

Gutknecht L.A. Daily News

Liberal idiot Joe Hicks shakes hands with David Duke, sworn enemy of blacks and all the oppressed.

Bronx Killer Cop Livoti Walks

OCTOBER 7—Cries of outrage rang out in the Bronx courtroom of Judge Gerald Sheindlin today as he found New York cop Francis X. Livoti not guilty of "criminally negligent homicide" in the December 1994 killing of 29-year-old Anthony Baez. Everyone in the courtroom knew Livoti was guilty as hell. Baez died because Livoti, who has a record of racist abuse and brutality a mile long, choked him to death. After a tossed football happened to hit a couple of police cars, Livoti arrested Anthony's younger brother David. When Anthony questioned the arrest, Livoti seized him in an "illegal" chokehold. Anthony died moments later.

Knowing the propensity of Bronx juries to sometimes rule against the cops, Livoti had opted to be tried by a judge. In testimony at the trial, three of Livoti's cop partners that night offered the cover-up story that Baez had been "struggling" with the police and that he was able to get up and walk after being seized by Livoti. But a fourth cop testified that when she arrived on the scene, Anthony was lying motionless and face down in the street. And while Livoti's attorney argued that Anthony, who suffered from chronic asthma, might have died from an asthma attack, a medical expert who reviewed the autopsy reports testified that there was no indication that Baez died of anything but asphyxia, i.e., from being choked to death. Judge Sheindlin's decision virtually admitted that the cop went after Anthony and his brother with contemptuous, racist bullying. During the trial, the judge showed he knew Livoti's brother cops were committing coordinated perjury. All the same, Judge Sheindlin let Livoti walk.

Anthony's widow, Maribel, said the whitewash ruling meant Livoti will now be "walking the streets to do this over again. He's a murderer!" For three weeks, members of the Baez family and other families who have been subjected to police violence in recent years had filled one side of the courtroom, while Livoti's fellow police thugs sat on the other side. After the verdict, hundreds gathered outside the Bronx Supreme Court building to show their opposition. Ringing the area were scores of cops in riot gear who whisked Livoti to a waiting car while police helicopters flew overhead. Police commanders provocatively dispatched squad cars to the street where the Baezes live, as family and friends gathered there to show their sympathy and solidarity.

Marches and rallies continued throughout the day. This evening, hundreds of protesters, overwhelmingly Hispanic youth, rallied outside the Bronx 46th Precinct building, chanting, "Policía: Asesinos!" Margarita Rosario, who founded Parents Against Police Brutality after her son and nephew were killed execution-style by the NYPD, lashed out at the whitewash proceedings, telling *Workers Vanguard*, "I could tell that the trial was a farce from the beginning." At least three protesters have been arrested. We demand: Drop all charges against them now!

Anthony Baez Will Not Be Forgotten

AP

Anthony and Maribel Baez at their wedding, 1992.

The vile killing of Anthony Baez and the judge's acquittal of the guilty cop is not some aberration, as most any black or Hispanic New Yorker knows. Last year, killings by New York City cops increased by 34 percent, and the rate has kept climbing. Most recently, black residents of suburban Westchester County were shaken by the killing of 37-year-old Charles Campbell, a black White Plains sanitation worker and recreational worker at St. Christopher's Children's Home. Campbell was beaten and then shot to death by a white off-duty New York cop for the "crime" of parking his Corvette, legally, in front of the Dobbs Ferry deli owned by the cop's father.

In the midst of the escalation of cop violence against minorities, the United Nations Human Rights Commission felt compelled to announce plans for its own inquiry into New York police abuse after a June report by Amnesty International detailed the NYPD's "ill treatment of suspects, deaths in custody and unjustified shootings." But liberal investigations and civilian police review boards are utterly powerless to stop the epidemic of racist cop terror. The last time a New York City cop was convicted for homicide while on duty was 1977. While the cops rail against any investigation into their actions, at bottom these inquiries are aimed at whitewashing the police as an institution by singling out a few "bad apples." As we wrote in "Lynch Law U.S.A." (WV No. 631, 20 October 1995): "There can't be any real civilian 'review' of the police because they are the armed fist of state repression: they have the guns, and the courts, and the jails."

The cops act as an occupying army in the ghettos and barrios. The kind of racist viciousness that resulted in the death of Anthony Baez is standard operating procedure. And it doesn't fundamentally matter which capitalist political party runs City Hall. While the New York cops have felt even more emboldened under Republican mayor Giuliani, whom they helped propel into office by staging a racist cop riot against his predecessor, black Democrat David Dinkins, it was Dinkins who hired thousands more cops even as he slashed city workers' jobs.

The struggle against racist cop terror is a critical issue for the entire labor movement, whose own struggles on the picket lines time and again run up against the scabherding cops and courts. In response to the brutal beating of a 21-year-old Long Island black man, Shane Daniels, by an off-duty NYPD cop, the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense issued a protest leaflet in June which explained:

> "The cops' job is to terrorize working people, especially minorities, and they share the same mentality as the white-robed Klansmen. Against the labor bureaucrats who seek to increase their dues base by 'organizing' cops, we say: cops and prison guards out of the unions! There is no justice for working people and minorities in the capitalist courts! The capitalist state is not reformable. It must be swept away by workers revolution." ■

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were a serious challenge to capitalist class rule, the bourgeoisie would seek to unleash them against the working class. For now, it's enough for the bourgeoisie to use the cop terror which is daily meted out to black and Hispanic youth and workers—from the videotaped beatings of Rodney King in 1991 and of Mexican immigrants in Riverside last April, to the brutal cop attacks on those protesting anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in Van Nuys in 1994.

> "Before 1933, many people in Germany felt that Hitler was just a semi-comical weirdo and that the Nazis were an insignificant fringe group which could be ignored.... To ignore the fascists or to attempt to use them as pawns will only allow them to grow more powerful."

Today the Socialist Workers Party, which has purveyed an increasingly eccentric brand of civil-libertarian reformism since it abandoned a revolutionary perspective over 30 years ago, simply capitulates to the current backward consciousness which sees fascism as a question of "bad ideas." An SWP leaflet handed out at Northridge the day of the debate enthused, "Debates, like that of veteran Los Angeles civil rights leader Joe Hicks and former [sic!] Ku Klux Klan leader and Louisiana Republican politician David Duke at Cal State Northridge, can serve to clarify important issues." According to the latest *Militant* (7 October), an SWP spokeswoman on campus actually saluted the Northridge student senate for inviting Duke to campus!

Encouraging a platform for fascist scum is nothing new for the SWP. In 1991 their organization appeared on TV in a "candidates' debate" with KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger. The following year, members of their youth group went to a Duke rally in Texas to sell their paper and chat up the fascist fringe. For the last two decades, the SWP has championed the "rights" of the Klan and fought against those who tried to stop the fascists from spewing their racist filth, even as the SWP sought government protection from fascist attacks. The civil-libertarian pablum of the SWP is exactly that purveyed by the bourgeois liberal Hicks, who argued that "good will triumph over evil in the marketplace of ideas." Such drivel is suicidal because it ignores the *class* division that is central to capitalist society—fascism is the last line of defense for a ruling class made desperate by a militant working class.

The fascists will not be stopped by "debating" their genocidal program. Nor will they be defeated through calls on the racist capitalist government to act against them. The state, which exists to defend capitalist property, is not neutral, but coddles and protects the fascists. For socialists, the fight against the murderous fascists is a job for the labor movement, not the capitalist government. Laws against "extremists" have historically been used not against the fascists but against the left. What is desperately needed is the conscious mobilization of the multiracial working class leading all of the fascists' intended victims in a fight to crush the race-terrorists while they are still small.

The role of the state was crystal clear at CSUN the day of Duke's visit. A few hundred protesters, ranging from the sinister Jewish Defense League (JDL) to pro-CCRI right-wingers to pockets of anti-fascist protesters with dueling bullhorns, demonstrated outside the debate site with about a thousand student onlookers. The left groups protesting Duke included the Progressive Labor Party (PL), the Workers World Party, and the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN), a pro-affirmative action group led by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). In the presence of nearly 200 cops armed to the teeth, the JDL (with Klan robes tucked under their arms!) taunted anti-racist protesters, provoking a fight. After the debate ended, the cops rioted—spraying pepper gas in the faces of demonstrators, lobbing tear gas and using batons, rubber bullets and horses to beat a path clear for Duke. Several protesters were bloodied; six were arrested on phony charges of "assault with a deadly weapon" and "attempting to harm a police horse."

Two protesters remain detained and all six face a hearing October 11. It is urgently necessary that the entire labor movement take up the defense of the anti-Duke protesters! The predictable but ugly "outside agitator" baiting of BAMN is part and parcel of the state's attempts to isolate and railroad into jail those who protested Duke's obscene appearance.

Groups like PL seek to substitute their own meager forces for the necessary mobilization of the power of the labor movement. While small bands of leftists can occasionally land a few blows to scum like the Ku Klux Klan, more often, as at Northridge, they confront a phalanx of police protecting the fascists. Meanwhile, the RWL/BAMN, which also despairs of mobilizing working people and minorities, regularly herds people into police pens at anti-fascist protests, revealing their liberal illusions in and reliance on the bourgeois state.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to link the outrage of anti-racist students to the social power of the integrated working class. Through mobilizing against racist and anti-immigrant terror, the working class can be made more aware of its power and its historic interests in fighting the racist exploiters on behalf of all the oppressed. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, has been successful in initiating labor/black demonstrations that have stopped the Nazis and Klan on several occasions, including a rally of 1,500 which drowned out a speech by Duke in Boston in 1991. The SYCs seek to win youth to the fight to build an integrated, revolutionary workers party which can lead the workers and oppressed in overturning the rule of the ever more desperate and repressive capitalist class and to stop once and for all the fascist scum it breeds. Join us! ■

Sygma

L'Espresso

Fight against anti-immigrant racism is key to mobilizing workers against capitalist attacks. Left: Workers of North African descent played prominent role in French Peugeot auto strike, 1983. Right: 1992 march in defense of immigrants in Italy.

Immigration and Racist "Fortress Europe"

We publish below, in slightly edited form, the second and concluding part of an article which first appeared in Spartacist *(French edition, No. 29, Summer 1996) under the headline "Immigration and Racist Oppression in Europe." The first half of this article appeared in* WV *No. 652 (27 September).*

Why have large numbers of non-Europeans entered and settled in West Europe over the past few decades? Why have second-generation immigrants (North African and African youth in France, Turkish and Kurdish youth in Germany), many of whom do not even speak the language of their parents' native land, not assimilated through widespread intermarriage as did the children of Italian and Spanish foreign workers in

PART TWO OF TWO

France in the late 19th and early 20th centuries? Why has anti-immigrant racism increasingly dominated West European political and social life in recent years? The answers to these questions are rooted in the post-1945 Cold War division of Europe which ended with capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union.

At the end of World War II, West Europe was pregnant with social revolution. The Soviet Union had acquired enormous new prestige from the Red Army's victory over Hitler's Wehrmacht, while large sections of the European bourgeoisies were tainted by their collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces. Especially in Italy and France, the national Communist parties had also gained greatly increased authority in the working class. In order to pacify the working masses, with the indispensable help of the social democrats and Stalinists (who joined postwar "popular front" governments with capitalist parties), the bourgeoisie needed to offer a far better deal than the prewar conditions of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism. At the same time, American imperialism promoted and funded social-democratic bureaucrats in the trade unions and anti-Communist reformist parties in order to cohere the NATO alliance against the Soviet bloc. Thus originated the complex of social programs known as the "welfare state"—free or inexpensive medical care, partially government-funded pensions, unemployment insurance, four or five weeks' paid vacation annually, etc.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, West Europe experienced another period of

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People!

political instability conditioned by a series of long, losing colonial wars—Algeria, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique. A new generation of militant working-class and student youth came to the fore, hostile to the traditional social-democratic and pro-Moscow Stalinist parties. In Latin Europe, this period of radicalization culminated in the pre-revolutionary crises of the May-June 1968 events in France and Italy's "hot autumn" the following year, and later the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75. To restabilize the bourgeois order in the southern tier of NATO, greater concessions were made to the working class while social democracy was deliberately strengthened in this region.

From the late 1940s through the late 1970s, the West European bourgeoisies bought social peace and co-opted the reformist (social-democratic and Stalinist) bureaucracies by accepting a *lower rate of exploitation* than the historic norm. This, however, made it increasingly difficult and uneconomical to employ indigenous West European workers at the lower end of the labor market—the kind of jobs historically filled by peasant youth fresh from the countryside. To induce West German, French or Dutch youth to work as unskilled manual laborers—especially at jobs that were hard, dirty, dangerous or regarded as demeaning (e.g., household servants)—would have required *ratcheting up the entire level of wages and benefits* to levels incompatible with profitability. By the 1960s, young West Germans would simply not take jobs like garbage collectors or janitors. And this attitude is now prevalent even in the more backward southern tier of Europe. According to a government official in Rome, "These days you have Egyptian cooks and Filipino maids. There are certain jobs Italians won't do anymore" (*New York Times*, 8 September 1994).

The Cold War, the "Welfare State" and Mass Immigration in West Europe

The relative prosperity, "welfare state" benefits and increased cultural level of post-1945 West Europe also brought about a significant change in social life and demographic conditions. Women, traditionally housewives beholden to their husbands, went to work. The birthrate fell sharply even in traditionally Catholic countries like Italy. There are now more Italians over the age of 65 than under the age of 15. Thus the economic effect of the higher cost of indigenous West European labor was reinforced by reduced supply. Short of massive, long-term unemployment and a political assault on the "welfare state," West European capitalism was able to maintain an acceptable rate of exploitation only through the large-scale importation of labor from poor countries.

The Cold War also indirectly determined that those poor countries would increasingly be Third World neocolonies, especially the traditionally Muslim regions of North Africa and Anatolia (the Asian part of Turkey). Before World War II, East Europe was an important source of foreign labor for the more developed western half of the continent. For example, in the 1920s and '30s a large proportion of coal miners in northern France and Belgium were Polish.

The rapid industrialization of the post-1945 East European bureaucratically deformed workers states, based on planned, collectivized economies, absorbed peasant and unemployed urban youth who in previous generations would have worked in West Europe or emigrated to the United States. Since the Stalinist regimes sought to maximize total national output (not the rate of profit), they also prevented emigration through police-state controls. Thus, except for Yugoslavia, East Europe ceased to be a source of cheap foreign labor for West European capitalism until counterrevolution swept across the region in 1989-91.

The first waves of immigrant workers in West Europe were from poorer European countries—Irish in Britain, Spaniards and Portuguese in France, Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs in West Germany. However, the combined effects of economic growth, rising living standards and falling birthrates in these countries reduced their pool of cheap exportable labor. By the 1960s, the main source of West Europe's imported labor was the neocolonies of the Third World—the West Indies and South Asia in the case of Britain, North Africa and West Africa in the case of France, and Turkey in the case of West Germany. Thus was introduced into West Europe a large population that was not white and not Christian.

Following the 1974-75 global economic downturn, most West European

Le Bolchévik

Ligue Trotskyste contingent in Paris demonstration against expulsion of immigrants, 1993.

governments moved to cut down the further influx of foreign workers. West Germany, for example, restricted new immigration to reuniting families and a few particular professions and crafts. The Bonn government even offered Turkish workers lump-sum payments to return to Anatolia but found few takers. Since the mid-1970s, the main source of growth in the "immigrant" communities has been the European-born children of the original immigrants. In Britain, for example, new immigration has been effectively zero for many years, and half of the 2.5 million people considered members of racial minorities were born there.

These second-generation youth are taught in European schools, speak English, French, German, Dutch, etc. as their primary and in many cases only language, and grew up watching European and American films and television programs, etc. The children of Pakistani parents in Britain would be completely alien in Karachi. Yet while these second-generation immigrants are culturally European, they have not been assimilated through widespread intermarriage with their white European contemporaries.

To the pervasive racism of European society is added the Christian/Muslim divide. To be sure, many, if not most, second-generation Arabs and Turks in West Europe are not religious. And this is also true of French and German youth. But the decision to marry across racial and religious lines usually means risking the prospective couple's being cut off from both families. Mixed marriages are thus uncommon, and those that do occur—subject to hostile social pressures on many sides—experience a high rate of breakups. In 1990, only *1 percent* of all children born to Turkish mothers in Germany had ethnic German fathers. The level of mixed marriages is far higher in France with its traditionally more liberal attitude toward race. In 1990, of all children born in France to Algerian mothers, one quarter had Gallic fathers. Nonetheless the underlying thrust of French society today is against integration of the Maghrebian community, as compared for example with the assimilation of the earlier Polish immigrants, who (although they included a component of Jews) were "white."

The self-conception of bourgeois French society is that France is not racist in the American sense of discrimination based on skin color. Those who assimilate into "French culture," so the story goes, will be accepted as French. This is the "secularist" rationale behind such *racist* measures as expelling girls from school for wearing the *hijab* (Islamic headscarf). A particular obstacle to assimilation is that racism in France is also a legacy of colonialism. The ex-colonial peoples, whom the bourgeoisie has always considered subhumans needing to be "civilized" with the gun, the Bible and the national anthem, today form the core of the immigrant workforce. And racist anti-Arab repression is further exacerbated by the bourgeoisie's hatred for the Algerian people, which defeated French imperialism and won national independence in 1962.

Sebastian Bolesch

Der Spiegel

German Nazis spearhead anti-immigrant terror. Right: Protest against 1993 fascist firebombing of Turkish home in Solingen, which killed five women and children.

Over the past eight years, France has been repeatedly swept by massive, integrated youth protests, as "French" and "immigrant" youth have demonstrated together against cop killings and against ruling-class measures to cut costs for education and to introduce a sub-minimum wage for young workers. But the French left, which is still perfectly capable of rallying tens of thousands to protest nuclear testing, by and large has not raised a peep of protest as legions of cops sweep through the Métro to "check the papers" of anyone with a dark skin.

Dennis Morris

During 1950s, West Indian and South Asian immigrants were brought into Britain as low-paid labor.

With the immigrant-derived populations increasingly isolated and vulnerable to cop terror, the second-generation youth face astronomical levels of unemployment and are stigmatized as "criminals." Racist oppression thus directly engenders segregation and the defensive compaction of the Maghrebian "community," also strengthening the hold of religious and other "traditional" values. Thus the immigrant-derived youth who are condescendingly counseled to "assimilate" are in fact thrown by racist oppression and indifference back into the embrace of their families—an embrace often closer than many, especially young girls, would choose if they really had an option of integrating into an egalitarian, pluralistic, anti-racist society.

Despite differences between various European countries, the basic social fact is that large communities of dark-skinned non-Europeans now exist within West Europe's bourgeois nation-state system. And these communities have become the main target of bourgeois reaction fueled by the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

Social Democracy: "Left" Face of Racist Reaction

The 1980s saw the efforts of the European bourgeoisies to increase the rate of exploitation which had become unacceptably low by international standards. While the Thatcher regime in Britain launched a frontal assault on the "welfare state" and the trade-union movement, the anti-working-class offensive in continental West Europe first manifested itself at the level of employment. Capitalists simply cut back on hiring young workers newly entering the job market, claiming that the prevailing level of wages and state-mandated benefits made it impossible for them to compete effectively with the Americans and Japanese. Mass unemployment, especially among the youth, has been a major feature of the West European economics since the world downturn of 1982-83.

France in the 1980s, in particular, offers clear and compelling proof of the impotence of social-democratic reformism in the face of the capitalist market, national and international. The country had a social-democratic president, François Mitterrand, while the Socialists were the dominant and at times sole party of government. Yet the level of unemployment far exceeded that under the previous three decades of right-wing bourgeois governments. The unemployment rate, which was 6 percent when Mitterrand entered the Elysée Palace in 1981, climbed to over 10 percent by the end of the decade and has continued rising in the 1990s.

Far from protecting the economic interests of the working class, the Labour and "Socialist" politicians are beneficiaries of anti-working-class "austerity": the bourgeoisie hands them the trappings of governmental power precisely when it wants to defuse resistance to its attacks. As New York City's former black mayor, David Dinkins, once promised the bankers, the working people "will take it from me."

At the same time, West European capitalists have utilized immigrant workers to hold down and reduce labor costs, often by disregarding labor laws and health and safety codes. Many foreign workers, especially "illegals," are hired "off the books" so they do not get medical, unemployment and pension benefits. In the mid-1980s, Günter Wallraff, a West German journalist of leftist sympathies, disguised himself as a Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (named "Ali") and recounted his experiences in *Ganz unten* (*Rock Bottom*). In one job Wallraff/Ali and his fellow *Gästarbeiter* were not only forced to work two regular shifts a day but had to clean coke dust from steelmaking equipment without wearing masks or helmets. As a result, Wallraff suffered chronic damage to his bronchial tubes.

Thus, rising unemployment among West European youth has gone hand in hand with the brutal superexploitation of dark-skinned immigrant workers. In the absence of revolutionary, i.e., genuinely communist, parties capable of uniting the working class in struggle against the ravages of capitalism, the fascists and other far-right forces have taken advantage of West Europe's deteriorating social and economic conditions. For example, Austria's Jörg Haider, whose Freedom Party received over 20 percent of the vote in the last elections, organizes rallies with Nazi SS veterans, praises Hitler's "proper employment policy" and terms Nazi death camps like Auschwitz "punishment camps." One of his standard lines is: "There are 140,000 unemployed Austrians" and "180,000 foreigners." Similarly, a cadre of France's National Front recently told American journalist Mark Hunter, "If unemployment goes down, we're finished" (*New York Times Magazine*, 21 April). While unfortunately an oversimplification, this statement expresses an important core of truth.

It is common on the European left to blame the rising tide of anti-immigrant racism on the demagogy of "extreme" right-wing groups. But the fascists are simply expressing in an open, unvarnished and violent way the *economic and political interests* of the European ruling classes at the present juncture. European

continued on page 13

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Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

two years ago in New Jersey on alleged bad-check charges.

Although Jones had already testified that she was completely unaware of the 1994 New Jersey bench warrant, the D.A. rose to "ask that the sheriffs take her into custody...as a fugitive from justice," announcing that two New Jersey police officers were waiting outside the courtroom. Despite pleas by the defense attorneys that Jones be allowed to continue to testify and that an arrangement be made for her to appear in New Jersey to settle the outstanding warrant, Sabo hypocritically argued he had no jurisdiction, and Jones was dragged from the court. Later that afternoon, a New Jersey cop testified that they had known Jones' Camden address from the time the bench warrant was issued, but no action was taken to arrest her until Assistant D.A. Fisk phoned the New Jersey police last week. Following her arrest, Jones was not finally released until 5 a.m. *on $10,000 bail.*

Asked why she had come forward now, Jones said that she did not want her grandchildren to "think their grandmom was living a lie." Testifying in Mumia's case for the first time since the 1982 trial, Jones described how just days before the trial began she was visited in jail, where she was facing serious felony charges, by Philadelphia police detectives and threatened into retracting her eyewitness account. Jones was later put on probation on charges which carried a sentence of up to 15 years in prison. Jones told the hearing, "I was to name Mr. Jamal as the shooter." She refused to make such a statement but did retract her original true account to avoid imprisonment. In an anguished voice she said, "It was a big decision to make, but this was five or ten years away from my kids." When threatened with arrest by Assistant D.A. Fisk, Jones responded, "You think that's going to make me change my story. It's not."

"This Courtroom Is Not for Justice"

Jamal's lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, told a midday press conference outside City Hall on October 1 that Veronica Jones "came forward to bravely and courageously tell the truth after 14 years and was set up in a courtroom." What happened to Jones, Weinglass said, illustrated the continuing "intimidation and coercion of witnesses who have come forward on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal. It's happened in the police station. Today you saw it happen in open court."

From the moment Jones took the stand on October 1, she was subjected to a stream of threats and accusations by Sabo and Fisk. Continuing the pattern of misconduct by the police and District Attorney's office in this case, prosecutors again used the threat of arrest in a blatant attempt to coerce Jones to recant her testimony, just as they had in 1982. Even before Jones started her testimony, Sabo threatened Jones with back-to-back perjury convictions ranging up to seven years' imprisonment each. The prosecutor then dredged up an eight-year-old allegation that Jones had worked for several months while collecting welfare for her three children, snidely accusing Jones of "steal[ing] from the State of New Jersey." After patiently withstanding this gross abuse for more than an hour, Jones responded to her persecutors: "I'm the one on trial now. This courtroom is not for justice."

Overruling all defense objections to the Assistant D.A.'s outrageous persecution of Jones, Sabo threatened Jamal's attorneys with removal from the court. The antics of Sabo and Fisk were a replay of Jamal's post-conviction relief (PCRA) hearing in the summer of 1995, when Sabo repeatedly ruled against every defense motion and objection and had Jamal co-counsel Rachel Wolkenstein briefly arrested.

As Veronica Jones was hauled off to jail, Mumia's supporters immediately began collecting funds for her bail. After her release, on October 3 Jones returned to the hearing, demonstratively sitting with Jamal's supporters. The evidentiary procedure ended that day, following a morning session in which Sabo responded to defense appeals for the release of prison logs from the time Jones was imprisoned in 1982 by screaming at Wolkenstein to "shut up" and threatening to remove her from the court. From beginning to end, the latest hearing was marked by the same kangaroo-court behavior that has been rampant throughout the 15-year attempt to "legally" lynch Mumia Abu-Jamal: continuing cover-up of evidence showing Jamal's innocence, intimidation of defense witnesses, massive cop and prosecutorial misconduct.

State Apparatus of Racist Repression

In reporting the events last week, even the *Philadelphia Daily News* (2 October) felt compelled to express its exasperation at Sabo for "exhibiting his usual prejudice against the defense.... Such heavy-handed tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing." It's not as if the pro-cop *Daily News* has now come out for Jamal. Ever since the beginning of last year's PCRA hearing, the bourgeois media and other ruling-class elements—including Republican "law and order" types like Pennsylvania Senator Arlen Specter—have feared that Sabo's flagrantly biased conduct was threatening to undo the state's trumped-up "case" against Jamal. In blatantly teaming up with prosecutors and cops in the face of widespread public attention, Sabo's actions were serving to tear off the veil of "impartiality" which is central to the myth of "blind" bourgeois justice.

Many liberals and reformists who joined the campaign to save Mumia's life buy into the illusion that the capitalist court system can dispense "justice" for Jamal. Thus, many of them have focused on the call for a "fair trial," which they argue would necessarily result in either a reversal of the 1982 verdict or the voiding of the death sentence. A more "radical" take on this position is offered by Refuse & Resist activists, who showed up in the Philadelphia court last week with buttons reading "Sabo Must Go." But then what?

Jamal's defense team has rightly called for Sabo's recusal from the case. But as Rachel Wolkenstein, who is also counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, pointed out at the October 1 press conference: "Every day, Sabo and the prosecution have made it clear that it is impossible for Jamal to get a fair trial in the city of Philadelphia. Our legal papers call not only for a new trial but call for his freedom based on the history of prosecutorial misconduct."

The openly pro-prosecution Sabo simply exhibits in a blatant fashion the real workings of the frame-up system that is bourgeois "justice." The cops and their Fraternal Order of Police have waged a frenzied campaign to kill Jamal. The courts on every level have turned a truly blind eye to the overwhelming evidence of Jamal's innocence. The prisons lock up fighters for black freedom like Jamal and Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). All of these are the essential components of the capitalist state, which is not some "neutral" body but exists to administer the exploitation of the working class by the handful of rulers who own the wealth of society. From the very origins of the U.S., when black enslavement was enshrined in the U.S. Constitution, racial oppression has been built into the foundations of American economic and social life, enforced by deadly cop terror. At the summit of this apparatus of racist repression is the institutionalized barbarism of the death penalty.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted by the state for death from the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party. This continued when Jamal was a widely known journalist who exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly and later became a supporter of the MOVE organization. As Wolkenstein said at the October 1 press conference: "We have an innocent man who's on death row, an innocent man who's been framed up by the police and prosecution. Mumia was subject to daily surveillance from the time he was 15 years old by the FBI, part of the COINTELPRO program," which sought to "neutralize" the Black Panthers and other black and leftist activists.

What saved Jamal from execution last year was the powerful wave of protest that broke out on his behalf around the world. As we wrote last year in the PDC pamphlet *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*:

> "In Clinton/Gingrich's America, what possibility is there for a valiant fighter against oppression like Mumia Abu-Jamal to find justice in the criminal court system?...
>
> "Jamal should not have spent a day in jail in the first place, and he should not be in prison now. He should be allowed to join his family and to join all those who seek and struggle for a society in which there will be no racist frame-ups and legal lynchings. While Jamal's lawyers pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom, what's urgently needed is to mobilize millions of workers and the oppressed worldwide to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

* * *

Funds are urgently needed! Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For more information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. ■

Jennifer Beach — WV Photo

August 1995 labor-centered protest in New York City initiated by Partisan Defense Committee to stop threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, October 19. ***Marx's View of Economics***; November 2. ***The State***; MIT, 77 Massachusetts Ave., Building 3, Room 343
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m. Next classes, October 23: ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***; November 6: ***The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power***; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106, 5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m. Next class, October 23. ***The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power***; UCLA, Boelter Hall, Room 5514
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Wednesdays, 1:30 p.m. Next classes, October 16 ***Genesis of Marxism***; October 30: ***Marxism: A Guide to Action***; Hunter College, 68th St. & Lexington Ave. (IRT No. 6 to 68th St.), Hunter West 506
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SANTA CRUZ, CA
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 22: ***Marxist Economics***; UCSC, Student Center, Third World Lounge
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, October 17. ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room B116. Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

TORONTO
Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 17: ***Defend Cuba! For Workers Political Revolution!***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Thursdays, 12:30 p.m. Next class, October 24. ***The State and Revolution***, UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B222
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Saturdays, 12 noon. Next class, October 19 ***The State***; University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Union, Room 2146
Information and readings: (202) 872-8240

Capitalist Rulers...

(continued from page 1)

defending the rights of undocumented immigrants, these pro-Democratic Latino misleaders plead only for a "streamlined citizenship application process and an extension of the date of eligibility for amnesty for all those who have entered the U.S. prior to January 1, 1992." This call is expressly tailored to be acceptable to the yuppie racist in the White House, promoting the capitalist rulers' distinction between "legal" and "illegal" immigrants.

And, as we noted last issue, this attempt to line up Hispanic and other immigrants behind the racist Democrats is being uncritically supported by a number of reformist groups—primarily the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers World Party—who are doing the donkey work for the October 12 march organizers. Workers and minorities do not need a "lesser" evil party of racist capitalism but a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, fighting for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants!

We present below an edited transcript of a presentation at a September 21 Spartacist League forum in Chicago by Don Alexander, a member of the SL Central Committee and a veteran of the militant black struggles of the 1960s.

* * *

Around the world today the capitalist rulers are waging ferocious class war against workers and immigrants. From Germany to France to Italy the social welfare programs established after World War II are being ripped up, but not without militant defensive struggles by the workers. Significantly, workers in France have also waged militant struggles against deportations and in defense of African immigrants against the right-wing regime of President Chirac. Recently in Australia, workers joined with Aborigines in storming the parliament building during a protest against racist capitalist austerity measures. There is growing understanding that the attacks on immigrants are an attack on the whole working class.

But history has shown time and again that to raise such defensive struggles into a generalized assault on the capitalist order itself requires the intervention of Leninist vanguard parties to instill revolutionary consciousness in the working class. Such parties, composed of the most politically advanced detachments of the working class, must act as tribunes of the people, like the Bolshevik Party built by Lenin and Trotsky in tsarist Russia which swept away capitalism. Leninist parties are indispensable for new October socialist revolutions.

Many of the social programs now under attack were set up to ward off the prospect of revolutionary upheavals and as an ideological counter to the Soviet Union. Today, emboldened by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the rulers of U.S. imperialism believe that they can do anything to workers and the oppressed at home and abroad. In the New World Disorder, characterized by intensified inter-imperialist rivalries, especially between the U.S., Japan and Germany, the U.S. rulers are acting like cops of the world. Increasingly and more brazenly, they are throwing their might around, as with Clinton's air strikes against Iraq. Meanwhile, the European Union, itself torn by national antagonisms, is threatening retaliation against the U.S. for ordering sanctions against them for investing in Cuba, Iran and Libya. From the Balkans to Iraq, the world today resembles the period leading up to World War I.

The labor traitors who prop up this imperialist system have to be ousted and replaced by a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement. Imperialism is not some misguided policy, rather it is the drive to export finance capital which is inherent within the system. For all the current fashionable talk about the "globalization of production," the productive forces of modern capitalist society have long since come into violent conflict with the narrow framework of the national state. This conflict was the source of two world wars fought for the redivision of the world. Today, the capitalists are armed with nuclear weapons, and the U.S. ruling class has already used them, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The only way to defeat imperialism is through international proletarian revolution. As the most powerful of the world powers, racist U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the world's workers and oppressed.

Der Spiegel

Reuters

Border police brutalize immigrants. Clinton, seen here being endorsed by Fraternal Order of Police, has presided over massive militarization of Mexican border.

Democrats Are No "Lesser Evil"

The capitalist ideologues and politicians, representatives of the government of moneybags, say that no matter how bad things might be here, this is still America—a supposed land of democracy, freedom, equality and transcendent moral superiority. All of these are revolting lies. What we have in the U.S.—and in every capitalist "democracy"—is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a democracy for the rich. In the mid-19th century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the originators of scientific socialism, which is powerfully embodied in the *Communist Manifesto*, explained that the capitalist state is a tool of class oppression: "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." That includes the president, the Congress, the courts and their armed enforcers. The great Bolshevik leader Lenin in 1917 applied these teachings in leading the first successful workers revolution in history. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin argued that the capitalist state could not be reformed but had to be smashed.

The elimination of the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program by yuppie racist Clinton and the Republicans will destroy any minimal lifeline for some 12 million people, more than two-thirds of them children. New immigrants will be ineligible for any benefits until they have been here five years, while SSI benefits and food stamps will be denied to all immigrants unless they have worked for at least ten years. Welfare recipients will be restricted to a lifetime total of five years of benefits, and will be kicked off the rolls after two years. The latter, of course, is especially aimed at blacks.

What the capitalists are after is to lower the cost of labor by immiserating the working class. This can be seen in cities like New York, where starvation-level "workfare" recipients are forced to take jobs replacing unionized municipal workers. The bosses' bottom line is profits. Social Security and Medicare are their next targets.

The anti-immigrant, anti-black, anti-woman attacks can and must be met by mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class fighting together in its own interests against the capitalists. How do we do that? It begins with a simple truth: the root of all of the social ills of this society is the irrational, anarchic capitalist system of production for profit.

To smash the assault on minorities exemplified by the destruction of welfare and the imprisonment of masses of ghetto youth, a class-struggle leadership—a revolutionary workers party—would fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work around, and to organize the unorganized. It would fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. It would fight for free abortion on demand, for free 24-hour childcare and free quality health care. It would staunchly defend gay and lesbian rights against "family values" bigots. Racial, national and sexual oppression are all rooted in the capitalist system.

The only "dependency" that the working class and oppressed minorities need to get rid of is reliance upon capitalist political parties. We must destroy the illusion that the Democratic Party is a "lesser evil" alternative to the more openly pro-business Republicans. This lie is pushed by the pro-capitalist union misleadership of the AFL-CIO under John Sweeney and by the black misleadership, from Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan, whose Nation of Islam today says "farewell to welfare" with barely concealed glee.

An assortment of organizations masquerading as Marxists joined with the bourgeois liberals in San Francisco on April 14 for a "fight the right" pep rally for Clinton. They included the International Socialist Organization, Refuse & Resist and the Revolutionary Workers League. Then there's the Communist Party, which has one foot on a banana peel and another one in the grave, which of course also supported this march for Clinton. These groups foster the illusion that the capitalist enemy in the form of the racist Democratic Party can be pressured to do the right thing. This is the bankrupt program of class collaboration which is a roadblock to proletarian revolution.

These opportunist outfits have swallowed the bourgeoisie's lie that communism—the struggle for the liberation of the international working class and the abolition of all class society—is dead. Theirs is the program of the "popular front," a political bloc with the so-called liberal wing of the ruling class, which from Spain in the 1930s to Italy today subordinates the interests of the oppressed to that of the capitalist oppressors and has paved the way for bloody defeats.

The Spartacist League fights for militant integrated class struggle against the racist capitalist oppressors. We say: Break with the Democrats—Build a revolutionary workers party that champions the interests of all of the oppressed and exploited. We communists struggle for workers revolution—the seizure of power by the working class and the creation of a socialist planned economy.

Racist Rulers to Poor: Drop Dead!

When we say the message of the capitalist rulers to many blacks and poor people is to drop dead, we mean it literally. In addition to Latinos, Asian Americans have been brutalized and killed in increasing numbers. I don't have to speak about the raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) which are sweeping this country. And although the full implementation of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 has been shelved by court orders, its intent of intimidating and further marginalizing immigrant communities has effectively been realized.

When the right-wing Republicans, with California governor Wilson in the lead, came out with Prop. 187, we pointed out that this was the spearhead of a broader racist offensive and that its ultimate target was the black ghetto poor. This has been proven true. Not skipping a beat, racist politicians like Wilson soon pushed the grotesquely misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative against

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WV Photo

Latino misleaders channeled 1994 mass protests against California's immigrant-bashing Prop. 187 into support for racist Democrats.

Capitalist Rulers...

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affirmative action, aimed at reversing any remnants of the gains of the civil rights movement. Many Latino leaders looked to the Democrats to stop Prop. 187, while turning a blind eye to the plight of undocumented immigrants. But the Democrats are no less vehemently anti-immigrant than the Republicans. While opposing Prop. 187, California Democratic Senators Boxer and Feinstein called for militarizing the border with Mexico, which Clinton is implementing at breakneck speed.

We say: Defend affirmative action, and more—fight for free, quality education for all, for open admissions with a living stipend. This—not quotas—is the way to cut through the race and class privileges in higher education. Quotas are tokenistic measures that accept the racist status quo, pitting various minorities against each other. They have been used in the past against Jews and today against Asians. Immigrant rights and black rights go hand in hand, and their struggles advance the cause of emancipation of the whole working class.

The same capitalist government which has waged a racist "war on drugs" in the black ghettos has deported over 54,000 undocumented immigrants in ten months, nearly 25,000 in California alone. The vicious beatings of immigrants by sheriff's deputies in Riverside, California evoked images of the racist cop beating of Rodney King. In "democratic," "civilized" America, workers from Mexico and Central America fleeing poverty, desperation and death are being drowned, killed and maimed at the border. Meanwhile, the Klan and other racist killers have organized "border patrols" to terrorize immigrants. This is a deadly threat to all workers and oppressed minorities. We say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for those who have made it here! For labor/minority mobilizations to stop the Klan and skinhead fascist scum!

Anti-Immigrant Racism—Spearhead of Capitalist Reaction

With the massive attacks on working people and minorities and the growing disparity between rich and poor, the U.S. ruling class is obviously concerned about the seething discontent barely beneath the surface. That is why it is strengthening the repressive apparatus of the state with the huge increase in the number of police on the streets, with the growth of private strikebreaking outfits. Most of all we see this with the speedup on death row. For years, the brutal racism of capitalist America has been sharply reflected by the savage injustice inflicted upon former Black Panthers Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Geronimo has been imprisoned for 26 years and Mumia was placed on death row. Both were targeted for standing up for the oppressed.

Under Clinton's new "anti-terrorism" law, immigrants can be jailed and deported for misdemeanors committed years ago, no matter how long they have lived here! Meanwhile, "English only" laws now exist in 23 states. Undoubtedly, the spirit of the 1857 Dred Scott ruling—that a black man had no rights that a white man is bound to respect—lives on in the current ruling-class drive to strip immigrants of any rights.

The response of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to these increasingly vicious attacks is to push the lie that Mexicans and other foreign workers are "stealing" American jobs. NAFTA has turned Mexico into a private preserve for unbridled capitalist exploitation by the U.S. But the labor tops opposed NAFTA on flag-waving protectionist grounds, attempting to line up U.S. workers behind the American ruling class and against their class brothers and sisters in Mexico. We in the International Communist League stand for joint class struggle on both sides of the border. Along with our comrades in the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Trotskyist League of Canada, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico on the basis of an internationalist revolutionary program directed against all the bourgeois rulers.

WV Photo

San Francisco protest, April 5, against videotaped beating of Mexican immigrants by Riverside County sheriff's deputies.

It is because of their staunch support of the capitalist private property system that the AFL-CIO bureaucrats turn a blind eye to the burning needs of immigrants, blacks, women, gays and youth. It is because of this that Teamster militant Jesse Acuna continues to sit in jail on a five-year sentence for defending his union on the picket line during the national truckers strike in 1993.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The fight against black oppression and anti-immigrant racism is central to revitalizing the labor movement in this country. Especially in Los Angeles, Latino workers in the past few years have become a combative and militant section of the working class. Latino workers, many of them refugees from dictatorial regimes in Central America, can play a key role in the fight to organize the unorganized and in combatting illusions fostered by the chauvinist AFL-CIO tops in "democratic" U.S. imperialism.

The bosses will do anything to divide foreign-born workers from their class brothers and sisters here. In the 19th century, railroad baron Jay Gould once boasted: "I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half." In racist America, many immigrants learn to adapt to the anti-black racism spread by the white ruling class, to the racist filth that the black masses remain at the bottom of this capitalist society because of their alleged lack of adherence to the "work ethic," or because they lack "positive attitudes" or "proper genes." Immigrant workers must grasp clearly that the fight against black oppression is central to any struggle to defend democratic rights and the interests of the working class. It is only the program of united class struggle, the fight for revolutionary integrationism, that holds out the promise of black freedom and working-class emancipation.

Seib/L.A. Times

Jesse Jackson, front man for Clinton's racist Democratic Party.

In the U.S. the black question is strategic for proletarian revolution. It is a question of special oppression, and we acquired our attitude toward this question first and foremost from Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, who hammered into the heads of the early American Communists that they had to break with a social-democratic tradition of "color blindness." Guided by the program of revolutionary internationalism, the Bolsheviks argued that blacks in the U.S. suffered double oppression—as workers and from color-based racism. Uniquely on the left today, our slogan to "Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!" is a recognition that the fight for black freedom in America necessarily requires sweeping away the racist capitalist system.

As Karl Marx observed at the time of the Civil War, labor in the white skin can't be free if it is branded in the black skin. Black people were dragged over here in chains, enslaved, bought and sold like cattle. The Civil War which destroyed the slavocracy was a social revolution. But the racist legacy of slavery has been institutionalized, refined, "modernized" at each turn by the ruling class and its institutions. Through mass bitter struggles during the civil rights movement the back of Jim Crow—that is, the legal trappings of segregation—was broken, but de facto segregation and discrimination remain.

Black workers, potentially the most advanced sector of the multiracial U.S. working class, are a strategic component of the proletariat in this country and remain its most unionized section. Blacks are integrated into the political economy, but forcibly segregated at the bottom. Contrary to the pseudo-nationalists, there is no material basis for a black nation, for an independent black political economy. Historic institutionalized racist subjugation has relegated black people to the status of an oppressed race-color caste. There exists today a visible and sizable black middle class—class inequalities among black people are greater even than among whites. Nonetheless the color line remains even for those middle-class blacks who have made it out of the ghetto. If you're black in this country of the most developed, lying, hypocritical "democracy," you always run up against what radical black democrat W.E.B. Du Bois called an invisible but tangible plate glass.

Racism is not a matter of individual prejudice per se. Racism and racial oppression in the U.S. have been pushed by the exploiters to keep white workers bigoted, backward and unorganized—this is its central purpose, as a prop and a pillar for the capitalist system. It's the capitalists who benefit from the brutal oppression of blacks. The fight against the special oppression of blacks is inseparable from the struggle to free all of the working people from capitalist exploitation.

Black Misleaders Push Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism

There is no militant black leadership today. You've got people looking to Al Sharpton, an admitted FBI fink, for leadership. You've got people looking to Louis Farrakhan, who wanted Malcolm X dead and whose organization defends fascists (see "Nation of Islam: Bodyguards for Hitler Apologist David Irving," page 3).

Ramsey/AP

Library of Congress

Louis Farrakhan (left) echoes Booker T. Washington in spewing anti-immigrant chauvinism and pushing accommodation to racist status quo.

Black misleaders have joined in the scapegoating of immigrants. Back in 1986, Coretta Scott King and Reverend Walter Fauntroy supported the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which called for sanctions against employers hiring immigrants. Fauntroy is the preacher who in November 1982 in Washington, D.C. tried to keep blacks away from the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that swept the Klan off the streets. The KKK tried to rally against immigrants, but the integrated working class under our Marxist leadership handed them a big defeat. In D.C. and elsewhere, our anti-fascist mobilizations are based on our class-struggle program and have been built in opposition to black Democratic mayors who front for the capitalist ruling class.

Thanks to the petty-bourgeois black misleaders, there is significant anti-immigrant chauvinism among blacks, reflected in the fact that over half of black voters in California supported Prop. 187. In contrast to the likes of Farrakhan and others, the great revolutionary Abolitionist Frederick Douglass was an opponent of all social oppression and fought energetically to the end of his life for women's rights. In the late 19th century, Douglass opposed the scapegoating of Chinese immigrants and denounced the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Today, it's even more urgent that black workers and militant youth break with black Democrats and nationalist demagogues in order to wage an effective fight for black liberation. So it's crucial to throw a brief historical light on the question of anti-immigrant chauvinism among blacks.

At the turn of the century, Booker T.

Washington was one of the most prominent spokesmen for "black capitalism." Washington, who was born a slave in Virginia in 1856 and died in 1915, founded the Tuskegee Institute, which was the center of the "self-help" gospel. The capitalists made him a big shot. Washington advocated that blacks accommodate to the racist status quo. His motto was "separate but equal." But separate can never be equal. During the militant struggles for black rights 30 years ago, particularly by the radical nationalist Black Panther Party, the name of Booker T. Washington was rightfully associated with Uncle Tom, a sellout, a bootlicker, a lackey of the bourgeoisie. Today the black nationalists and Democrats pay tribute to this man who agreed with the white ruling class that blacks should accept segregation and "stay in their place." Washington's pro-capitalist program was echoed at last year's Million Man March.

After the Civil War destroyed the slave system, the burial of Radical Reconstruction in the South—notably with the so-called Compromise of 1877—signaled the betrayal of the promise of black freedom by the Northern capitalists. The dreams and expectations of black people were buried under the ashes of Reconstruction, with Klan terrorists providing the torch. Black voters, jurors and elected officials became rare. Lynchings were at an all-time high: at the turn of the century scarcely a month passed in which there weren't a half dozen or more.

During this period, from the late 1880s to the early 1920s, half a million immigrants from Europe, Asia and Latin America flocked to the U.S. With white planters in the South openly seeking immigrant labor to pick cotton, harvest sugar and plant vegetables, there was widespread fear among blacks of being replaced by immigrants. This fear was promoted by Booker T. Washington. In his Atlanta Exposition address of 1895, Washington said, "To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted, I would repeat what I had to say to my own race, 'cast down your buckets where you are'."

Much of this anti-immigrant prejudice was particularly aimed at Italians. The *Voice of the Negro*, a popular black journal, pounded away at Italian workers for being "hell-generating Mafia," organizers of labor unions, strike happy. By and large, Italians imported to the South did not stay at agricultural jobs, and those who remained there settled in the cities where they opened up restaurants, fruit stands and hotels. Moreover, many Italians were vociferous in denouncing lynching in the South and were baited for being friendly to blacks. Italian immigrants were themselves lynched, particularly in 1892 in New Orleans. The ironies of history!

WV Photo

SEIU "Justice for Janitors" union organizing demonstration in Los Angeles, 1995. Latino immigrants are a combative sector of Southern California labor.

The black press also fostered anti-immigrant chauvinism toward Mexicans, Chinese and Japanese. In the 1920s, A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black trade union, waged a campaign to exclude Japanese workers from becoming porters. When the bosses launched a red scare after World War I and deported thousands of immigrants and radicals, the black middle-class reformists labored under the delusion that support to anti-immigrant legislation would radically improve the conditions of blacks. The *Philadelphia Tribune*, a black newspaper, remarked that "restricted immigration is fundamentally sound and will help keep the workers with full dinner pails." As a historian of the period aptly remarked, "The Depression would soon empty those full dinner pails." Subjected to intense racism and excluded from economic life, many blacks were embittered by the fact that immigrants had access to theaters, hotels and other social amenities, and bought into the prevalent white racist prejudices against immigrants. But blacks remained no less poor and downtrodden as a result.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racial Oppression!

It is necessary to reject and politically defeat self-proclaimed spokesmen for the oppressed who spread vile anti-immigrant poison, echoing the racist rulers' divide-and-conquer schemes. The sinister demagogue Farrakhan has regularly gone after immigrants. Koreans and Arabs, for example, because the aspiring petty black capitalists he speaks for want exclusive rights in exploiting the ghetto masses. Recently, the Clinton administration threatened legal action against Farrakhan if he accepted money from Libya. We say that Farrakhan should be able to get money from wherever he desires and the racist capitalist gang in the White House should butt out of it. Not only his but the rights of all of us are at stake.

Many black people look to Farrakhan as the only black leader today fighting back and speaking out. But what is Farrakhan speaking out about? That Jews and Arabs and Koreans are the enemies of black people. He is an apologist for slavery in Sudan. And his Million Man March was a segregationist, anti-woman, anti-working-class march for "atonement" which blamed blacks for their oppression. It was an accommodation to the racist status quo. That's why the racist rulers praised it. And that's why the cops left it alone. Why, Reaganite Republican vice presidential candidate Jack Kemp recently said that some of the things Farrakhan is doing are "wonderful"!

If there is any doubt where the Nation of Islam and Farrakhan stand, read his response to Clinton on Libya. It's a nauseating, ingratiating pledge of allegiance to the U.S. "democracy" of slaveholders:

> "America as the flower of democratic society, guarantees its citizens the freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom from fear, and it gives the citizen the right to sue the government if the government has abridged these constitutional guarantees. This is what makes America great. The saving grace of democracy is it allows those who disagree to have a forum in order to correct what may not necessarily be in the interest of the people or the administration."

You tell that to Geronimo or Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Black front men for the racist status quo are on the same side as the racist capitalist oppressors and are contemptuous of the poor and exploited. Their role is not only as a buffer between the black masses and the white ruling class, but as overseers for the capitalist rulers to keep the lid on and to put out any fire that might consume the master's house. They are opposed to militant, integrated struggle. To the contrary, they are about a black elite fattening itself off the black masses in the name of "black solidarity."

Our task is to mobilize the most conscious layer of the integrated labor movement under revolutionary leadership to fight for power against this murderous ruling class and its dying system. Black workers are, as Trotsky so succinctly stated, convoked by history to play a vanguard role in the liberation not only of blacks and the American working class, but as cadres for world revolution.

The Labor Black Leagues initiated by and affiliated with the Spartacist League have mobilized against Klan/skinhead terrorists, have joined in defending abortion clinics against "right to life" terrorists, have initiated actions against the attacks on immigrants, and mobilized to protest racist cop murder. The Labor Black Leagues seek to intervene in social struggle as transitional organizations linked to the Spartacist League, as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. Black, Latino, Asian and white workers, men and women, must fight together in a revolutionary Marxist working-class party to advance the interests of all the poor and oppressed against all the capitalists, no matter what their color or sex.

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization of 5,000 stopped KKK anti-immigrant race-hate provocation in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

We are Trotskyists. We proudly say that we are the party of the Russian Revolution. A collectivized, planned economy is necessary to provide for jobs, housing and education for all, to end the oppression of women and minorities and provide a future for youth. Undermined by decades of Stalinist misrule and betrayal, the gains of the October Revolution were finally wiped out by capitalist counterrevolution. Today we fight for a new October, to put the working class in power around the world. Our principal weapon is the program of uncompromising class struggle, internationalist, proletarian and revolutionary. We fight for a Trotskyist party of world socialist revolution, a reforged Fourth International.

We encourage you to become fighters for the revolutionary program of Trotskyism, to study the genuine Marxism embodied in the writings of teachers of the working class like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, who gave their all for the emancipation of the workers and oppressed from capitalist exploitation. We hope that your patient and systematic examination of the fruits of their theoretical labor and revolutionary practice will lead you to join the International Communist League in our fight for world proletarian revolution and for an egalitarian socialist society without exploiters, a society fit for all of us to live and learn in. ■

Funds Needed to Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three

Trial Set for December 2

CHICAGO—Three anti-Klan protesters threatened with up to a year in jail will go on trial in Cook County Circuit Court on Deeember 2. Gene Herson, who is the Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons, a supporter of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, face bogus charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a protest against a Ku Klux Klan race-hate provocation in Daley Plaza on June 29. Cook County state's attorneys have dropped trumped-up charges against six other anti-racists who were also arrested that day. The continuing victimization of the Anti-Klan Three is the state's retaliation for the trouncing the Klan race-terrorists suffered on June 29.

Unions, civil rights groups and all anti-racists must rally to the defense of the Anti-Klan Three! Funds are urgently needed to defray legal costs. Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee. Protest statements demanding that all charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be addressed to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602; please send a copy to the PDC. Contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

Norden...

(continued from page 2)

Trotskyism as propounded and expressed in action by the SL for over 30 years now. This contradiction is one I will work out over time. In the meantime, I wait to see what's what after the political dust settles from this fight. This may not be laudatory behavior on my part, but I believe it expresses probably the way a number of SL supporters feel, which is why I go to the trouble to concretize these sentiments on paper.

Finally, I think I will send a copy of this letter to the SL as both my protest as to the recent expulsions, and a more considered position of where I believe the SL and the IG have come from and my fears over where both are headed.

Fraternally,
Jeff K.

cc: WV

WV replies: The defection of longtime leading cadres from the International Communist League is no small event. The question is, how can what Jeff K. describes as "fence-sitters" like himself judge the political content and direction of the ICL and the Norden group from a distance.

Jeff K. accepts as fact the claim of Norden, Stamberg and Negrete that they were bureaucratically expelled from our tendency. From this premise he suggests that we were afraid of the numbers they might take with them after a bitter faction fight. This is false on both counts. We encouraged Norden and his cothinkers to form a faction. This would have provided the basis for a *clarifying* political struggle which would have strengthened the party against the pressures on our small revolutionary international in a period conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, a world-historic defeat for the international working class.

Joseph Seymour, who had closely collaborated with Norden for 20 years, wrote him a comradely letter last April which urged: "If you have a fundamental difference, as I believe you do, about what the ICL can accomplish in this period, you should launch a fight or at least a discussion *at that level*." This is exactly what Norden et al. did *not*, and would not, do. In a "Statement of the Internationalist Group" (13 September) they brag that "refusing to be stampeded into forming a factional grouping, we acted in a principled manner," arguing that "there was no time to pursue the sort of wide-ranging discussions and analysis that, if a faction had indeed been called for, would have been required in order to form one." No time? The dispute with Norden lasted well over a year, during which close to 400 pages of documents by Norden and Stamberg alone were distributed throughout our international organization.

Then, mere weeks after defecting from our organization, *provoking* their own expulsions by refusing to present themselves before a party trial body, they published a lengthy document characterizing the ICL as "centrist." As Jeff K. himself notes: "It is a very undialectical and unMarxist view to believe that in reality an organization is one day revolutionary and the next day centrist or reformist." What he sees as "undialectical thinking" is in fact political dishonesty. The Norden group tried to hide and deny (not very effectively) their deep-going hostility to the ICL and its revolutionary perspectives.

Jeff K. also accepts as good coin the Nordenites' charge that the ICL abandoned Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB) in the face of their struggle to get the cops out of the municipal workers union. Yet as even the Nordenites admit, we were the ones who urged LM to take up this fight, after discovering last January that the LM leaders were braintrusting the leadership of this union, which included the hated municipal guards (cops) as "union brothers."

Far from being precipitous, the break in fraternal relations came after six months of intensive political discussion, when it became clear that what LM/LQB wanted was a Potemkin village international which would finance and otherwise support their unprincipled maneuvers in the local trade-union movement. As we noted in our June 17 letter breaking fraternal relations:

> "Continued delay in subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union's leadership can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the 'leftists' who do their bidding. The trustworthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the *base* of the union—among the actual workers."

Pointing to the escalating campaign of dirty tricks and police violence, we noted that this not only threatened LM but also the very existence of the union. As our letter argued: "It is the height of political irresponsibility to maintain [a] maneuvered post as a higher 'conquest' for the workers than their union or the party that is the necessary instrument for the victory of the proletariat within and beyond Brazil." The Nordenites attempt to portray our *political* rupture with LM and its trade-union opportunism as "abandoning" our defense of the Volta Redonda group in the face of state repression. But as the Nordenites and everyone else know, we have championed the defense of numerous individuals and groups with whom we have vast political differences against the capitalist state.

Jeff K. seems to believe that "confusion in the aftermath of the fall of East Germany and the USSR" led to a "frenzy to find scapegoats." It is obscure exactly what he believes to be our "confusion" over these events. As we ourselves have noted, the ICL is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. Far from a "frenzy to find scapegoats," the ICL leadership could more appropriately be accused of undue passivity in bringing to the surface and fighting out the issues posed in what was evident covert factionalism. The Nordenites now assert that to believe that they got away with running their own underground operation inside our organization is to condemn the ICL leadership as "hopelessly gullible." This recalls the "defense" made by Bill Logan against charges made in painful testimony by comrades of our Australian section which showed him to be a vicious sociopath who had no place in our organization or the workers movement as a whole. Only those who believe in "infallible" leadership (especially their own) could make such an assertion.

As for a frenzied search for scapegoats, if any senior leader of the ICL could be charged with this, it was Norden. Looking for those who he saw as sabotaging the great "opportunities" for our German section, Norden repeatedly blamed what he described as "a layer of older comrades in the party...who have rather comfortable lives and don't want to see that threatened by the activities of the organization." He called for *purging* these comrades. Jeff K. and other "fence-sitters" might well contemplate the internal life of an organization led by a man who voiced such utter personal contempt for his then-comrades.

Assessing the political issues leading to the defection of the Norden group has obvious difficulties for those, like Jeff K., whose relationship to our organization has been attenuated. How could such a senior cadre, who for 23 years was the editor of *Workers Vanguard*, all of a sudden be a "no-good Pabloite"? How could Max Shachtman have evolved into a pro-imperialist social democrat after decades of service to the communist movement? Even longtime cadre are not immune to alien class pressures imposed under the impact of great world events. This does not take away one iota from their previous contributions. Within the framework of a revolutionary collective leadership, Norden had in great quantity the abilities to be an editor. This doesn't say anything about his other capacities—in the past, now or in the future. To say otherwise is to mystify editorship, not to mention political leadership.

How to judge fact from fiction? We'll give a couple of small, but illustrative, examples. In a document titled "No to the Purge of Norden and Stamberg!" Negrete wrote of our "particular obsession with calling me Socorro's 'burro,' a term bizarrely reproduced in the verdict itself." This evidently is meant to play as an example of our use of demeaning language. Yet *it was Socorro* who referred to Negrete as her "burro" (packhorse) as recorded in Negrete's own deposition to the trial body. Presumably this was offered as an after-the-fact alibi for Negrete's promiscuous political intervention at a May Day demonstration in Mexico City—in violation of his being on leave from our organization. Using Socorro as a shield for his political purposes, Negrete claimed that he had only come to the demonstration to perform a humble chore as a "burro."

Or there's the 13 September "Statement of the Internationalist Group" titled "The ICL Leaders' Cover Story: Smokescreen for a Betrayal" where they condemn us for only making "our side" of the story available to the public. This statement goes on to direct the reader to their document "From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle," for "point-by-point answers to the ICL leadership's distortions and outright falsifications." Yet their document *had been made publicly available* by the Spartacist League over two weeks earlier, as part of our "Hate Trotskyism" series. But why would Norden's "Internationalist Group" let such troublesome facts get in the way of playing their "anti-regime" violin? ■

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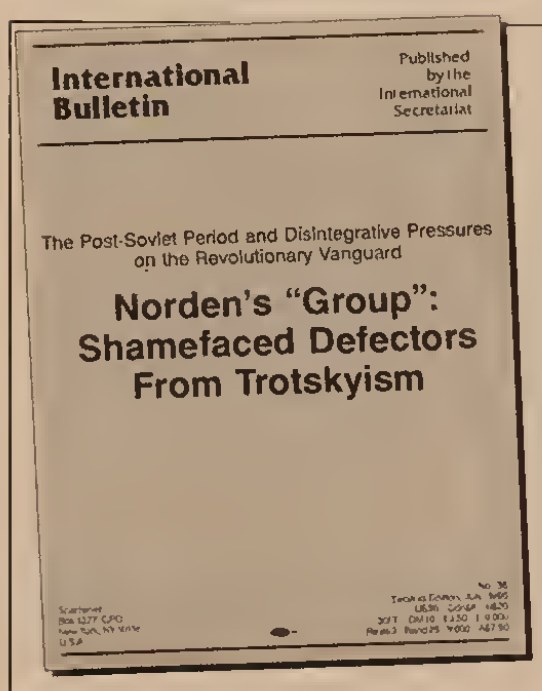

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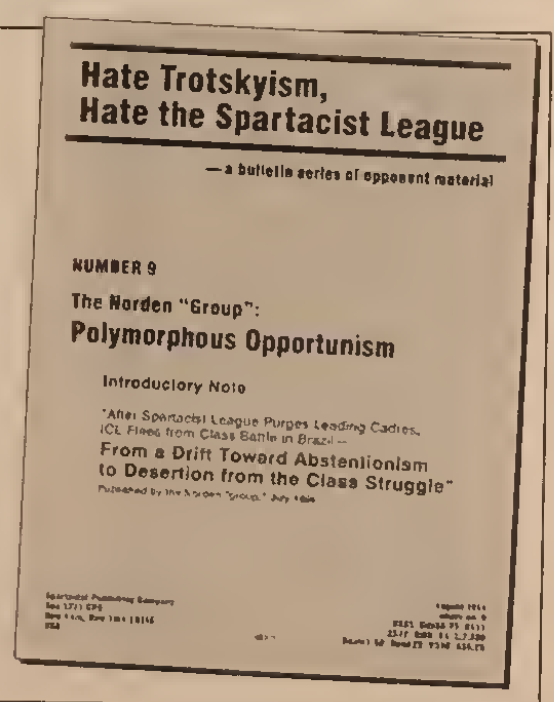

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European Immigration...

(continued from page 7)

capital now has no need for additional imported labor from Third World countries, while second-generation immigrant youth are economically redundant and regarded as a source of social unrest. For the first time in decades, French and German youth, facing chronic unemployment, are willing to take the kind of jobs that a few years ago only Arabs, black Africans, Turks and Kurds would do. Furthermore, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc has opened a major new sphere of exploitation for European, especially German, imperialism. A few years ago, German industrial spokesman Tyll Neckar exulted: "Right on our doorstep in Eastern Europe, for the first time we have a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor." Instead of importing labor from Turkey, German industry is exporting capital for the exploitation of labor in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, etc.

As we have pointed out, the social-democratic "welfare state" originated and was maintained because European imperialism needed to secure the support or at least neutrality of their working classes for the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Now, however, the European bourgeoisies are scrapping these social overhead costs and moving to maximize the rate of exploitation in intense competition with the United States and Japan. Anti-immigrant demagogy and terror are being used to *divide and divert* the working class from united struggle against the present capitalist offensive.

The main body of social democrats have abandoned their liberal posture on the immigrant question and are vying with the right in chauvinist demagogy. Brought to power in 1981, the French "left," facing strikes by immigrant automobile workers in 1982, quickly took a series of disgusting racist measures. In 1988, Mitterrand declared that France had reached the "threshold of tolerance" of immigration. And in Germany in 1993, the Social Democrats joined with the Christian Democrats in effectively eliminating the right of political asylum written into the postwar West German constitution. A few nights later, fascists "celebrated" by firebombing the home of Turkish families in a Ruhr city, killing five women and children. The struggle against anti-immigrant racism must be conducted not only militantly against the fascists but equally on the political plane against the reformist misleaders of the workers movement.

In classical Marxist terms, the reformist parties express the immediate interests and bourgeois consciousness of the "aristocracy of labor"—the whitest and most skilled layers of the proletariat and especially the labor bureaucracy. Nowhere is this clearer than in their prostration before the anti-immigrant frenzy. The German SPD sees itself as representing the workers of the majority group, and certainly not the Turkish and Kurdish workers who do not even vote. The bureaucratized French trade unions were happy to use the non-participation of the "private sector" (heavily immigrant-derived) industrial workers as the excuse to call off last winter's strike wave, but never tried to organize strong militant unions to break the non-union and company-union patterns in industries like the private auto companies.

H. Christoph

Ruhr aluminum factory. Turkish and Kurdish workers are strategic component of industrial proletariat in Germany.

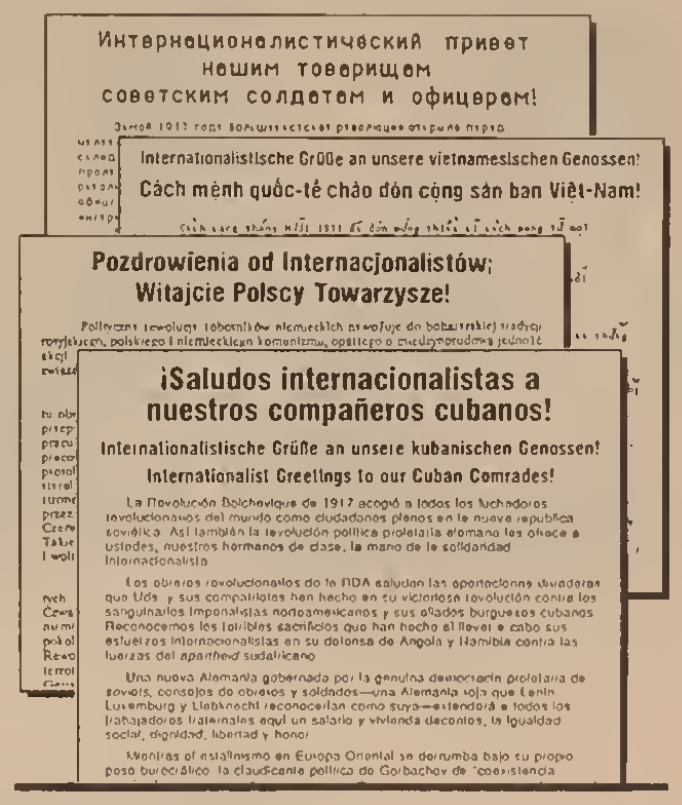
For Proletarian Struggle Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

The interests of labor and minorities advance together, or they fall back together. In the mid-to-late 1950s, the CGT at Renault Billancourt organized a large proportion of the workers in the plant (unlike today's "minority" union representation). The Communist Party's naked social-patriotic betrayal of the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria, lining up with French imperialism as it bloodily repressed the Algerian masses, struck a terrible blow against class consciousness and communist sympathies among Algerian workers in France, who included the majority of workers at Billancourt. The CP underlined its betrayal when the *Humanité* office barred its doors against people trying to escape the bullets and clubs when an October 1961 demonstration in Paris for Algerian independence was attacked by the cops, leaving hundreds dead.

Immigrant workers at factories like Talbot, on strike during the winter of 1983-84, were a spearhead of militant class struggle in defense of the economic interests of the entire working class. But the bureaucracy left them hanging out to dry. The splitting effects of this betrayal remain in the consciousness of the proletariat. Among the results of a "leadership" that won't fight on behalf of the specially oppressed are weak unions that don't defend the interests of any of their members and a political climate dominated by racist arguments in the mouths of both the right and the "left."

The reformist betrayers, who always begin by accepting the limits of whatever racist capitalism says is "possible" (in other words, profitable), are more than willing to compete with the rightists in chauvinist attacks on minorities. Trailing along behind them are many of the groups of the "socialist" left, who – when they do not openly echo the bourgeoisie's racist code words about "drugs" and "crime" and "terrorism" and the bureaucracy's poisonous appeals against foreign workers "stealing our jobs"—content themselves with abstract "anti-racist" appeals which they do nothing to really implement, for example in the unions where they have influence. Their empty moralism dovetails conveniently with the hypocrisy of the big reformist parties who turn around and organize mass marches for "tolerance"...after the official racist consensus in which they partake has emboldened fascist terrorists to burn down immigrant hostels, murdering men, women and children.

There can be no compromise between the internationalist program which the proletariat requires to fight for power—and even to wage defensive struggles in the imperialist epoch—and the acceptance of the poisonous racism which splits the working class and serves only the bourgeois masters. The revolutionary Trotskyists of the International Communist League have actively championed the rights of immigrants, fighting for full citizenship rights for everyone—no matter how they managed to get here. The ICL's French section, the Ligue Trotskyste, fights for organizing mass labor/immigrant mobilizations to smash fascist provocations. In 1993 in Paris, we waged a propaganda campaign for the labor movement to turn out en masse to defend the 18th *arrondissement*, which had been placed under a state of siege: the racist state sent in an army of cops to crush a revolt of youth who took to the streets after a young African was shot in a police station. LTF supporters in the public sector during last December's strikes called on their unions to fight the racist ban on employment of immigrant workers in government jobs.



In fight for proletarian political revolution against capitalist restoration in East Germany, 1989-90, ICL issued internationalist greetings to Soviet soldiers and Vietnamese, Polish and Cuban workers. Counterrevolution has fueled anti-immigrant terror.

Only a new, revolutionary leadership—a Trotskyist proletarian party—can unite the working class in opposition to the class enemy and its racist system. Only such a party can win to the side of workers revolution the immigrant workers and the new generation of activist youth. Thousands of youth throughout Europe have sought to militantly defend immigrants and second-generation youth, many now think of themselves as "anarchists," out of disgust with the chauvinism and indifference of parties calling themselves "socialists" and "communists."

Indifference to racial oppression flows directly from a perspective of *class collaboration*. The fundamental method of the reformists is to seek allies in some sector of "their own" national bourgeoisie (this year in France, the CP is trying to form a bloc with the "anti-Maastricht" bourgeoisie) and certainly not to look for allies among the specially oppressed layers of the working people. We proletarian revolutionaries are the opposite, not made stupid and corrupt chasing after "friends" among the class enemy, we know who our friends are.

While there are important differences in the nature and role of blacks in the United States and the non-European immigrant communities in West Europe, the struggle to overcome racial and ethnic divisions is strategically central to communist leadership of the working class and its allies in all regions of the capitalist world. As we wrote over 20 years ago in "West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution" (BT No. 31, 26 October 1973):

> "Just as achieving racial unity is central to working-class consciousness in the U.S., so integrating foreign workers into the labor movement is now key to deepening the internationalist consciousness of the French and German proletariat. Conversely, anti-foreign-worker policies are now the main axis for West European reaction. When the French fascist 'Ordre Nouveau' (New Order) reasserted its public presence recently, it did so through a rally to expel foreign workers. The struggle against the oppression of foreign workers is at the same time crucial to winning the West European proletariat to socialist internationalism." ■

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Israel...

(continued from page 16)

Yasir Arafat's "autonomous" Palestinian Authority, established by the U.S.-sponsored September 1993 accord. In early August, Netanyahu gave the go-ahead for the expansion of Zionist settlements in the Occupied Territories, coupled with the construction of new fortified highways through Palestinian lands in the West Bank and two new bridges across the Jordan River to service the "expanding population" of the occupied Golan Heights, seized from Syria in 1967. Later that month, Israeli bulldozers provocatively demolished a Palestinian home for the disabled in East Jerusalem.

There are forces within and around the Netanyahu coalition who seek a "final solution" to the Palestinian question through the forcible expulsion ("transfer") of all Arabs from the Occupied Territories. A telling harbinger of the intensified Israeli crackdown against the Palestinians was Netanyahu's appointment of fascistic former general Ariel Sharon, who presided over the slaughter of hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982, as head of a broad new "Ministry of National Infrastructures" charged with overseeing the settlement expansion. Sharon has vowed to move 500,000 settlers into the West Bank, more than tripling the current number of these fascist-led fanatics, and has ordered the development of three new settlements in the Golan Heights. The latter is a direct provocation aimed at Syria, which had earlier agreed to U.S.-orchestrated "peace" negotiations with Israel on the basis of an eventual return of the Golan.

Then came Netanyahu's opening of the tunnel under the Al Aksa mosque and the Haram al-Sharif (known to Jews as the Temple Mount), against the advice even of his own security chiefs. Full-scale "holy wars" have been instigated by lesser incidents. This piece of land sacred to Muslims, Jews and Christians has been the site of repeated Zionist provocations over the years. In 1990, Israeli troops murdered over 20 Palestinians protesting an attempt by a fascist group known as the "Temple Mount Faithful" to lay a cornerstone on Muslim holy ground for a new Jewish temple.

The morning after the tunnel was opened, more than a thousand Palestinian students from the West Bank's Bir Zeit University gathered for a protest in Ramallah. As they approached the military checkpoint at the outskirts of the city, Israeli troops opened fire. One student was killed and another 140 injured. Ambulances called in to treat the wounded were turned back. The Palestinian police cracked, as some fired back to defend themselves and their compatriots against the murderous Israeli onslaught. Fighting spread rapidly throughout the West Bank and Gaza, with some PLO forces again defending stone-throwing protesters while others tried to hold the demonstrators back. One PLO policeman explained, "How am I supposed to follow orders when I see my cousin, my brother or my neighbor being wounded?" By the third day of protests, however, Arafat had reasserted full control over his cops, as Palestinian Authority police clad in riot gear mobilized to join Israeli forces in suppressing the demonstrations.

The protests by stone-throwing youth evoked scenes of the *Intifada*, the years-long Palestinian uprising which began in December 1987. A Palestinian legislator who witnessed the recent protests said, "People were just running toward death, attacking Israeli soldiers who they knew would shoot them." Reeking with chauvinism, Israelis complained that their murderous occupation forces were being shot at by Palestinian police who were supplied with arms which were supposed to be used only against other Palestinians. Guns were available during the *Intifada* as well; that they were not used was a political calculation aimed in part at avoiding an even bloodier response by the Israelis and in part because the PLO was using the protests as a pressure tactic to force Israel and its U.S. imperialist patrons to the bargaining table.

We stand with the Palestinians against the bloody Israeli occupiers. But while, as one Palestinian remarked, there was a "momentary satisfaction" gained from finally seeing some Israeli soldiers hit the ground, the Palestinian people clearly cannot prevail in a military confrontation with the Zionist juggernaut. Israeli commanders have already threatened to use tank fire—in addition to Cobra helicopter gunships—to suppress further armed protests.

Reuters

Arafat's police mobilized to suppress Palestinian protests.

The decisive question is political: the need to break the Hebrew-speaking workers from Zionist chauvinism and the Palestinian masses from petty-bourgeois nationalism. Many Israelis look back to the former "Labor" government of Shimon Peres and his predecessor Yitzhak Rabin, assassinated by a Zionist fascist last year, for inaugurating "peace" with the PLO. But "Labor," a thoroughly bourgeois party, is no less committed to Zionist expansionism than Likud and was for many years the mainstay of the Israeli ruling class. Rabin/Peres presided over a *40 percent* "thickening" of the settler population, aimed at preparing for out-

Johnston/Washington Post

Clinton's White House "summit" meeting after Zionist bloodbath brought together PLO leader Yasir Arafat and murderers of Palestinian people, Jordan's King Hussein and Israeli prime minister Netanyahu (far right).

Ten Years in Solitary Confinement in Israel

Free Vanunu Now!

In late September, protests were held in a number of cities internationally to demand freedom for Mordechai Vanunu, the heroic nuclear technician who is locked away in solitary confinement in an Israeli dungeon for warning the world of the extent of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. Supporters of the International Communist League participated in these demonstrations, with signs demanding, "Free Mordechai Vanunu! Free All Victims of Zionist Repression!" and "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!"

September 30 marked ten years since the Israeli Mossad secret police, assisted by British and Australian intelligence services, kidnapped Vanunu from Italy and whisked him away to an Ashkelon desert prison, where he has remained in isolation ever since. Based on his experience as a technician at the top-secret Dimona nuclear facility, Vanunu had revealed to the London *Times* that the war-crazed Zionist madmen had upwards of 200 nuclear warheads, enough to vaporize every Arab city in the Near East and to strike at what was then the Soviet Union.

Vanunu's revelations were a great service to humanity. The Zionist fanatics are fully capable of launching this arsenal of megadeath. In the first days of the 1973 October War when Israel thought it might be defeated by Arab armies, it armed its missiles with nuclear warheads and put them on combat readiness.

WV Photo

Domenica del Corriere

New York City demonstration, September 30, one of numerous international protests to demand freedom for Mordechai Vanunu, gagged and imprisoned by Israeli police in 1986.

In mid-October, a two-day conference will be held in Tel Aviv on "Democracy, Human Rights and Mordechai Vanunu," sponsored and chaired by 1995 Nobel Peace Prize winner Joseph Rothlat. A nuclear scientist who briefly participated in the U.S. A-bomb "Manhattan Project," Rotblat is a longtime opponent of nuclear weapons and has been outspoken in his defense of Vanunu (see *WV* No. 647, 7 June). In a recent interview where he denounced the harsh punishment imposed on Vanunu, Rotblat drew a comparison with the sentence given Klaus Fuchs, convicted on charges of passing U.S. nuclear secrets to the Soviets. According to Rothlat, "Without his information the Russians simply could not have built the nuclear bomb. Fuchs was sentenced to 40 years in jail, where he worked as a librarian, and was released after nine."

While Rotblat's intentions are well-meaning, he is mistaken in asserting that the Soviet Union couldn't build the A-bomb without outside help. At bottom, this is a reflection of primitive anti-Communism. When America's capitalist rulers condemned the Rosenbergs to the electric chair as "Soviet nuclear spies" in the early 1950s in a Cold War witchhunt heavily laced with anti-Semitism, the McCarthyite anti-Communists too argued that the Soviets couldn't do anything themselves—though U.S. scientists had repeatedly made it clear that any industrial power could develop atomic weapons.

In any case, liberal appeals to a sense of "fairness" on the part of Israel's rulers fall on deaf ears. Vanunu remains in a six-by-nine-foot cell, cut off from virtually any human contact. Only last year an Israeli court refused even to remove Vanunu from solitary confinement, much less free him. Meanwhile, dozens of other Israelis are held in secret in Zionist dungeons on charges of espionage, in addition to the thousands of Palestinians who are regularly imprisoned and tortured. The ICL has publicized Vanunu's case since the time of his abduction and imprisonment. We honor Mordechai Vanunu and demand his immediate freedom.

right annexation of a large part of the West Bank. Nor is the "left" Zionist Meretz, associated with the Israeli "Peace Now" movement, any less reactionary toward the Palestinians. Meretz was a loyal component of the last government and now criticizes Netanyahu only for failing to consult with his security chiefs over the opening of the tunnel.

In the Occupied Territories, outrage over Arafat's capitulation to Israel initially drove many Palestinians to embrace the sinister anti-Semitic and anti-woman fundamentalists of Islamic Jihad and Hamas, which presented themselves as the only forces standing up to the Zionist occupiers. Hamas' influence seems to have waned, as reflected in the low response to its call for a mass confrontation with Israeli forces after Friday prayer services on October 4. In any case, the last few years have amply underscored the dead end of all varieties of Arab nationalism. The latest upsurge of protest and the Israeli massacre have temporarily bolstered Arafat's authority among the Palestinian people, but he is using it only to continue pursuing futile "negotiations" with the Zionist butchers. The only way forward for the historically secular and cosmopolitan Palestinian people, dispersed throughout the Near East, lies through the road of internationalist class struggle against all the oppressor regimes of the region.

Revolt in Jordan

For years, much of the Western left—tailing after PLO petty-bourgeois nationalism, which in turn looked to the feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist Arab regimes—prated about a mythical "Arab Revolution" to destroy the Zionist state from without. This simultaneously amnestied the Arab rulers while dismissing any possibility of struggle by the Hebrew-speaking proletariat of Israel.

Today many of these enthusiasts for Arab nationalism have become publicists for the Zionist slavemasters' "peace" deal. Thus, a recent issue of *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (July-August 1996), published by U.S. followers of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), continues to hail the "Arab Revolution" of the 1960s while crowing that the "*Intifida*" (by which they mean the Israel-PLO accords) brought about "an end to occupation over large sections of the territories seized by Israel in 1967." This grotesque whitewash is a crude echo of the position of the Israeli USec, which called to "pressure" the murderous Rabin government to demand "the exact implementation of the agreements" (*The Other Front*, 5 September 1994).

Two events this summer vividly showed the potential for class struggle both in Israel and the Arab countries. On July 17, half a million Israeli workers walked off the job in a 10-hour general strike—the first in over 20 years—against Likud attacks on social programs and its plans to privatize nationalized industry. A month later, Jordan was rocked by a massive social upheaval after King Hussein's government more than doubled the price of bread to satisfy the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Convulsive protests spread from the southern towns of Kerak, Maan and Tafila to the capital of Amman. For three days, stone-throwing demonstrators defied tear-gas attacks and engaged in pitched battles with cops and troops, setting fire to two government buildings and a private bank in Kerak. While Hussein ranted against supposed "outside agitators" from Iraq coming in to foment "sedition," one student protester said simply, "We are making revolution because we need the bread."

Echoing Rabin's threats against the *Intifada*, Hussein vowed to crush the bread riots with an "iron fist," as his troops surrounded Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan to prevent them from joining the protests. But it was not only massive repression which kept the dispossessed Palestinian masses from rising up against the hated Jordanian monarch. Arafat reportedly explicitly ordered his followers in Jordan not to participate in the revolt. For decades, both mainstream PLO leaders like Arafat and radical-sounding "rejectionists" like George Habash's Popular Front (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front (DFLP) turned a blind eye to any struggle which challenged the Arab regimes. In 1970, this suicidal reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies resulted in the horrendous Black September massacre in Jordan, as Hussein's forces slaughtered thousands of Palestinian militants who had been disarmed by their petty-bourgeois nationalist misleaders.

The Hashemite monarchy has been a loyal junior partner to Israel since 1948 and an ally in subjugating the Palestinian people. Indeed, most proposals for Palestinian "autonomy" involve "confederation" with Jordan of a handful of isolated Palestinian cantons in the West Bank and Gaza. Thus, the recent revolt in Jordan sent alarm bells ringing among the Zionist rulers. One Israeli spokesman wrote: "Israel needs Jordan as a buffer state—moderate, stable, pro-Israel and pro-American—in the midst of the potentially dangerous 'Eastern' front, comprising its worst enemies—Syria, Iraq, Iran and their potential Palestinian extension" (*Jerusalem Post* International Edition, 31 August). However, the other Near Eastern regimes—Syria included—have been no less brutal in suppressing the Palestinian people. Kuwait's mass expulsion of Palestinian workers in 1991, Libya's deportation of Palestinian refugees into the desert and the horrid conditions faced by Palestinians trapped in refugee camps in Egypt and Syrian-dominated Lebanon all attest to the lie that there is a classless "Arab solidarity."

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

In Israel as well, there has been a growing accumulation of social tinder. The nearly one million Palestinians who are nominally citizens of Israel are subjected to deep-going discrimination in jobs, housing, social benefits and civil rights and have increasingly demonstrated in solidarity with the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The recent influx of black Ethiopian Jews resulted earlier this year in mass protests against the vicious racist discrimination to which they have been subjected by Israeli Jewish society (see "Israel: Ethiopian Jews Protest Racist Blood Scandal," *WV* No. 640, 1 March). Meanwhile, the victory of Netanyahu's right-wing coalition has emboldened ultra-Orthodox mobs to take to the streets to terrorize women.

The importation of hundreds of thousands of contract workers from East Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia to replace low-wage Palestinian labor has created a sizable sector of the workforce which has no reason to be beholden to Zionism. As many as one in seven residents of Tel Aviv, Israel's largest city, are today immigrant laborers. Deprived of any rights, they are subjected to all-sided racism and appalling conditions, forced to live 15 to a room and often deported by their employers without being paid. Meanwhile, the government has sought to whip up a racist frenzy against foreign workers, curtailing work permits and ordering up to 150,000 "illegals" to be rounded up and deported.

A Trotskyist party in Israel would demand full citizenship rights for these workers, linking this directly to the call for the *right of return for all Palestinians* driven out in 1948 and 1967. Even such elementary democratic demands strike at the heart of Zionism and its definition of Israel as an ethnically and religiously pure "Jewish state." It is necessary to shatter the reactionary "social solidarity" which keeps the Hebrew-speaking proletariat blinded by Zionist reaction, and to fight to break the stranglehold of the corporatist Histadrut trade-union federation which is a key prop of the Zionist capitalist state. Central to any revolutionary perspective in Israel is forthrightly championing the national rights of the Palestinian people. If the Israeli working people are not to serve as fodder for a nuclear Armageddon in the region, they *must break with Zionism*.

The Near East has historically been a powder keg for interimperialist conflict and war, and Zionist provocations are pushing it ever more in that direction. This is reflected today in the sharpening rivalry particularly between Germany and the U.S. The European Union is up in arms over American legislation banning investment in Iran, which heavily affects the German bourgeoisie. At the same time, U.S. and German interests are clashing in Turkey, which is simultaneously moving toward rapprochement with Iran while cementing a military alliance with Israel. The rift among the imperialist powers was demonstrated by the refusal of many European governments to back the latest U.S. missile attack on Iraq. Now the European Union has taken a considerably harder line than the U.S. toward Israel's provocations in the West Bank. A recent article in the *New York Times* (6 October) captured the growing sense of instability in the Near East: "A broader uncertainty lurks this autumn—a sense that a region that a year ago seemed headed toward ineluctable peace might be on a track back toward war."

Only the working people in power, having swept away all the capitalist regimes of the region and fighting to extend socialist revolution to the imperialist heartlands, can begin to resolve in an equitable way the murderous conflicts which threaten to rip the Near East apart. The only just and democratic solution to the national oppression of the Palestinian people lies in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. For the Palestinian people, as for all the myriad oppressed in the Levantine patchwork of peoples, there is no road out of the misery spawned by capitalism short of international workers revolution. ■

Reuters

AFP

Israel deployed helicopter gunships to fire on Palestinian protesters.

Gamma

AFP

"Stateless" Palestinians have languished for decades in refugee camps in Jordan (above). As Jordanian army was unleashed to suppress bread riots (right) in August, Arafat ordered Palestinians not to join revolt.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Zionist Bloodbath

OCTOBER 7—The horrendous slaughter of Palestinians by Israeli forces in the Occupied Territories last week was unprecedented even by the recent standards of that bloodsoaked region. Beginning with an attack on an Arab student protest in the West Bank city of Ramallah, the Zionist butchers killed 62 Palestinians, 39 in one day alone. Nearly a thousand more Palestinians were wounded, as Israeli troops and Cobra helicopter gunships fired directly into crowds of demonstrators. This time, however, the corpses were not all on one side: 14 Israeli soldiers died when Palestinian demonstrators and policemen armed with pistols and automatic rifles returned fire.

The immediate trigger for the latest round of slaughter was the opening of a new exit, right in the heart of Arab East Jerusalem, of an ancient tunnel under a wall of Al Aksa mosque, the third-holiest site for Muslims in the world. Carried out under heavily armed guard in the dead of night, this was a calculated provocation by the right-wing government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. But it was only the latest in a whole series of bloody Zionist provocations against the Palestinian people in the months before and since Netanyahu's election in late May. Subjected to an ongoing starvation embargo, ever more frequent land "expropriations" and demolitions of homes and the expansion of fortified Zionist "settlements," the long-suffering Palestinian masses finally erupted in outrage.

In the wake of the protests, the Zionist occupiers have turned the already besieged Palestinian enclaves in the Occupied Territories into virtual concentration camps. Already suffering as a result of almost continual Israeli "closures" of the territories, Arab areas have run desperately low on food, and hospitals have scrambled for meager medical supplies to treat the hundreds of wounded. Tanks have been deployed in the region for the first time since the 1967 war during which Israel seized the territories. While heavily armed fascistic "settlers" remain free to menace Palestinians at will, virtual round-the-clock curfews have been imposed on Arab residents. Even dirt paths leading from one village to another have been blockaded. Supposedly "autonomous" Palestinian towns and villages have been tightly encircled by Israeli troops, tanks, artillery and snipers, recalling the Jewish ghettos of Nazi-occupied East Europe. The slightest incident could spark a massacre which would make last week's bloodbath pale in comparison. It is urgent for workers and the oppressed around the world to raise the call: *Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories now!*

In a desperate attempt to refurbish the sham U.S.-sponsored Near East "peace process," President Bill Clinton staged yet another photo-op "summit" meeting at the White House between Israel's Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority president Yasir Arafat, this time with Jordan's King Hussein in tow. Washington privately fumed over Netanyahu's refusal to grant even the most cosmetic concessions—like resealing the tunnel or implementing the long overdue redeployment of Israeli troops stationed in the West Bank town of Hebron—in the interest of restoring "stability" in the region. But the U.S. rulers nonetheless stood by their murderous Israeli client state. Clinton's cynical speechifying about "peace" must have sounded particularly hollow to the hundreds of Palestinians wounded by U.S.-supplied arms and helicopter gunships and to the families of those who were gunned down. We say: *Down with the bloody anti-Palestinian "Pax Americana"—U.S. imperialist hands off the Near East!*

AP / AFP

Israeli massacre killed more than 60 Palestinians.

Defend the Palestinian People!

There will be no peace in this volatile region so long as imperialism and capitalism hold sway. The latest Israeli massacre underscores the impossibility of achieving genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people without a thoroughgoing social revolution. The Zionist state's very existence is premised on the national oppression of the Palestinians. In neighboring Jordan, the Hashemite kingdom lords it over a predominantly Palestinian population, while hundreds of thousands of "stateless" Palestinians have languished for two generations in wretched refugee camps policed by the Arab bourgeoisies. Israel's nuclear-armed capitalist rulers have made it clear again and again that they will shrink from no atrocity to pursue their expansionist aims and maintain the subjugation of the Palestinian masses. It is necessary to explode the Zionist garrison-state from within by breaking the Hebrew-speaking workers from the grip of racialist chauvinism and winning them to the cause of proletarian revolution in league with their Arab class brothers and sisters.

The conflicting national claims of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab masses can only be equitably resolved by sweeping away all the bourgeoisies of the region, not only the Zionist madmen but also the Arab feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist regimes. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

"Peace" Accords: Death Trap for Palestinians

Following last week's bloody events, the Western press has been filled with laments over the death of the "peace process." But the Zionist bloodbath was a *direct result* of the September 1993 accord between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Yasir Arafat. Denouncing this "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto" at the time, we noted that it did "not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination," amounting to little more than "'community control' over a couple of impoverished slums" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). We warned that the agreement placed "the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" and that the result would be "PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists."

While many Palestinians initially expressed relief that they could at least walk down their own streets without being confronted by gun-toting racist Israeli soldiers, it soon became clear that in many ways the PLO accord had actually led to a *worsening* of conditions. Tens of thousands of Palestinians who had eked out a living as superexploited day laborers in Israel were deprived of any livelihood. Conditions have grown so dire that there are reports of young Palestinians being forced to sell their kidneys to Israeli hospitals to provide for their families.

Meanwhile, the "autonomous" Palestinian areas were literally transformed into Nazi-style ghettos, policed internally by Arafat's cops and surrounded by Israeli troops and checkpoints, cut off even from neighboring Arab villages. This year alone, Palestinian police have imprisoned over 2,000 people, many without trial. Eight people have died of torture while in custody; violent protests following the death of Mahmoud Jumeil in August were brutally repressed by Arafat's thugs. The sham character of the autonomy was fully revealed last week, as Israeli troops invaded Ramallah to shoot down Palestinian protesters.

The Zionist bloodbath was a massacre waiting to happen. Following the installation of his Likud coalition government in June, Netanyahu flaunted his refusal to so much as acknowledge the existence of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 654

25 October 1996

Malan Ruling: Apartheid Butchers Go Free

No Justice for Oppressed in "New" South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, October 21—Former South African defence minister General Magnus Malan was let off on October 11 after a high-profile trial for masterminding the 1987 slaughter of 13 people, mainly women and children, at KwaMakhutha, south of Durban. A hardline racist in the former apartheid government of F.W. De Klerk's National Party, Malan was charged with providing covert military support to members of the Zulu tribalist Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), ten of whom carried out the murders. Among the 19 tried for the massacre alongside Malan were five former members of the general staff, a number of military intelligence officers, Inkatha deputy secretary-general M.Z. Khumalo and six others who were charged with being in the murder squad. All of them walked.

The grotesque verdict in the seven-month trial highlighted the racist reality of the "new" South Africa under the government of Nelson Mandela and his bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC). "We are bitter, but we expected this verdict," said Mbusi Ntuli, who was 12 years old when his father and three sisters were killed in the 1987 massacre. The 13 were wantonly gunned

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de Blois/AP

"New" South Africa, same racist state terror: police fire rubber bullets at squatters in black township near Johannesburg.

Bitter Fruit of Washington's Anti-Soviet Dirty War

Afghanistan: Hell for Women

On September 27, Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, fell to the Taliban, a fundamentalist Islamic militia. Four years of horrific rule under a shifting "coalition" of warring factions of reactionary Islamic *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") had already brought Kabul to the point of famine and devastation. Now the Taliban killers have begun to wreak bloody vengeance against any vestige of social progress overlooked by the vultures who preceded them. One of their first targets was Najibullah, the pro-Soviet Afghan president ousted by the *mujahedin* in 1992, who was dragged from his sanctuary in the city's United Nations compound and beaten, shot and hanged, his body left strung up on the street for several days. Justifying this atrocious act of savagery, a member of Kabul's Taliban council railed that Najibullah "was against Islam. He was a criminal, and he was a Communist."

Without question the chief victims in the consolidation of Islamic fundamentalist reaction in the aftermath of the Soviet military withdrawal in 1989 have been Afghanistan's miserably oppressed women. While the civil war has now resumed, with ethnically based militias

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Steel-Perkins/Magnum

Chin/NY Times

Seizure of Kabul by Taliban militias (near right) has led to intensified Islamic fundamentalist reign of terror against Afghan women, imprisoned at home or forced to wear head-to-toe "veil."

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Young Spartacus

SUNY Binghamton:

Down With Racist Cop Repression Against Student Protesters!

OCTOBER 21—Reprinted below is a leaflet dated October 20 which was distributed at the State University of New York, Binghamton by members of the New York Spartacus Youth Club. Students continue to occupy the administration building there following a vicious October 15 cop attack on an integrated group of student protesters. SYC members traveled to the campus from New York City and Syracuse University to intervene in support of the struggle at Binghamton, raising the need for socialist revolution to get rid of racist repression for good.

On October 15, anti-racist protesters at a meeting of the State University of New York (SUNY), Binghamton student government were brutally attacked by university police. According to the Binghamton Coalition (an ad-hoc student leadership formed in the immediate aftermath), students "were attacked with pepper spray, thrown against walls, poked in the eyes, punched in the face, and those who attempted to leave the area were blocked by university security officers." What brought on this vicious police attack? Confederate flag-wearing Student Association (SA) president Anthony Benardello, with the support of his appointed officers, implemented a racist purge of the SA by removing the post of Vice President of Multicultural Affairs. Large numbers of students came to the *Student* Association meeting on Tuesday the 15th to speak against the purge; they were excluded. When they tried to get in they were set upon by campus cops in full riot gear under the orders of Binghamton president Lois DeFleur.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club demand: *ALL COPS OFF CAMPUS!* The campus police (ULED)—newly armed with pepper spray—represent the armed fist of the state, which attacked black and Latino protesters to protect the administration as well as their student government lackeys through intimidation and violence. College campuses like Binghamton exist for middle- and working-class youth as training grounds for administrative positions serving the capitalists. When the interests of students clash with the purpose of these institutions, down comes the hammer.

These attacks are part of increased racist repression and police brutality on universities nationwide and part of a larger attack on minority and working-class youth and workers. With the Democratic Party taking the lead in smashing welfare, pushing reactionary "family values" and brutally scapegoating immigrants, it is no wonder that Benardello and DeFleur can openly push racist reaction at Binghamton.

Students have occupied the Binghamton administration building in protest against their macing and beating. It is necessary to defeat this racist atrocity by defense and extension of this occupation. Even a one-day strike by campus workers, faculty and students would be a big step toward that goal. No reprisals against the student demonstrators! Not hat-in-hand appeals to the administration but a fighting response by all those facing the racist attacks and cuthacks at SUNY! The SYC fights for: Open admissions and no tuition! For a living stipend for all students! Nationalize the elite private universities! Abolish the racist administration! For the democratic control of the university by workers, faculty and students!

Just as these attacks are part of a larger social context, so too are the solutions. The capitalist system itself is based on the exploitation of the working class and on the racist oppression of blacks and immigrants. This system offers no future for the majority of people in this society, especially workers, minorities and youth—so it confines millions to unemployment and starvation, throws them into prison hellholes and beats them with police clubs when they protest.

The Spartacus Youth Club is a socialist organization which intervenes in struggles against racism and oppression. We fight to link these struggles to the larger fight to sweep away capitalism—the root of all oppression—and create a workers government that would liberate society's wealth for social need. Toward this end students must ally with the working class, which has the social power to effect such a fundamental social overturn. The SYC is dedicated to winning students to the struggles of the working class and mobilizing them in the fight for socialist leadership. We are active in the fight against the cutbacks at the City University of New York. In Chicago we mobilized to smash the KKK fascists when they attempted to rally for race terror. And we have worked to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. *Hands off the Binghamton student protesters! Cops off campus! Join us in the fight for a socialist future!* ■

Mireille Moga

Anti-racist student protesters occupy Binghamton administration building following October 15 police attack.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Permanent Revolution and the Struggle Against Imperialism

In recent years, the Western and Japanese imperialists have intensified the exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these backward countries in the epoch of imperialism, the gains associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of West Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries cannot be achieved by the indigenous bourgeoisies. Bourgeois nationalists in "Third World" countries, whether right-wing butchers like Suharto in Indonesia or liberals like Nelson Mandela in South Africa, act as political agents for the world bankers and industrialists. As Trotsky explained in his theory of permanent revolution, only through proletarian socialist revolution and its extension to the imperialist centers can the workers and peasants of colonial and semi-colonial countries achieve genuine national independence and social and economic modernization.

The revolution of 1848 revealed within a few months that precisely under more advanced conditions, none of the bourgeois classes is capable of bringing the revolution to its termination: the big and middle bourgeoisie is far too closely linked with the landowners, and fettered by the fear of the masses; the petty bourgeoisie is far too divided and in its top leadership far too dependent on the big bourgeoisie. As evidenced by the entire subsequent course of development in Europe and Asia, the bourgeois revolution, taken by itself, can no more in general be consummated. A complete purge of feudal rubbish from society is conceivable only on the condition that the proletariat, freed from the influence of bourgeois parties, can take its stand at the head of the peasantry and establish its revolutionary dictatorship. By this token, the bourgeois revolution becomes interlaced with the first stage of the socialist revolution, subsequently to dissolve in the latter. The national revolution therewith becomes a link of the world revolution. The transformation of the economic foundation and of all social relations assumes a permanent (uninterrupted) character.

For revolutionary parties in backward countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, a clear understanding of the organic connection between the democratic revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat—and thereby, the international socialist revolution—is a life-and-death question.

— Leon Trotsky, "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto" (October 1937)

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No. 654 **25 October 1996**

Funds Needed as December 2 Trial Approaches

Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Three anti-racist protesters face trial in Cook County Circuit Court on December 2 on trumped-up charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a June 29 protest against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago's Daley Plaza. All opponents of racist terror have a stake in the defense of the Anti-Klan Three, who face up to a year in jail.

Funds are urgently needed to defray legal costs. Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee. Protest statements demanding that all charges be dropped should be addressed to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602; please send a copy to the PDC. Contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931. You can also reach the PDC in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

which supported the former *mujahedin* regime launching an offensive against Taliban positions outside Kabul, all the contending forces are deeply reactionary.

Among the first acts of the Taliban after seizing Kabul were to bar women from all work, to close down all girls' schools and to order women to remain locked in their homes in *purdah* (social isolation) unless accompanied by a man. As a result, almost all educational facilities have been shut down, since 75 percent of teachers are women, overwhelmingly trained during the Soviet presence in the 1980s. This has also created chaos in hospitals and orphanages that were primarily staffed by women. Given fundamentalist taboos against women being treated by male doctors, the elimination of female medical personnel means a death sentence for countless women and girls.

The *Los Angeles Times* (2 October) reports that "women who have ventured onto Kabul's dusty streets without cloaking themselves from head to toe in opaque, suffocating gowns have been lashed with whips or fan belts." The situation there is today so dire that better-off Afghanis are seeking refuge for their daughters in neighboring Iran, which is under the rule of Islamic fundamentalist ayatollahs. The Taliban's orgy of woman-hating terror adds the finishing touches to the program of social reaction implemented by the *mujahedin* cutthroats who took power four years ago and revived the stoning of women for adultery and "immodesty," while subjecting the entire population to a reign of terror and plunder.

While hypocritically distancing itself from some of the "excesses" in the nightmare of dark reaction which has befallen the women of Kabul, Washington has been the chief force in the Taliban's rise to power. Through its client regime in Islamic Pakistan, U.S. imperialism has for years funneled vast sums of money and high-tech military equipment to various *mujahedin* factions, from the notorious Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who rose to prominence by throwing acid in the face of unveiled women students at Kabul University in the 1970s, to, most recently, the Taliban cutthroats. Even as women were being beaten and brutalized in the streets of Kabul, Clinton administration spokesmen rushed to meet with Taliban representatives, hailing the efforts of these medievalist killers and torturers to "liberate Afghanistan."

The unspeakable hell which has descended on women, teachers, doctors, working people, ethnic and religious minorities and all secular elements in Afghanistan is the bitter fruit of U.S. imperialism's unrelenting drive to undermine and destroy the former Soviet Union, whose military presence in Afghanistan in the 1980s was the chief bulwark against Islamic fundamentalist reaction. For over a decade, Washington armed the *mujahedin* murderers to the hilt, building them up to wage a proxy war against the Soviet Army and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). *But the blood of every unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundamentalists is also on the hands of those leftist organizations internationally which lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan!*

WV Photo

Spartacists hailed 1979 Soviet intervention against imperialist-backed reactionaries. We mobilized international aid to embattled city of Jalalabad following Gorbachev's treacherous 1989 withdrawal.

For years, groups like the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), U.S. supporters of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), marched in lockstep behind Washington's drive for the defeat of Soviet troops by the mullah-led forces who were openly fighting for the enslavement of women in Afghanistan. Now they have gotten what they wanted. *These self-styled "socialists" contributed, to the extent their limited means allowed, to bringing about the horror which is today being inflicted upon Afghan women.*

The "Russian Question" Pointblank

In the 19th century, utopian socialist Charles Fourier observed that social progress can be gauged by the status of women in society. This is unambiguously clear in the case of Afghanistan. For Marxists, as indeed for all opponents of women's oppression, taking the side of those fighting the U.S.-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan was as clear and obvious a position as was the support of Karl Marx's First International for the Union forces led by Abraham Lincoln in the American Civil War against slavery.

How, then, could self-avowed socialists like Cliff's ISO/SWP line up with those fighting for the enslavement of women in Afghanistan? The answer lies in their virulent hostility to the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. From the moment the Bolshevik Revolution toppled capitalism in Russia in 1917 until the capitalist counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin several years ago, the imperialists' central aim was focused on restoring capitalist exploitation in the Soviet Union and overturning the social gains which remained despite decades of Stalinist degeneration. That is why the entire apparatus of political indoctrination in the United States and West Europe was geared to producing hatred for and fear of the Soviet Union. Because groups like the ISO bought into the anti-Soviet program propagated by the bourgeoisie, they lined up with any and all forces opposed to the Stalinists in power—from sadistic Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan and Iran to the Vatican-backed anti-Communist, anti-Semitic and anti-woman Solidarność movement in Poland.

Historic American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, in waging a factional struggle within the then-revolutionary U.S. Socialist Workers Party against the Shachtman/Burnham minority which argued to abandon the Marxist position of military defense of the Soviet Union, said in 1939:

> "The question of the Russian revolution and the Soviet state which is its creation has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world."

In the case of Afghanistan, this dividing line not only separated revolutionaries from reformists, but proponents of social progress from those who backed, openly or otherwise, medievalist barbarism.

Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a central issue in the civil war which raged in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. After coming to power in an April 1978 coup, pro-Moscow intellectuals and army officers in the PDPA sought to implement some minimal reforms to bring the country closer to the 20th century: land distribution, freeing women from the *burka* (the head-to-toe "veil"), reducing the bride price to a nominal sum and providing education for girls. However, such basic democratic reforms can be explosive in a cruelly backward country like Afghanistan, not least because women's subordination in the family has decreed them as the "bearers" of the traditional culture to the next generation. Afghan landlords, tribal chiefs and mullahs launched a ferocious *jihad* (holy war), burning down schools and flaying teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read.

When Moscow airlifted Red Army troops to Kabul in December 1979 to prevent its PDPA client regime from falling to the Islamic reactionaries and to protect its southern flank against imperialist incursion, the "Russian question" was posed pointblank. Democratic president Jimmy Carter's savage proxy war against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and his retaliatory embargo against the Soviet Union were the opening shots of Cold War II. Under Carter's successor, Republican president Ronald Reagan, the U.S. spent hundreds of billions of dollars on high-tech "Star Wars" weaponry aimed at facilitating a first-strike nuclear attack against the USSR. And over $2 billion worth of equipment was lavished on the Afghan *mujahedin* in the biggest CIA operation in history. Meanwhile, the capitalist media kept up a hysterical propaganda barrage against the Soviet "evil empire."

As consistent defenders of the gains of the October Revolution, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) proclaimed: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" We warned that the Kremlin bureaucracy reluctantly intervened simply to stabilize a strategically placed client state and might well cut a deal with the imperialists.

John Voos

Former Afghan president Najibullah, tortured and murdered by Taliban killers.

Nonetheless, sending troops into Afghanistan was an unambiguously decent and progressive act, cutting across the grain of the reactionary Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," which renounced Lenin's fight for world socialist revolution in favor of a futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Moreover, we recognized that it was only the Soviet military intervention which offered the possibility of opening the road to emancipation for the hideously oppressed peoples of Afghanistan. If liberation was to come to Afghanistan, it had to come from without. The tiny

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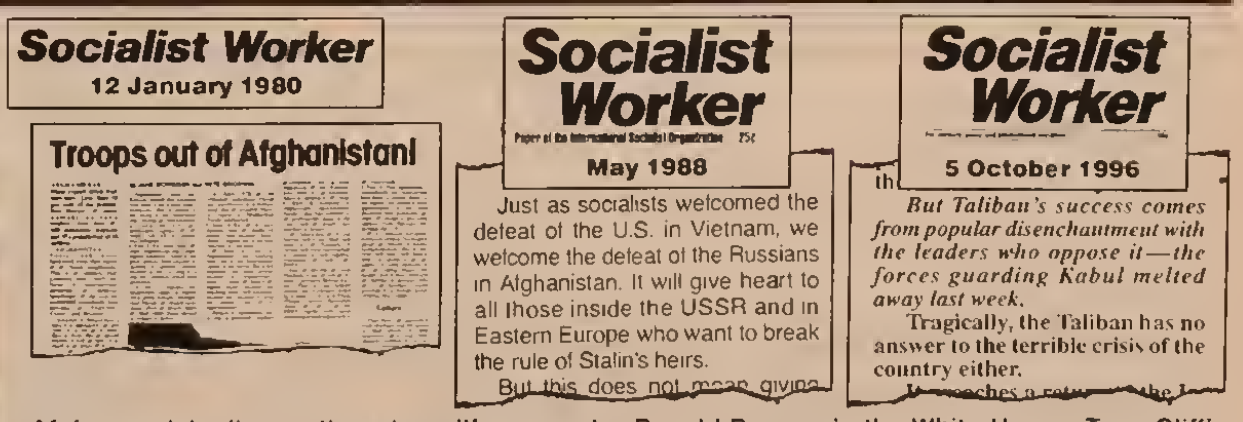

Afghan *mujahedin* reactionaries with paymaster Ronald Reagan in the White House. Tony Cliff's British SWP and U.S. ISO embraced imperialist anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan, "welcomed" anti-woman Islamic fundamentalist victory.

Sipa

Ihlau

Planeta

Soviet military presence (left) opened possibility of liberation for Afghan women, who joined PDPA government militias to defend their rights against *mujahedin* arms in hand. Right: Students at Kabul University in the 1980s.

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 3)

proletariat was dwarfed by a far more numerous Islamic clergy, the urban population was surrounded by a sea of nomadic herdsmen and peasants beholden to the khans, the forces of social progress were outweighed by reactionary forces for tradition and the status quo.

The conservative Brezhnev leadership in the Kremlin did not send 100,000 Soviet troops to Afghanistan to make a social revolution. But the very presence of these troops brought with it the possibility of social liberation, as did Napoleon's military drive through Europe in the early 1800s in the wake of the Great French Revolution. As Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*, his definitive analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, "In the sphere of national policy, as in the sphere of economy, the Soviet bureaucracy still continues to carry out a certain part of the progressive work, although with immoderate overhead expenses. This is especially true of the backward nationalities of the Union, which must of necessity pass through a more or less prolonged period of borrowing, imitation and assimilation of what exists."

Under the Soviet military umbrella, Afghan women were liberated from the veil and trained and brought into the workforce as teachers, nurses, doctors and government functionaries; thousands served as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army and self-defense militias. The vast gains which were potentially open to the Afghan peoples were visible in the stark contrast between Afghanistan's backwardness and the massive advances in living standards, education, health care and women's rights north of the Amu Darya River in the Soviet Central Asian republics. These achievements were the result of the working-class revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party in October 1917 and extended to Central Asia largely through armed intervention by the Red Army against the mullahs and tribal khans and a campaign by heroic Bolshevik women who even donned the veil as part of a tactic to bring social progress to the women of that backward region.

Following Moscow's military intervention in Afghanistan, the imperialists and their "left" hangers-on railed against "Soviet expansionism." But far from seeking to incorporate Afghanistan, the Kremlin oligarchy fought the war half-heartedly, despite the fact that Soviet troops were winning the war on the ground in the early 1980s. When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he immediately began maneuvering for a withdrawal of Soviet troops in the hope of easing the strains on the Soviet economy and appeasing imperialist hostility. In the upshot, Gorbachev prepared the destruction of the Soviet Union itself. The Kremlin's retreat emboldened the imperialist rulers, who remained intent upon nothing less than the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and strengthened the forces of capitalist restoration within. Withdrawal from Afghanistan was followed by counterrevolution in East Europe: Solidarność' rise to power in Poland, the capitalist reunification of Germany, Boris Yeltsin's 1991 pro-capitalist countercoup in Moscow. This, in turn, led to a total cutoff of aid to Kabul, spelling the doom of the fragile Afghan economy and central government.

When Soviet forces were pulled out in 1988-89, paving the way for a bloody onslaught against Afghan workers, women and leftists, we bitterly denounced this betrayal. We warned that it was far better to fight and defeat the forces of counterrevolution in Afghanistan than be forced to take them on inside the Soviet Union itself. At the same time, we actively solidarized with the masses who continued to wage a bitter struggle for survival. The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., wrote to the Afghan government in February 1989, offering to organize international brigades to help fight the CIA's fundamentalist cutthroats. Though this offer was declined, the PDC and fraternal organizations around the world responded to an appeal by the PDPA regime for funds, raising $44,000 internationally to aid civilian victims of the *mujahedin* attack on the eastern city of Jalalabad.

As an expression of solidarity, we dispatched a *Workers Vanguard* correspondent to Kabul and Jalalabad. As we wrote at the time:

> "Jalalabad besieged was the focal point of imperialism's *jihad* (holy war) against social progress and the Soviet Union. Jalalabad victorious can inspire revolutionary struggle throughout the region, from India to Turkey. That requires above all the program of Leninist internationalism, the banner of the International Communist League."
>
> — "Front Line Afghanistan,"
> *WV* No. 482 (21 July 1989)

Our Jalalabad campaign struck a chord among class-struggle fighters everywhere. Contributions poured in from *tens of thousands* of people around the world: immigrant workers throughout West Europe, Asia and North America; trade unionists; students eager to take a stand against the CIA; and everywhere from women, including in Muslim communities. It was in the course of this campaign that we decided to launch the International Communist League, underscoring that our tendency, uniquely, fights for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky.

Anti-Soviet "United Front" with Imperialism

The Cliffites responded to the 1979 Soviet intervention by retailing the line of every imperialist government in the world: "Soviet troops out of Afghanistan!" The British *Socialist Worker* (12 January 1980) tried to whitewash the CIA-backed *mujahedin* opposition, saying "it speaks the rhetoric of Islamic fundamentalism. But in this time and place that tells us little." It didn't take a Marxist to know what the "rhetoric of Islamic fundamentalism" and, on the other hand, the Soviet intervention meant for Afghan women. This was recognized even by some Western bourgeois journalists, notably women. Writing as the last Soviet troops were pulling out, Mary Williams Walsh reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (19 January 1989):

> "The plight of Kabul's women is a poignant reminder that the West's vicarious victory over communist expansion here isn't without its ambiguities. In a backward country where the female peasantry still toils like medieval serfs, Kabuli women have managed to hold on to many 20th-century freedoms.... Instead of staying at home behind purdah walls, they emerge each day and work in offices, hospitals and schools."

The Cliffite opportunists pose as "revolutionary" opponents of the capitalist rulers, but they take their cue from the reformist labor misleaders, who are themselves (in Lenin's words) "social-imperialist" lackeys of the bourgeoisie. But over Afghanistan, the Cliffites even surpassed their reformist Labourite big brothers in abject treachery. The British Cliffites were actually able to make a real contribution to the imperialists' anti-Soviet drive by making common cause with...right-wing Tories. In 1980, SWP leader Paul Foot, writing in his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror*, attacked the virulently anti-Communist Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher *from the right* by denouncing the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be going to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. The incendiary "revelations" in Foot's column provoked an anti-Soviet frenzy on the floor of Parliament, helping to justify an escalation of imperialist support to the Afghan *mujahedin*.

Though particularly flagrant in their embrace of imperialist anti-Sovietism over Afghanistan, the Cliffites were far from unique on the left. After some initial zig zagging, the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel issued a statement in 1981 toeing Reagan/Thatcher's line, with the call "For an End to the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan!" The political bandits of David North's Workers League and its "International Committee" screamed along with the U.S. imperialist rulers that the Soviet intervention was an attack on "the national rights and feelings of the Afghan people" (*Bulletin*, 8 July 1986). Somewhat more contradictory was the centrist Workers Power group in Britain, which arose as a split from Cliff's organization. In response to the imperialist uproar over the Soviet intervention, Workers Power took a step to the left, breaking from Cliff's absurdly anti-Marxist theory that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist" (without either a capitalist class or a capitalist economy) and announcing its formal adherence to Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

But while not calling for an immediate Soviet withdrawal at the time, Workers Power joined the rest of the anti-Soviet Stalinophobic left in "condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan" as "counterrevolutionary" (*Workers Power*, February 1980). When the Kremlin later pulled out of Afghanistan, Workers Power turned around and denounced the withdrawal. And all the while, they vituperated against our call, "Hail Red Army!" Behind Workers Power's insistence that the eminently progressive Soviet intervention was counterrevolutionary lay a deeply ingrained anti-Soviet prejudice inherited from their Cliffite origins.

But the Cliffites themselves showed no such qualms, consistently supporting the imperialist line. As Gorbachev was preparing the Soviet withdrawal, the ISO gloated: "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], May 1988). This comparison is truly grotesque! The ISO sees no essential difference between medieval fundamentalist killers coming to power in Kabul and the victorious *social revolution*—which the ISO's forebears refused to support—that drove U.S. imperialism out of Indochina!

With the fate they welcomed having come to pass and its horrendous consequences daily described in the bourgeois press, Cliff's SWP can only wring its hands and hypocritically moan about the "long series of tragedies to beset the Afghan people" (*Socialist Worker*, 5 October). Even now, with the Soviet Union gone, the Cliffites continue to whitewash the role of the Islamic fundamentalist anti-woman terrorists and their Pakistani and U.S. backers, writing that "Taliban's success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it" and complaining that "the

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Cruel and Barbaric

California Castration Law

California has now become the first state in the country to mandate castration as a form of punishment. On September 17, Governor Pete Wilson signed a bill, passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in the state legislature, which would force any man convicted twice of "child molestation" to receive injections of the drug Depo-Provera while on parole. Those refusing the injections could be "voluntarily" surgically castrated—having their testicles cut off. Judges will also be able to order chemical castration after a first conviction.

Underlining the barbaric character of this legislation, an editorial in the *San Francisco Examiner* exclaimed: "What's the next step? Demanding that robbers have their hands hacked off and liars their tongues cut out?" Usually used as a contraceptive for women, when injected in men Depo-Provera causes the testicles to shrink. The side effects include elevated blood pressure, increased blood clotting and higher risk of diabetes, as well as nightmares, fatigue and severe weight gain. Any doctor who agrees to carry out this treatment won't be practicing medicine but torture, like Hitler's Dr. Mengele, who subjected inmates in Nazi death camps and concentration camps to grisly "experiments" involving sterilization and castration.

Republican assemblyman Bill Hoge, author of the bill, railed: "I am sending a message to child molesters of the world that you are not welcome in California." Sheila Kuehl, one of two Democrats in the Assembly to oppose the measure, grotesquely argued that castration was *not enough* to stop "molesters," insisting that they "need to be kept out of society." The *Examiner* (15 September) reported that "the sole organized support for the measure came from the Women's Coalition, an advocacy group in Hoge's district." In the 1980s, "castrate all rapists" was the battle cry of right-wing feminists—and now it seems they've got their reactionary wish.

The concept of mutilating and torturing "sex offenders" belongs in the Dark Ages. And in this deeply racist society, it represents a ghastly return to the worst horrors of the Jim Crow South. As we wrote in 1983 after a South Carolina judge gave three young black men convicted of rape the choice of 30 years in prison or surgical castration: "The American rulers' willingness to snatch up the ancient bloodstained knife, to geld the black man and sterilize the black woman, reflects the poisonous and unbearable racism which characterizes American capitalism" (*WV* No. 343, 2 December 1983).

Especially in this election year, the new law is a product of the fevered competition between Democrats and Republicans over who can be tougher in prosecuting the "war on crime," a terrifying extension of the legal lynching and racist repression that the capitalist injustice system has unleashed against blacks and the poor. The return of chain gangs, the Congressional ban on education for prisoners, the expansion of the racist death penalty and a host of other measures reflect a sinister impulse to genocide against a layer of the black population. In the past decade, California alone has spent *$10 billion* on new prisons. The authorities are not only doing away with education for prisoners, but are trying to eliminate physical exercise and anything approaching a healthy diet. As a result, prisoners can be expected to grow overweight, weaker, more disease-prone and likely to die earlier. This is a conscious attempt to make the prison population flaccid and controllable.

Of course, violent assaults on children are truly terrible crimes, but the California castration law has nothing to do with protecting women and children. Another bill passed by California legislators—one of a series of so-called "Megan's laws" being proposed across the country—would incite harassment of "sex offenders" who have been released from prison, by opening up their records and addresses to the public. These viciously punitive measures are the latest installment in a ruling-class drive over the past 15 years to criminalize sex, and particularly sex with or among youth. The demented lengths to which this hysteria has been taken are seen in the recent "sexual harassment" suspensions of six-year-old kids for kissing their classmates.

Many sexual encounters now deemed "illegal" in this violently repressive and anti-sex society are entirely consensual. We are in favor of replacing reactionary "age of consent" laws with the principle of effective consent, applicable to people of all ages. Will someone whose boyfriend or girlfriend is simply considered "too young" now be castrated? California already deems sexual relations between an adult and someone 13 or younger—and in some cases even 17 years old—a felony offense that counts under the state's "three strikes" law. In Connecticut recently, school bus driver Kerri Lynn Paterson was sentenced to a maximum of *115 years* in prison after a 14-year-old male student claimed she had seduced him by casting a spell on him!

The government-engineered witchhunt over "child sexual abuse" has destroyed the lives of hundreds of innocent people who have been prosecuted and imprisoned on the basis of lurid and demented "satanic possession" and "recovered memory" fabrications (see "Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria," *Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996). Meanwhile, the deadly anti-welfare bill signed by Clinton in August completely eliminated federal aid providing a minimal lifeline for some 12 million people, more than two-thirds of them children.

The bizarre theory that an overabundance of male hormones causes sex crimes has sinister implications for women. In countries dominated by Islamic fundamentalism, like Afghanistan or Iran, women are forced into stifling head-to-toe "veils" when not confined to the home, ostensibly to prevent men from being driven to rape and to curb the supposedly insatiable sexual appetites of women. In fact, this reactionary institution is aimed at enforcing women's role as the property of their fathers or husbands. And in large parts of Africa, young girls are subjected to the barbaric practice of female genital mutilation in order to supposedly ensure docility and "faithfulness."

In the U.S. as well, women are the ultimate principal target of the anti-sex witchhunt. This is reflected not only in the assault by right-wing bigots on the right to abortion, but in the escalating persecution of women over supposed fetal and child "abuse." Since the 1980s, over 200 pregnant women in 30 states have been prosecuted for acts as trivial as having a drink, on the grounds that this could harm their fetuses. In a recent case in Wisconsin, Deborah Zimmerman, a 35-year-old waitress, faces up to 50 years in prison on *attempted murder* for giving birth to a baby with a high blood alcohol level. In July, the South Carolina Supreme Court reinstated an eight-year prison sentence on "child abuse" charges against a woman who had taken drugs while pregnant eight years ago, although her child is perfectly healthy.

There has also been an epidemic of "child abuse" prosecutions against poor and minority women who have left their children home alone for a few hours. In October, Carmen Santiago, described by neighbors as a caring mother of nine children, was arrested in the South Bronx along with her boyfriend when she was forced to appear in court to fight an eviction notice and couldn't find a baby sitter. Meanwhile, the courts have torn children away from mothers who are lesbians. In a recent Florida case, Mary Frank Ward's 12-year-old daughter was taken from her and placed in the custody of her former husband, a convicted murderer who killed his first wife!

Behind the gamut of measures criminalizing sex, and the imprisonment of wider layers of the population—under increasingly inhumane conditions—is the drive by the capitalist rulers to enforce social conformity as they seek to increase the exploitation of working people. Meanwhile, masses of ghetto youth deemed "expendable" to the profit system are locked away in prison hellholes. It is a mark of capitalist society in terminal decline that these efforts lead to ever more irrational and byzantine measures reaching *back* to practices which proliferated before the bourgeois revolutions. Only the destruction of the bourgeoisie's rule through socialist revolution will put an end to the barbarism exemplified by the "California Reich" castration law. ■

Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country." These fundamentalist reactionaries *do* have an "answer"—a program of all-sided reaction and extirpation of even the most modest social advances for women!

Again borrowing from Western imperialist propaganda, the sole fig leaf that the Cliffites and the rest of the anti-Soviet camp offered for their line was that the Soviet intervention violated Afghan "national self-determination." For Marxists, the question of self-determination is subordinated to overriding class considerations—in the case of Afghanistan, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and the struggle against feudal reaction and women's oppression. Moreover, Afghanistan is not a unitary nation, as the Cliffites assert, but a caldron of distinct, feuding nationalities (as well as tribal and other ethnic groupings) divided by artificial borders: the Pashtuns extend into Pakistan and the Uzbeks into the former Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, while the Tajik people overlap the border with both Tajikistan and Iran. The hue and cry about the "national rights" of "poor little Afghanistan" had about as much validity as the cries of "states' rights" raised by the Confederacy during the American Civil War and again 100 years later by diehard Dixie segregationists. Precisely because the Soviet Union was not capitalist/imperialist, the Red Army intervention into Afghanistan, rather than deepening oppression and reinforcing the forces of reaction as imperialism does in its semicolonies, posed the possibility of bringing progress to that backward land of fragmented peoples.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

As Afghanistan demonstrated, the Cliffites' ludicrous "state capitalist" analysis and their posture as leftist opponents of Stalinism were simply a cover for their profound programmatic hostility to the homeland of the October Revolution. From the time of the 1950-53 Korean War, when Cliff broke from Trotskyism in refusing to defend North Korea against U.S. imperialism, the Cliffites' supposed "third camp" ("Neither Washington nor Moscow") was nothing but an empty shell, as they continually lined up with imperialism (first in a veiled way, then openly) against the Soviet Union.

Opposition to Stalinism from a revolutionary, Trotskyist standpoint meant defense of the social foundations of the Soviet Union—centrally the existence of a planned collectivized economy, a necessary precondition for the creation of an international classless, communist society. The Trotskyist call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers was premised on our defense of the gains of October, including our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. In his 1939 speech, cited above, James P. Cannon explained:

> "The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers' state. As a result of the backwardness and poverty of the country and the delay of the world revolution, a conservative bureaucracy emerged and triumphed, destroyed the party and bureaucratized the economy. However, this same bureaucracy still operates on the basis of the nationalized property established by the revolution. That is the decisive criterion for our evaluation of the question."
>
> —reprinted in "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" *WV* No. 181 (11 November 1977)

Stalinist treachery and imperialist terror have left Afghanistan devastated, with a total breakdown of transportation, trade and economic life. The country has been turned into a patchwork of regional fiefdoms ruled by ethnically based warlords, with the Taliban, based on the predominant Pashtun grouping, controlling the gutted capital and two-thirds of the country in the south, while the Uzbek region in the north is ruled by Abdul Rashid Dostum and Ahmed Shah Massoud's militia lords over the Tajiks. While Dostum and Massoud's forces are today painted as supposed "moderates" relative to the Taliban, Massoud remains allied with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, one of the most savage fundamentalist leaders during the PDPA regime.

The martyrdom of Afghanistan is a direct product of the counterrevolutionary cataclysm which resulted in the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. This has emboldened reactionary forces not only in backward areas like Afghanistan but in West Europe and the U.S. as well. While various bourgeois commentators are now wagging their fingers over the horrors being carried out by *Islamic* fundamentalists in *Afghanistan*, "family values" Christian fundamentalists in the U.S. also aim to drive women back into the home. This is revealed not only in attacks by "right to life" terrorists on women seeking abortions but in the growing barbarism of the racist capitalist "justice" system (see "California Castration Law," above).

The horrors being played out in Afghanistan today are the starkest expression of the choice which has been posed, with increasing sharpness and urgency, throughout this century: socialism or barbarism. Young fighters against social oppression must study and learn the lessons of past struggles and defeats, including the world-historic defeat represented by the destruction of the remaining gains of the October Revolution, if they are to go forward to win new victories. We of the International Communist League fight for a new October, both in the U.S. and around the world. We fight to forge Bolshevik parties internationally to lead the workers—standing at the head of all the oppressed—to power and to a society in which capitalist oppression and enslavement of women are relics of a barbaric past. ■

For Workers Revolution to Sweep Away Suharto Dictatorship!

Indonesia Powder Keg

Economist

Reuters

Massive protests against Suharto dictatorship during the summer were met with brutal crackdown, including arrests of trade unionists and leftists.

The military regime of Indonesian dictator Suharto is facing the most convulsive political and social upheaval in decades. On July 8, army troops, marines and police brutally attacked a strike and rally of 20,000 workers in the east Java city of Surabaya. Later that month, police, troops and rightist vigilantes in the capital city of Jakarta stormed the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), one of two tame opposition parties permitted by the military dictatorship. Supporters of opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of former Indonesian ruler Sukarno, had occupied the building to protest her ouster from the PDI leadership in a government-orchestrated maneuver in June.

More than 10,000 people took to the streets in outrage over the government's raid on the PDI building, and banks and government buildings were torched. The military ordered demonstrators shot on sight; at least five protesters were officially reported dead and 74 "disappeared." The regime then launched a countrywide manhunt against a wide range of dissidents. At least nine are charged with "subversion," punishable by death. While Megawati was pulled in several times for lengthy police interrogation, the main targets were not PDI supporters but trade-union organizers and supporters of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD).

Among those arrested was Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the banned Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), the largest of the independent unions. Arrested for playing a leading role in strike struggles in Medan in April 1994, Pakpahan's conviction was overturned last October. Now he faces the death penalty on charges of subversion stemming from the July 27 protest. Budiman Sudjatmiko, 27-year-old leader of the PRD, was also hunted down and faces the firing squad for treason. At least 25 PRD leaders are being held, according to an overseas spokesman for the group. All are in isolation, and there have been reports of electric shock and other torture being used to force confessions. Leaders of the PRD-affiliated trade union, peasants union and student group were also arrested. PRD offices in Jakarta and Surabaya have been seized and ransacked. The military has ordered the arrest of all PRD supporters and announced that they will likely be tried under the 1962 anti-subversion law, which carries a maximum penalty of death.

Determined to crush the PRD, the government has denounced it as "analogous" to the earlier Communist Party. As we noted in a recent protest statement sent by the Partisan Defense Committee in Japan to the Indonesian ambassador there demanding the immediate release of all those imprisoned (see "Free Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Indonesia!" *WV* No. 650, 30 August):

> "The regime's tirades against a supposed 'Communist threat' evoked—as was intended—the specter of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath of workers and peasants carried out by the military and by anti-Communist mobs in 1965. The message was as clear as it was brutal: All who oppose Suharto's 'New Order' government will be slaughtered in the same manner as were the more than one million supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other militants in 1965 and the workers and peasants of East Timor who have been fighting for their independence for over 20 years."

Suharto's blood-soaked regime was born out of the 1965 massacre. Old and sick men condemned as Communist activists following the 1965 bloodbath are still sitting on death row. Only last year did the regime say it would remove the designation "ET" (ex-*Tahanan Politik*—former political prisoner) from the identity papers of some 1.4 million people. One of these, writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer, has been accused of being a leader of "formless organizations"—a reference to Communist front groups—and his writings are banned. His novels, like *Child of All Nations* and *This Earth of Mankind*, are powerful indictments of brutal exploitation by the former Dutch colonial rulers. Today they are banned by an authoritarian regime which fears that readers might see too many parallels between the situation then and now.

U.S. imperialism has played a key role in propping up the bloody Suharto dictatorship from the time of the 1965 anti-Communist massacre. The recent flap over Indonesian funding for Clinton's election campaign underlines not only Washington's continuing close ties with the butchers in Jakarta but the rampant nepotism and corruption of the Indonesian ruling family. Now the imperialist bloodsuckers who for years lauded Suharto for ushering in "political stability" are worried about the aging dictator's health and the absence of a credible alternative to his regime. An editorial in the London *Economist* (3 August) titled "If Indonesia Erupts" warns that as "a vital part of Asia's fragile security balance, turmoil there would produce tremors from China to Australia" and "shake boardrooms." In an accompanying article, this mouthpiece for the imperialist bankers wants Suharto to allow a little "space" lest he contribute to "a future explosion of potentially devastating consequences"—devastating, that is, to the maintenance of neocolonial enslavement, where stifling repression, starvation wages and draconian union-busting assure a huge flow of profits from the sweat of millions.

The imperialists have reason to be worried. Even official figures point to a huge growth in strikes and other workers' struggles. There have also been outbursts of student unrest. In April, three students were killed during two weeks of protests against public transport fare increases in south Sulawesi. Student activists frustrated at the tight military control of campuses and the lack of job prospects have turned to labor organizing. Protests by workers, students and the unemployed in urban centers have intersected peasant struggles for land and grievances against ethnic and national oppression. Incapable of developing a unified Indonesian nation, the Java-centered bourgeoisie presides over a prison house of peoples.

Indonesia is a powder keg waiting to explode. Yet despite the evident courage and dedication of its supporters, the PRD offers a strategy of class collaboration like that which paved the way for the 1965 slaughter. The PRD actively organizes support for the tame bourgeois opposition led by Megawati—who denies any intention of threatening the power of Suharto and the generals—and itself calls

Remember 1965 Bloodbath—No More Popular Front Betrayals!

Russell Press

Der Spiegel

PKI support to bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno regime prepared the way for 1965 massacre of leftists, workers and peasants by CIA-backed military and Islamic anti-Communist mobs.

Economist

People's Democratic Party leader Budiman Sudjatmiko, jailed by Suharto regime.

for nothing more than a "multiparty democracy." SBSI leader Pakpahan, meanwhile, says that he is not a communist but a "nationalist" and avows his support for the 1945 bourgeois constitution (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 2 November 1995). But in this backward country tied by a million strings to international finance capital, there can be no thoroughgoing democracy without sweeping away the entire capitalist class, which acts at the behest of the imperialist overlords. A new generation of working-class militants must come to grips with the burning question: Will they be led once more down the suicidal path of class collaboration which led to the 1965 bloodbath or undertake the struggle to unite the dispossessed peasants, horribly oppressed women and ethnic and national minorities in a revolutionary struggle to end the brutal rule of capitalism?

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

The world's fourth most populous country, Indonesia is a vast archipelago of more than 13,000 islands spanning 3,000 miles and encompassing a diverse collection of ethnic, national and religious groupings. Separatist insurgencies have taken place from the tip of the westernmost island of Sumatra to Irian Jaya (on the island of New Guinea) in the Far East. The deepgoing divisions among these peoples are the heritage of the brutal rule of Dutch colonialism, which ended with the Japanese occupation in World War II and, following Japan's military defeat, the 1949 victory of Sukarno's nationalists in the war of independence against the Dutch.

The struggles of oppressed ethnic and national minorities in Indonesia were recently highlighted by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to two of the more moderate figures in the struggle of the East Timorese people, who have been subjected to a genocidal military occupation since 1975. In November 1991, Indonesian troops carried out a slaughter of 200 demonstrators in the Timorese capital of Dili. As our Australian comrades wrote recently (*Australasian Spartacist* No. 159, Spring 1996):

> "For 350 years, the people of East Timor suffered the brutal rule of Portuguese imperialism. As the Portuguese empire collapsed in 1974/75, the Indonesian capitalist military regime invaded and annexed East Timor. Twenty years of bitter resistance has ensued, with over 200,000 East Timorese killed by gunfire, disease or starvation. As Marxists and Leninists who recognise the right of self-determination, we of the Spartacist League of Australia (Australian section of the International Communist League) demand: Independence for East Timor! Indonesian troops out of East Timor! Australia hands off!"

Until the Dili massacre, many Indonesians knew little about what was happening in East Timor. Intended by the military as a signal not only to the East Timorese but also anyone who might oppose the regime, the killings were a catalyst in galvanizing new opposition to the regime.

Ethnic and religious tensions have also been stoked by government policies encouraging settlement of outlying islands like Irian Jaya by people from Java and other densely populated areas of the country. Closely intertwined with the struggles of minorities is the fight for land. The Dutch left in their wake massive plantations, which are now worked by millions of landless laborers and small tenant farmers. And with the accelerated flow of imperialist investment over recent years, countless tribal and peasant families have been thrown off the land in favor of mining, manufacturing and other corporations.

Indonesia presents a classic case of "combined and uneven development" in the epoch of imperialism, where pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and oppression exist side by side with modern industry, communications and transportation. In such countries of belated capitalist development, no wing of the bourgeoisie is capable of lifting society up from neocolonial subjugation and oppression. The dynamic growth of the Indonesian proletariat and its re-emergence into the arena of class struggle points to the one social force that *can* successfully lead the struggles of the oppressed—from land-hungry rural toilers to women, youth and religions and ethnic minorities—against the entire capitalist-landlord ruling class and its imperialist patrons.

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, explained in "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" (1930), in colonial and semicolonial countries, "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy* and *national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses." The validity of this perspective was confirmed by the workers revolution in backward Russia itself. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, the numerically small Russian proletariat was able to mobilize behind it the mass of the peasantry and oppressed national minorities in a proletarian revolution which broke the power of the capitalists and landlords and opened a period of revolutionary struggle internationally.

The Bolsheviks' revolutionary program was trampled on by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, following the failure of the revolution to spread to advanced capitalist countries like Germany. Stalinist betrayal finally culminated in the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe in 1989-92. This, in turn, has emboldened the imperialist powers to seek the destruction of the remaining deformed workers states, which (with the exception of Cuba) are all located in East Asia—China, Vietnam, North Korea. In a desperate and futile balancing act, the Stalinist regimes in these countries have opened the door to imperialist investment and capitalist exploitation, strengthening outright capitalist-restorationist forces (including within the bureaucracy).

The defense of the remaining gains of these anti-capitalist revolutions can be ensured only by proletarian political revolution against the bureaucratic Stalinist regimes as part of a perspective of international socialist revolution, centrally aimed at the advanced industrial powers, whose vast economic wealth and productive resources must be liberated in the interests of all humanity. The central lesson of the October Revolution retains its full force today for the exploited and oppressed around the world: Bolshevik parties must be forged in the struggle for a new October Revolution, from the islands of Indonesia to the imperialist centers in Australia, Japan, the U.S. and West Europe.

Lessons of 1965

In 1965, the PKI was the mass party of the Indonesian proletariat and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world. But basing itself on the Stalinist schema of revolution in "stages"—first a revolution limited to (bourgeois) democracy, to be followed only later by a fight for socialism—the PKI counterposed to the program of workers revolution the call for unity with Indonesia's bourgeois-nationalist rulers. In 1952, PKI chairman D.N. Aidit raised the slogan "Long Live Sukarno! Long Live the PKI!" and called on Sukarno's Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms" (see "How Maoist Strategy Sabotaged Indonesian Revolution," *Young Spartacus* Nos. 36 and 37, October and November 1975).

In the 1950s, when nationalist demagogues had some room to maneuver between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union, Sukarno's "non-aligned" posturing was a constant irritant to Washington. With the full backing of their Stalinist mentors in Moscow and especially in Beijing, the PKI implemented the policy of *gotong royong*—"national unity"—with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and its military. The PKI gained a number of cabinet posts in Sukarno's government, embracing his strategy of "Nasakom"—an alliance of bourgeois nationalists, Islamic groups and "Communists." This regime was an example of a popular front, a class-collaborationist coalition in which the proletariat and oppressed are chained to the class enemy, in this case through the instrument of the PKI.

Groveling before Sukarno and the reactionary Muslim clerics, the PKI organized work brigades to build mosques. Again and again, the PKI banned strikes, suppressed militant peasant movements and courted imperialist investment, preaching confidence in Sukarno and his generals. The PKI even denounced an uprising it had led at Madiun in 1948 and elevated the general who suppressed it to its pantheon of "Heroes of the Working Class." Raising the slogan "For the Maintenance of Public Order, Help the Police," and pledging to enforce "the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force," the PKI served to strengthen the very repressive apparatus which was later to come down on it.

WV Map

Lin/Philadelphia Inquirer

Rosintan Marpaung, wife of SBSI union leader Muchtar Pakpahan, now facing death penalty on charges of "subversion."

The immediate precursor to the 1965 military coup was a botched attack on top army officers in late September. Sukarno may in fact have encouraged the move against the officers, in which six were killed, although he quickly disowned it, leaving the PKI to bear the brunt of the subsequent repression. Following the attack, Sukarno appointed General Suharto "responsible for restoring security and order." As hundreds of thousands of PKI supporters were massacred by Suharto's troops and Muslim rightists, Sukarno called for exterminating the Communist "rats." But even as they sat in prison cells awaiting execution, PKI leaders continued to pledge their loyalty to the "democratic" military and the "progressive" Sukarno!

On the eve of Suharto's counterrevolutionary October 1965 coup, the PKI was an enormously powerful force, with a membership of three million and over 14 million additional supporters organized in PKI-controlled labor unions, youth, women's and peasant organizations. But the PKI's treacherous policy of class collaboration bartered the political independence and revolutionary mobilization of the exploited for maneuvers with their oppressors. When the generals struck, the PKI, politically disarmed and militarily unprepared, was paralyzed. Even as the remnants of the PKI in exile issued a "self-criticism" of its failure to adopt "an independent attitude toward Sukarno," they refused to break from the disastrous stagist politics that paved the way for the massacre: "By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class ...our Party must work to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution."

In an article headlined "Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal" (*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965), we wrote that "the working people of Indonesia are now *paying with their blood*" for the PKI's betrayal in "helping administer Indonesian capitalism while suppressing the struggles of the Indonesian workers and keeping them wedded to Sukarno's police-state."

Imperialist Rivalry Over Indonesia

The U.S. was up to its neck in the Indonesian bloodbath. The CIA provided the Indonesian generals with a hit list of

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Indonesia...

(continued from page 7)

5,000 Communists, and U.S. embassy officials ticked the names off as they were hunted down and murdered in 1965-66. The mobilization of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists against the PKI was also promoted by Washington. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, later to be Eisenhower's secretary of state, explained how the "spiritual beliefs" of "the religions of the East...cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us and our task is to find and develop it." That "bond" was cemented in the blood of the Indonesian workers and peasants, and later in Afghanistan.

With the "Communist menace" eliminated in this strategic Pacific Rim country, Washington felt emboldened to massively escalate its ground invasion of South Vietnam. At the same time, the consolidation of Indonesia as a bastion of "free world" anti-Communism created the conditions for the later development of a defeatist wing of the American ruling class, who felt that the U.S. could safely withdraw from its *losing* war in Indochina without jeopardizing its strategic interests in Southeast Asia.

The imperialists have continued to assign a key role to Indonesia in their counterrevolutionary ambitions in Asia. Indonesia is the central player in ASEAN, the anti-China bloc which now encompasses virtually every nation to China's south and east. Vast amounts of military equipment and funds have been provided by the U.S. and Britain to prop up Suharto's generals and crush internal dissent. Last December, Australia agreed on a wide-ranging military alliance with Indonesia, described as "an effort to free up the two countries to pay more attention to the rise of China" (*International Herald Tribune*, 11 June). And while Washington postponed the sale of nine F-16 fighter planes to Indonesia to placate critics after the recent repression, it made clear its intention to proceed with the sale as soon as the dust settles. With an eye not only to China but also to instability in Indonesia and interimperialist rivalries with Japan, the U.S. and Australia have agreed to joint military exercises which will bring 17,000 American military personnel to northern Queensland next March.

The post-Soviet world is marked by intensified interimperialist rivalry. U.S. imperialism, with its Australian junior partner in tow, is vying with Japan over who will dominate the region. Indonesia is the largest supplier of oil to Japan outside the Near East, and 90 percent of Japan's oil imports pass through Indonesian waters. The Japanese imperialists recognize that the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and its military buildup in the Persian Gulf is aimed at reinforcing U.S. control over Near East oil. Japan's ruling class has never forgotten the U.S. naval blockade of oil which impelled Japan's entry into World War II. This reinforces the appetites of Japanese imperialism to include Indonesia as a key component in a new "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Indonesia's rich natural resources—oil, gas, timber, gold, silver, copper, etc.—are being plundered by international capital at an ever-increasing rate. Foreign investment, principally Japanese and American, totaled $40 billion in 1995 alone. For the world's imperialist overlords, Indonesia is a rich source for capitalist profits, where impoverished workers labor in the textile and shoe factories, the oil fields and rubber plantations, under conditions of brutal exploitation. Typical is the Nike shoe factory in Serang, where the cost of labor for a pair of athletic shoes which sells for $100 is only $2.60. Even the government itself admits that the minimum wage of $2 a day (and many workers, especially women and children, receive far less), will not buy enough to feed one worker, let alone a family.

Jeff Widener

November 1994: Indonesian riot cops charge pro-independence protest in East Timor marking the anniversary of 1991 Dili massacre.

Richburg/Washington Post

Women workers at Nike factory in Serang slave for $2.60 a day making shoes sold for $100 a pair.

The changes brought about by capitalist development have brought new misery for the toiling masses, with peasants thrown off their land and driven into urban shantytowns where they cannot but notice the massive chasm between rich and poor. At the same time, industrialization has created a growing working class, young and not weighed down by the horrendous defeat of 1965. More than 20 million workers now live in urban areas like the Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih industrial belt where strike activity has been centered.

Meanwhile, there is widespread resentment among the new middle classes at the nepotism, cronyism and corruption of the ruling Suharto clique. Suharto's six children have utilized their family connections, cheap state loans and subsidies and state monopolies to build up business empires worth more than $4 billion, spanning telecom franchises, petrochemical complexes, transport and trading monopolies. Foreign capitalists seeking to invest in Indonesia are forced to set up joint ventures with Suharto family members, ceding them controlling interests in exchange for their political influence.

The Indonesian rulers consciously foster national and communal divisions to ward off multiethnic class struggle and to jack up the rate of exploitation. Chinese Indonesians, who include a fabulously wealthy elite, have been a particular target for racist attacks. Ethnic Chinese were singled out by anti-Communist mobs in 1965, and during the strikes in Medan two years ago, efforts were made to divert militancy into attacks on Chinese shops. But in Indonesia as in all Southeast Asian states, there are many poor and working-class Chinese, who are class brothers in the struggle against capitalism. The need for proletarian internationalism is underlined by the fact that increasing numbers of Indonesian workers are compelled to cross the straits to Malaysia and Singapore, where Chinese are respectively 30 percent and 78 percent of the population. There they often replace Chinese, Malay and Indian workers in the lowest-paid, hardest and dirtiest jobs.

Ethnic and religious divisions are consciously fostered by the capitalist exploiters to keep working people from uniting against their common foe. One of the factors in the violence against Chinese Indonesians is that many of them are Christians, as are the East Timorese. Islamic fundamentalist groups have been growing recently in Indonesia, though not as spectacularly as in other countries. Some of the largest of these have been loosely aligned with the pro-Megawati opposition. It is necessary to fight for the separation of state and religion and against theocratic reaction while opposing discrimination against all religious minorities.

Religious fundamentalism is a particular threat to women, who have played an increasingly strong role in strikes and protests. The militant role played by women in the struggle against the Suharto dictatorship is exemplified by the case of Marsinah, a young woman worker militant tortured, raped and killed in east Java in May 1993. Her death, which became an inspiration for new fighters, illustrates the hideous oppression and superexploitation of women workers in Indonesia, who make up a majority of the workforce in the prison-like factories. As in the Russian Revolution of 1917, women are and will be in the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement. As Trotsky said of the Muslim women in the Soviet East:

> "The Eastern woman who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress.... And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution than the awakened woman worker."
>
> — *Perspectives and Tasks in the East* (1924)

For a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!

The PRD was formed in 1994 as an umbrella group of student, worker and peasant associations. From our limited information, it appears that many of its members are young university students who became labor activists, organizing trade unions and strike struggles; a number were arrested in the course of recent strikes and protests. Earlier this year, PRD militants played leading roles in organizing strikes and anti-government demonstrations in several key industrial centers. In the wake of the recent wave of repression, the PRD is reportedly reorganizing to operate clandestinely, while supporters overseas are broadcasting their statements into Indonesia via fax and e-mail.

The courage of these young militants is epitomized by imprisoned union activist Dita Indah Sari, president of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian Center for Labor Struggles (PPBI). She has often been imprisoned for her work in organizing strikes and for participation in protests such as the December 1995 demonstration against the occupation of East Timor. During the July 8 rally of 20,000 strikers in Surabaya, she was arrested for "spreading hatred against the government." But along with this courageous work, she also exemplifies the central political weakness of the PRD: its support for and illusions in Megawati and the PDI. Dita Sari is described by the PRD as involved "also actively in organizing actions for the Indonesian oppositions and for Megawati's supporters," including as a regular speaker at public forums organized by pro-Megawati dissidents at the PDI headquarters.

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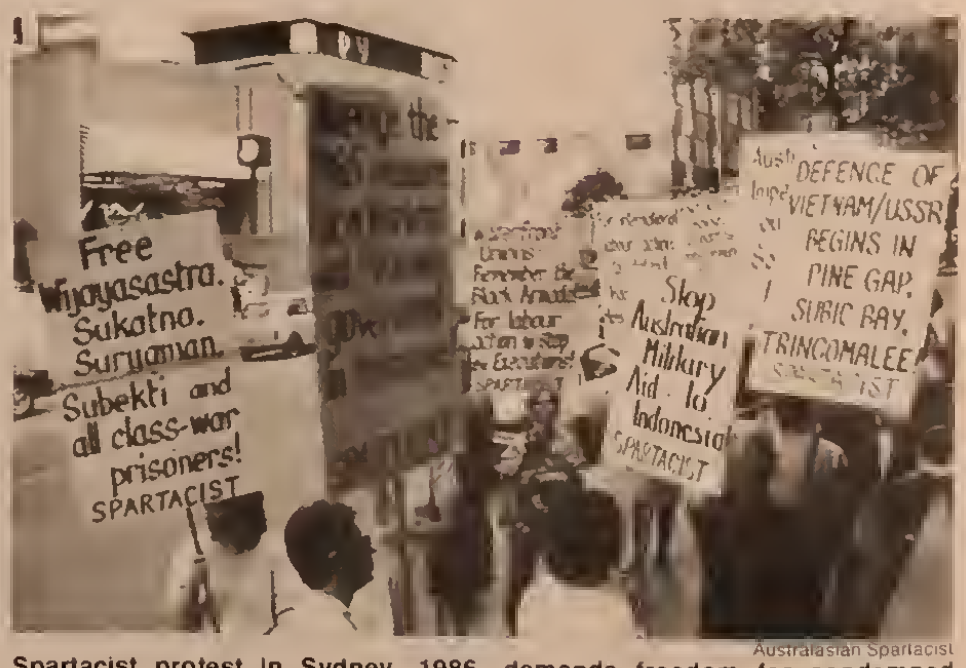
Wide World

Former nationalist leader Sukarno, father of current tame "oppositionist" Megawati.



Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist protest in Sydney, 1986, demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists.

Australian Maritime Union Protests Indonesia Repression

In late September, the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) launched boycotts of Indonesian shipping in protest against the Suharto regime's arrests of Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union, and union activist Dita Sari. Pakpahan was arrested following demonstrations in late July against the government's attacks on the supporters of opposition leader Megawati Sukarneputri, who was ousted by the state from the leadership of the Indonesian Democratic Party. Dita Sari was arrested earlier the same month in Surabaya after a workers' protest. The MUA's action, directed at all Indonesian shipping and cargo, was backed by the International Transport Workers' Federation.

The MUA's labor boycott is an exemplary act of solidarity with the struggles of the workers and oppressed of Indonesia. The MUA is in the cross hairs of the right-wing Australian government of Prime Minister John Howard—which has launched an all-sided attack on labor, immigrants and other minorities—not only because of its strategic economic position in the country, but also because of the history of militant struggle by waterfront workers, including on behalf of the working masses of Asia.

During the dirty, losing U.S. war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, in which Australian imperialism served as loyal lackeys of Washington, waterfront workers took concrete action on behalf of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. The recent labor bans in protest of the repression in Indonesia recall in particular the 1945-49 boycott of Dutch shipping carried out in support of the Indonesian independence struggle by Australian, Indian, Chinese and other workers.

The history of that boycott can be found in the book *Black Armada* (1975) by Australian journalist Rupert Lockwood, a longtime supporter of the now-defunct Communist Party (CPA). During World War II, as the Japanese imperialists invaded Indonesia, the retreating Dutch transported their colonial functionaries to Australia, along with hundreds of members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other political prisoners. Many of these had spent decades in the Dutch imperialists' jungle death camp of Tanah Merah in Netherlands New Guinea. While being moved to prison camps in Australia, including the infamous camp at Cowra, New South Wales—which was later the scene of racist mass slaughter of Japanese POWs—the imprisoned militants appealed for help by throwing notes from convict ships and railroad cars. Australian trade unionists and civil libertarians responded with a successful campaign to free the leftist political prisoners.

Once freed, some former prisoners were employed by the Dutch in sensitive positions where they had access to information on Dutch military stores and shipments, classified radio reports and Allied intelligence. With the defeat of Japan and the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia in August 1945 by nationalist forces led by Sukarno, the Dutch and Allied powers sought to rush military forces and supplies to Indonesia to shore up colonial control. Members of the Indonesian Seamen's Union, founded in Australia during the war, declared they would not man Dutch ships steaming to crush the Republic and began deserting the ships in late September 1945. Australian waterfront workers and seamen, led by the CPA, immediately declared their support for the Indonesian seamen, placing a "black ban"—boycott—on Dutch ships, the "Black Armada."

That union-enforced ban tied up most Dutch shipping in every major Australian port over the next four years. Over 30 unions, including those of Asian seamen organized in Australia, participated in the boycott of Dutch transport, paralyzing the colonial fleet and buying precious time for the Indonesian nationalist forces to organize resistance. At great sacrifice, Indian seamen refused to fulfill the strikebreaking role for which they had been recruited. The Chinese Seamen's Union in Australia was critical in organizing material aid for Indonesians and Indians facing desperate financial hardship because of their refusal to work Dutch ships.

Undercutting the internationalist impulse and implication of these actions, however, was the social-patriotic policy of the CPA. From the time of the arrival of the newly released PKI members, the Australian CP "instructed" these militants—who had been in complete isolation since 1926—on the necessity of subordinating the struggle for independence to the Allies' war effort against the Axis powers in the imperialist conflict. As Lockwood wrote:

> "Though advised by the CPA, the PKI retained its independence, and at first made sectarian errors that made CPA hairs stand on end....
>
> "The Australian advice was delivered in firm terms, that support of the war against the Axis powers was essential."

The labor boycott was called in response to the fact that the imperialist "democracies" were attempting to *prop up* colonial rule in Indonesia. The Stalinist leadership of the waterfront and seamen's unions argued that in fact the boycott was in the best interests of Australia. Lockwood quotes the appeal carried in the CPA's newspaper, the *Tribune*:

> "Australia must raise the strongest voice to see that her 70 million Indonesian neighbours win their freedom. A fettered Indonesia in the Near North carries a constant threat of political and economic instability to Australian trade and foreign policy."

This posture in fact coincided with that of the governing Labor Party (ALP), which had ruled throughout World War II and to which the CPA was (and its successors are) ultimately subservient. Founded on the racist "White Australia Policy," the Labor officialdom witnessed the ignominious demise of the European colonial powers in Asia. With the end of the war, the ALP government of Ben Chifley initially supplied the Dutch with arms and transport in the attempt to crush the Republic. But, reading the writing on the wall for Dutch rule, it also tolerated the "Black Armada" boycott.

After the failure of Dutch military offensives in July 1947 and December 1948, the Labor government adopted a policy of ingratiating themselves with the nationalist leaders in Jakarta, figuring that the interests of Labor's masters in the Australian capitalist class would best be served by cementing links with the bourgeois nationalists who would emerge as the new rulers of Indonesia. More fundamentally, with the empire of its traditional British big brothers in irreversible decline, the Australian bourgeoisie and its Labor lackeys turned to American imperialism. As Labor dutifully lined up with the U.S. in the escalating Cold War frenzy fueled by the imminent success of the Chinese Revolution and Communist-led insurgencies in Asia, at home the Labor government sent the army into the coal fields to crush the CP-led miners strike of 1949.

Despite its misleadership, the workers' struggle over the "Black Armada" is an example of internationalist proletarian action that today can be an inspiration to those struggling against imperialist depredations. What's necessary is a genuinely revolutionary leadership, armed with the perspective that the most effective "solidarity" the Australian working class can offer the working masses of Asia is an irreconcilable struggle against its "own" imperialist rulers. *The main enemy is at home!* ■

Indonesia Calling

Australian and Indonesian protesters march in Sydney in 1945 to demand end to Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. Waterside workers boycotted Dutch shipping in solidarity with independence struggle.

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Boston...

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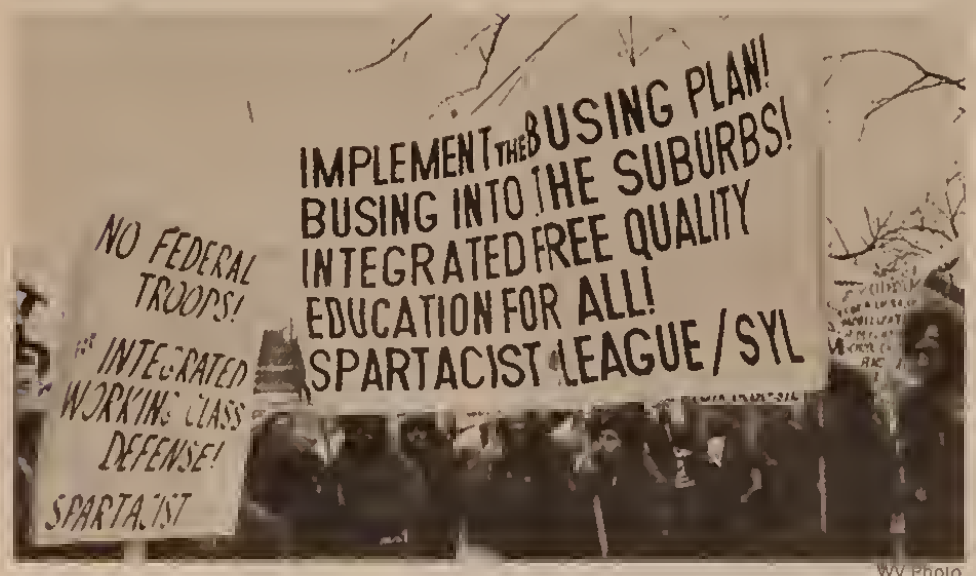
Representative Ray Flynn, co-founder of ROAR ("Restore Our Alienated Rights"), the reactionary umbrella group that organized racist mobs throughout the city, became the "liberal" mayor of Boston and later Clinton's ambassador to the Vatican. Current City Council president James Kelly was leader of the South Boston Information Center, front for the racist paramilitary South Boston Marshals. This summer Kelly attempted to kill a City Council resolution condemning the burning of Southern black churches!

Before and during the Civil War, Boston was the heart of the anti-slavery Abolitionist movement. But following the huge influx of Irish and Italian immigrants around the turn of the century, Boston's blue-blooded Brahmins placed ethnic white ward heelers (like "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, John F. Kennedy's grandfather) in charge of the city administration. The city's ruling class purposely retarded industrial development and suppressed attempts to organize trade unions. Today Boston has one of the lowest rates of union membership of any major city in the North. And for black residents, forced into the ghettos of Roxbury and Dorchester and the worst jobs, Boston's veneer of ivy-covered academia and Northern liberalism has always been a cruel hoax.

It was in this quintessential Democratic Party stronghold that busing was killed, foreshadowing its defeat nationwide, by an alliance of racist mobs in the streets and limousine liberals in Congress who made sure that no black kids were bused out to the swanky schools of suburban Lexington or Weston. Busing of black students was purposely limited to neighborhoods like South Boston, one of the poorest white areas outside Appalachia, with the aim of pitting poor and working-class whites against blacks. Cynical politicians then inflamed racist sentiments in these ethnic white enclaves, under the watchwords of "neighborhood schools" and "stop forced busing."

The 1974 desegregation order was immediately met with a white boycott of South Boston High School which rapidly escalated into citywide racist mobilizations and lynch-mob terror. Racial epithets and rocks were hurled at buses carrying black schoolchildren. Frenzied mobs roamed the streets intimidating and assaulting blacks. The NAACP office was firebombed. Nightriding vigilantes fired into the predominantly black Columbia Point housing project. Confederate flags were prominent at anti-busing rallies. The racist terrorist South Boston Marshals patrolled the area against "outside agitation," carrying out repeated attacks on blacks and anti-racist militants throughout the city.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent in December 1974 pro-busing march in Boston. We fought for labor/black defense to stop racist attacks against black schoolchildren.

As pitched battles over school integration raged in the streets from 1974 to 1976, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League actively fought to defend school busing. We called on the integrated labor movement—including teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers unions—to organize labor/black defense of bused children. Against the narrow limits set by the federal judges, we called to *extend busing to the suburbs* so poor kids, black and white, could have a shot at a real education.

While we took our stand with the black ghetto masses, supposed "leftists" like the Revolutionary Communist Party (then known as the Revolutionary Union) rallied behind the racist mobs. Their newspaper *Revolution* (October 1974) carried the obscene headline, "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan." The International Socialists, predecessor to the International Socialist Organization, also capitulated to the racist anti-busing backlash, seeking to carve out a non-existent "third camp" with the line that "socialists oppose both the 'pro'-busing and 'anti'-busing forces, both of whom use racism to further their own ends" (*Workers Power*, 10 November 1972). This grotesque argument amnestied the lynch mobs who were daily attacking black people on the streets! And the tiny League for the Revolutionary Party, a splinter from the family tree of the International Socialists, scurrilously denounced busing as a "vicious ruling class attack on blacks and cannot be supported" (*Socialist Voice*, Spring 1977).

Meanwhile, reformist groups that supported busing lined up behind the racist capitalist government. A hallmark of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at the time was its call for "federal troops to Boston," peddling the criminal lie that the same repressive apparatus which gunned down Black Panther activists could be relied on to defend black rights. The arch-racist Louise Day Hicks demonstrated a better understanding of the role of the capitalist state than the supposed "socialists" of the SWP, as she called for federal troops *to put down black Roxbury*.

The SWP, too, initially opposed busing, under the rubric of "community control," reversing itself only to opportunistically tail after the NAACP and other black liberals and preachers who begged the racist rulers to enforce integration. "Community control" of the impoverished ghetto schools is nothing but an accommodation to the racist status quo, which would do little more than prettify hideous oppression. Today, as expressed by one of their spokesmen at a recent SWP forum in Boston, these reformists bizarrely claim that school busing won and that the city is more integrated than ever! This in the midst of the widespread unemployment, racist cop terror, crumbling schools and conditions of desperate poverty and neglect which plague America's inner cities, including Boston.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Oppression!

Emboldened by the defeat of busing, racists mobilized against efforts to integrate South Boston's public housing projects in the late 1980s. In May 1994, the Ku Klux Klan—which has historically spewed race-hate against Catholics as well as blacks and Jews—held a rally on the steps of South Boston High. This summer, racist thugs repeatedly chased and beat up minority youth in the South Boston projects. Meanwhile, the black Mission Hill and Franklin Hill housing projects are routine targets for cop sweeps in the "war against drugs." In 1994, a police SWAT team killed 75-year-old black minister Accelynne Williams in a raid on his Dorchester home.

Though 40 percent of the city's population overall, blacks and Hispanics now account for 82 percent of public school attendance. Continual weakening of busing guidelines along with massive "white flight" to parochial schools and the suburbs has long since made desegregation a dead letter, as minority students were simply shuttled from one impoverished neighborhood to another. The public school system has been so starved for funds by the city's rulers that five schools were put on academic probation last year, while 60 percent of high schools were either decertified, on probation or on warning status.

The capitalist attack on public education for minority youth is part and parcel of a broader ruling-class assault on all working people, from the onslaught against the trade unions to the devastation of welfare and public health care to the millions of homeless who have been thrown onto the streets. Using the threat of privatization, the city's Transportation Authority (MBTA) is trying to ram down the throats of nearly 7,000 transit workers a contract imposing layoffs and cuts in health care while delaying until 1998 a pay raise negotiated last year. Racist abuse of black transit workers by their MBTA bosses is so rampant that the state attorney general felt compelled to threaten a lawsuit. These bus drivers, subway carmen and mechanics can play a vital role in leading all their class brothers and sisters in a fight against the racist capitalist exploiters.

In this society based on unbridled capitalist greed, it will take a socialist revolution to secure quality education, housing and jobs for black, Hispanic and all working-class youth, just as it took the revolutionary Civil War to smash the slavocracy and to establish public education for black people in this country. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party, acting as a tribune of all the oppressed, that can lead the multiracial working class in a fight to replace this racist capitalist system with an egalitarian classless society where those who labor rule. ■

Indonesia...

(continued from page 8)

The government's claim that the PRD is fomenting communist insurrection is far from reality. PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko insists his party is "leftist in the socio-democratic sense," which is confirmed by the limited material available to us on the PRD's political work. The PRD describes its program as aimed at "achieving a multiparty democracy, with the right to freedom of organisation for workers, peasants and all oppressed sections of society," explicitly calling for class-collaborationist alliances "with the two legal non-government parties—the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)—and with all other democratic forces."

A PRD manifesto issued after the July arrests sums up its "immediate demands," calling for raising the daily minimum wage to 7,000 rupiahs (about $3), for a referendum for the people of East Timor, and for the nomination of Megawati as a presidential candidate. Together these reflect the reformist and popular-frontist outlook of this group, as it seeks to channel the vast popular hatred for the regime into minimalist economic demands and support for the bourgeois opposition. Megawati, meanwhile, has disassociated herself from her supporters' "violence" and has called "to guarantee public order." Megawati is often compared to the Philippines' Cory Aquino, who was promoted by Washington as a successor to the venal Marcos regime. While Megawati is less effective than Aquino, there are certain parallels: both wholeheartedly defend the interests of the capitalist class they represent and both have been backed by leftists who mislead the workers movement into the trap of popular-frontist betrayal.

While the PRD has been active in protesting the genocidal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, it refuses to call for independence, instead demanding "a peaceful resolution and no military intervention in East Timor, and recognition of human and democratic rights for the East Timorese nation." Meanwhile, the PRD's "democratic" heroine Megawati endorses the expansionist aims of the military regime, calling for incorporation of East Timor as the 27th province of Indonesia. Among the Australian reformist left, the PRD's publicity agents in the Democratic Socialist Party call for "liberating" East Timor through the intervention of the Australian jackal imperialists, who are themselves deeply complicit in Suharto's slaughter of the East Timorese.

The PRD not only looks to Megawati and her bourgeois PDI to oppose Suharto, it also makes a veiled bid for a split in the Indonesian military and fosters illusions in the "democratic" appetites of U.S. imperialism. An August 12 statement released by the PRD's overseas office in Australia appeals to generals who "are indicating support for the democratic movement" and continues:

> "The U.S., which has become the pillar of anti-communism, considers we have entered the New World Order where issues of human rights, democracy and economic development have become the priority for all world nations. And this principle has given birth to a wave of democratisation everywhere."

Belief in the "democratic" intentions of the imperialists who sponsored the 1965 massacre and in the "progressive" military is a fatally dangerous illusion. Such a policy will lead these courageous young militants into the same kind of bloc with bourgeois nationalists that led to the slaughter of a generation of leftist militants in 1965.

Successive generations of the Indonesian working class have demonstrated their determination to rise up against their exploiters. What is lacking is a leadership which can point the way forward to a victorious struggle for power. Such a party must be based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the combative proletariat leading the toiling peasant masses in the struggle not only to overthrow the venal, repressive rule of the generals, but to expropriate the factory and plantation bosses—both the Indonesian exploiters and the imperialist overlords they serve. Such a party must, like Lenin's Bolsheviks, be a tribune of the people, championing the rights of the subjugated women, the restive youth, the myriad oppressed nationalities, the religious and ethnic minorities.

The proletarian vanguard must look not to suicidal alliances with the class enemy, the "democratic" bourgeois opposition and their imperialist sponsors, but to linking up with its international class allies, the workers throughout Asia and across the world, in an international party of socialist revolution—a reborn Fourth International. For a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia! For an Indonesian workers republic, part of a socialist federation of Asia! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

down when the killers found that their intended victim, ANC activist Victor Ntuli (who was killed at a rally two years later), was not home at the time. Mbusi Ntuli continued: "This is justice in South Africa. It has always been like this and the judiciary are the same old people."

But the ANC leaders—no less than the racist ruling class for which they front—were quick to accept this old-style South African "justice." Malan gloated that the outcome "serves as an example of how democracy should function in a civilised country." Mandela dutifully chimed in: "I have confidence in the judiciary. I am a politician and am guided by their decision. I will not interfere in the judicial process." Yet even as a Durban judge exonerated Malan of his heinous crimes, convicted killer Eugene de Kock (code name "Prime Evil") was presenting testimony before a court in Pretoria about Malan's role in the apartheid regime's "dirty war" against black liberation fighters, in which de Kock had been chief assassin.

An editorial in the leading mouthpiece of the American ruling class, the *New York Times* (15 October), lauded Mandela for "embracing judicial decisions even when they go against him." But did this judicial decision really go against the ANC leadership? Recall that Malan and the others were arrested and indicted two days before local elections were held last November. ANC spokesmen were worried about a low turnout as their supporters were becoming disillusioned that nothing had changed in their day-to-day lives since Mandela became South Africa's first black president in 1994. The judicial action against Malan and his colleagues was thus a cynical ploy to revive the ANC's anti-apartheid credentials.

Even Judge Jan Hugo, who freed Malan and the others, hypocritically chastised government prosecutors for presenting a sloppy case by, for example, not calling witnesses to substantiate the charges. Mandela & Co. certainly did not want to antagonize the many apartheid criminals—Malan's former comrades-in-arms—who continue to occupy positions of authority in the army, the police and the rest of the South African state apparatus. For the white racists, the Malan verdict confirmed that the ANC regime would continue to shield them from the vengeance of the black masses.

In the absence of any hint of justice for the oppressed in the racist courts, what is being offered up as an alternative is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, an impotent safety valve for the outrage of the survivors of apartheid terror. The *New York Times* editorial cynically counselled that the acquittal "reinforces the country's need for the commission, which is charged with finding the truth about apartheid crimes and giving thousands of victims—many more than would get satisfaction through trials—the chance to tell their stories." In other words, the victims are allowed a "cathartic" cry and some token compensation, while their racist tormentors—who typically win amnesty—not only remain free but in positions of power. The Truth Commission draws an equation between apartheid state terror, rape and butchery and the occasional excesses of the symbolic guerrilla actions of the ANC's former military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The "new" South Africa is a *neo-apartheid* regime: the rigid structures of racial segregation—the Group Areas Act, language restrictions, pass laws—are gone, but white supremacy remains. The "sunset clause" which was a key feature of the "power sharing" deal between Mandela and De Klerk guaranteed that the Randlords' racist henchmen would maintain their positions in the capitalist state for at least five years. The courts, cops and military that enforced apartheid rule remain in place, even if some former ANC guerrillas have been incorporated into the repressive apparatus. There will be no justice in South Africa until the white racist capitalist class and its black front men are swept away and replaced by a black-centred workers government in which there would also be a place for coloureds (mixed-race), Asians and whites who accept the democratic will of the black toiling majority.

AP

Reuters

Children of women slaughtered in 1987 KwaMakhutha massacre ordered by former apartheid defense minister Magnus Malan (right).

Only Proletarian Power Can Overcome Murderous Tribalism

Political violence between Inkatha and the ANC was the unstated backdrop to Malan's trial. While the ANC draws support from all sections of the nonwhite population as well as liberal and leftist whites, its strongest base of support is among the Xhosas of the Eastern Cape. Xhosas, the country's second-largest tribal group, are prevalent in the ANC leadership, with Mandela himself being the son of a minor Xhosa chieftain from the Transkei. Hence the Afrikaner nationalist regime and Inkatha were able to exploit the fears of traditional-minded Zulu villagers and backward Zulu workers that an ANC government would be a disguised form of Xhosa domination.

The Malan trial confirmed the extent to which elements in white ruling circles, particularly the Afrikaner military, promoted and funded Zulu tribalist terrorism against the ANC and the closely allied South African Communist Party (SACP). Undisputed testimony in the Malan case showed how 206 Inkatha supporters received paramilitary training under the auspices of Military Intelligence in the Caprivi strip in 1986. An obvious omission of the trial was the complicity of Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was involved in the military cover-up relating to "Operation Marion" in the Caprivi strip, but wasn't charged. The liberal *Weekly Mail and Guardian* (11 October) reports that at least 55 of the Caprivi trainees still work in the South African police, most of them in KwaZulu-Natal, where political violence between Inkatha and the ANC rages on.

In 1990-91, armed thugs roved the commuter railways that brought black workers from Soweto to Johannesburg. These gunmen, often masked or including whites painted in blackface, sought out union shop stewards for assassination and murdered scores of Zulu and Xhosa workers. The bourgeois press wrote off the "train violence" as "tribal factional struggle," but it was well known to apartheid racists that the ANC-allied Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) used the trains as organising centres for labourers.

In the wake of the "train violence," the ANC/SACP leaders worked overtime to lead the proletariat away from working-class defence against the violence. In this way they gave backhanded support to anti-Zulu communalism among their supporters organised in predominantly Xhosa "self-defence units" in the embattled black townships around Johannesburg. As thousands were being killed in the so-called "Reef war" between Inkatha and the ANC, we wrote:

> "What is needed is the formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both right-wing terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist war."
>
> — "South Africa and Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

The bosses continue to use interethnic rivalries as a weapon to suppress class struggle. Today, under the guise of "independent" unions such as Uwusa (United Workers Union), Inkatha organises Zulu miners as strikebreakers. But while the IFP won most of the rural vote in recent KwaZulu-Natal elections, the ANC garnered the biggest vote in the main cities and towns. This points to a significant distance from the IFP among urban Zulu workers and poses the possibility of *continued cross-ethnic organising among workers*. COSATU remains the only mass institution in the country embracing members of all racial and ethnic groups on a class basis. COSATU unions have even won over some white workers. Thus the labour movement can be a crucial bulwark against South Africa's sliding into a sewer of racial and tribal strife. As we wrote in Part One of "South Africa Powder Keg" (*WV* No. 603, 8 July 1994, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12): "Hard *class* struggle is the only way to cut through these poisonous ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters."

Yet COSATU remains a key prop of the new capitalist government. While COSATU denounced the "far-reaching negative consequences" of the Malan verdict, not one of its unions protested with the strikes and stayaways that challenged judicial repression under the former regime. Staking its future on the nationalist popular-front ANC alliance, a newly formed labour bureaucracy closely aligned with the SACP is pushing an agenda of *class peace*. Meanwhile, Mandela & Co. have tried to mobilise plebeian black sentiment against the trade unions, claiming that the relatively high wages in the industrial sector are responsible for mass unemployment and abject poverty in the countryside.

For a Bolshevik Party! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

Without taking the road of *class* struggle, the working masses of South Africa face a grim future of rotten ethnic hatreds rising to the top. In Cape Town, Indian and Malay Muslim vigilantes organised in "People Against Gangsterism and Drugs" have hunted down and killed alleged drug dealers in response to rising street crime in the country. This "movement" linked to religious fundamentalists in the Near East has roamed the Indian township of Lenasia outside Johannesburg under slogans such as "one dealer, one bullet." Anti-immigrant mobilisations are increasingly routine. Alexandra residents dancing the "toyi-toyi" brought the local Home Affairs office to a standstill recently in a chauvinist protest against foreigners, whom they accused of taking their jobs. One woman shouted: "Grigamhas, go home," using a slur for Africans from north of the Limpopo River, which divides South Africa from Zimbabwe.

With race and class contradictions rife, the alternatives in South Africa are starkly posed: either workers revolution based on the power of millions of black workers or an escalation of racial and ethnic strife with its murderous outcome. Securing basic democratic rights, like the right to housing, employment and a decent quality education for all, can only come by breaking the economic and political power of the giant mining and manufacturing combines through expropriation of their assets, laying the basis for a planned economy under the rule of workers councils.

This understanding is rooted in the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, the program demonstrated in action by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia as it led the successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917. The working class must forge a multiracial revolutionary party built in sharp political combat against the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and its ostensibly "leftist" backers. In opposition to the "tripartite alliance" of the ANC/SACP/COSATU front men, a revolutionary workers party will fight for the expropriation of the white agribusinesses and the vast tracts of farmland seized from black rural labourers and for the nationalisation of the mines and factories under a black-centred workers government. The International Communist League fights to forge a Bolshevik party to lead the struggle for a new South Africa in which those who labour rule.

The fight for justice in this country requires a party that will fight for the interests of all the oppressed, for proletarian revolution and its necessary international extension to the industrial centres of the capitalist world. Under a workers government, the Magnus Malans and Mangosuthu Buthelezis will be tried before revolutionary tribunals made up of people like the survivors in the Ntuli family and others who have suffered the murderous rampage of racist apartheid. Only then will those massacred at KwaMakhutha be avenged. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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New York City
Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend Affirmative Action Against Racist Attacks!

California: Vote No on Prop 209!

OAKLAND—Proposition 209, the racist and grotesquely misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), calls for the destruction of all state affirmative action programs in education, hiring and contracting. With rising tuition rates forcing black and Latino youth out of the state's universities, the CCRI amounts to a racist purge of higher education. Public schools have already been resegregated, and the sharp cuts in education funding have led to a lack of books and adequate teaching staff. Taken together with the devastation of welfare by Clinton and Congress and the widespread destruction of manufacturing jobs, Prop. 209 is a declaration that no black person need ever be hired again.

The affirmative action programs established in response to the protests and upheavals of the '60s were at best a limited gain for a tiny percentage of minorities and women; the racist rulers initially implemented hiring quotas with the intention of breaking the unions and exacerbating racial divisions in the workforce. Now, emboldened in its one-sided class war against working people, the ruling class has set its sights on the minimal access minority youth have to the race- and class-biased higher education system. Like the racist campaign against immigrants, this is a ploy to deflect domestic discontent into a "divide and rule" scheme to better exploit the whole working class.

The National Organization for Women and Jesse Jackson have run around the country in support of affirmative action, but their real message is always: vote for Clinton. Yet the Democratic and Republican parties alike are determined to roll back every gain workers and minorities have wrested from the bosses through bitter class struggle. The fake leftists who tail Jackson have tried to restrict opposition to Prop. 209 to a narrow ballot issue. But simply defending existing affirmative action programs accepts the racial discrimination inherent in capitalist society. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs call on all working people, minorities and youth to vote "no" on Prop. 209. However, we understand that the right to an education and to employment will not be decided at the polls.

The strategy necessary to drive back this ruling-class assault is one which seeks to mobilize students and minorities together with the power of the integrated labor movement in the fight for *open admissions with no tuition* and *free, quality education for all*. To combat massive unemployment, particularly among minorities, we raise the demand for *jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay*. To win such demands requires a struggle that transcends the framework of capitalist pressure politics and challenges the oppression of black people which is rooted in American capitalism. We fight for revolutionary integrationism—complete social, political and economic equality in a socialist society. We seek to build a multiracial workers party which can lead the working class in defense of all the oppressed through the struggle for proletarian revolution.

Young Spartacus

Racist Mob Attacks Black Students

Courts Resegregate Boston Schools

For Free, Quality, Integrated Education and Housing!

BOSTON—Carloads of jeering white racist youths, armed with Mace, hockey sticks and baseball bats, viciously attacked black students last month outside the prestigious Boston Latin Academy in the Roxbury ghetto. The thugs wore "Southie Rules" T-shirts and taunted, "Southie's in the house!" Most of them came from South Boston, which in the 1970s was the focus of racist mobilizations against school busing, as black schoolchildren being transported to white schools were confronted by violent, howling mobs.

Today, 20 years after busing to integrate Boston's schools was killed on the streets, the city remains if anything more segregated than before. The beleaguered black population faces increasing attacks from both the city administration and emboldened racist thugs. Just a week before the Latin Academy attack, a house which had just been sold to a black family was burned down in predominantly white West Roxbury.

These vile racist attacks come as the Boston city government is about to formally finish off the remnants of school desegregation, and with it what slim chances black children currently have for a decent education. On August 22, Judge Arthur Garrity Jr. effectively overturned an affirmative action program at the elite Boston Latin public school, ordering the admission of a white student pending the trial of her "reverse discrimination" suit (see "Boston Schools: Liberals Attack Affirmative Action," *WV* No. 631, 20 October 1995). Two weeks later, city officials announced plans to gut the affirmative action plans implemented under Garrity's original 1974 desegregation order, which reserved 35 percent of the seats in the city's three entrance exam high schools—Latin, Latin Academy, and John D. Bryant Math and Science—for minority students.

Meanwhile, the state Board of Education is leading the charge to repeal the "Racial Imbalance Act," which applies to any district (excluding Boston, which is under separate court order) with a school where more than 50 percent of enrollment is minority students. Pushing for the law's repeal is state "education czar" John Silber, who as the dictatorial head of Boston University was notorious for intimidating leftist professors and running an FBI-style surveillance file on student activists. Upon taking office last March, Silber wasted little time in expressing his contempt for minority students: "If we want to pontificate like God almighty and say all children are created equal, then we're talking rubbish" (*Boston Herald*, 15 March). This racist pig wants to return to the days when "separate and *un*equal" was the law of the land.

Against the racist rollback being pushed by both Democrats and Republicans, we defend busing as well as affirmative action as minimal measures to enable minority youth to have some access to a decent education. But unlike those whose ultimate goal is only to assure a place in elite public schools and universities for a relative handful of middle-class black and Hispanic students, we demand: Free, quality, integrated education for all! For open admissions and a living stipend! But the question of school integration cannot be divorced from the pervasive segregation of the black and Hispanic masses in impoverished ghettos and barrios. Any real fight to desegregate education must be linked to the struggle for integrated, quality low-cost housing for all.

The Battle for Busing in Boston

For the past 20 years the political leadership of Boston has been a rogues' gallery of those who built their careers on the racist mobilization against busing. Late City Council president Louise Day Hicks, who threw herself in front of buses carrying black students, rode her demagoguery into a Congressional seat. State

continued on page 10

Adaskaveg/Boston Herald

September 26: Cops manhandle black students at Boston Latin Academy, following attack by white racist mob.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 655 X-623 8 November 1996

Florida: Military Occupation of St. Petersburg Ghetto

Racist Cop Terror U.S.A.

Baer/St. Petersburg Times

St. Petersburg police, backed up by National Guard, move in to suppress protests over racist killing by police, October 24.

Days before the presidential elections, two Southern towns were placed under states of emergency following angry protests against police killings of young black men. The killings fit a pattern of ever-increasing cop terror against the ghettos and barrios, part of the racist ruling-class war against the poor, working people and minorities. Indeed, the election campaign was marked by a competition between the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties over who would crack down harder on immigrants, who would be more ruthless in eliminating the remnants of welfare, who would be tougher in expanding the burgeoning prison population and increasing the rate of executions in the country's death chambers.

On October 24, the black ghetto of St. Petersburg, Florida erupted in outrage after the fatal police shooting of 18-year-old Tyron Lewis in a car theft incident. Witnesses recounted that the black youth was sitting inside the car *with his hands up*, after being stopped by two white cops, when one of the cops pumped five bullets through the windshield into Lewis. As word of the shooting spread, angry residents gathered, chanting, "Stop police brutality in the black community!" A police phalanx heaved tear gas canisters into the crowd, setting off a running battle.

Democratic governor Lawton Chiles sent the National Guard into the city in a move to seal off black areas. More than 600 police, sheriff's deputies and National Guard troops were placed on a state of alert as cops patrolled the streets in convoys and helicopters hovered overhead. Over 20 people were arrested. Seeking to blame the angry protests on "outside agitators," the mayor and police chief have targeted the black nationalist group Uhuru, which established a bail fund for those arrested. *Hands off Uhuru! Drop all charges against the arrested protesters!*

One week later, the town of Leland, Mississippi was placed under a state of emergency. This followed a protest provoked when local police changed their account of the October 17 killing of 29-year-old Aaron White, a black television repairman. After reporting that a cop shot White in an exchange of gunfire, police officials then claimed that White shot himself. On October 30, 400 people in this small Mississippi Delta town marched on the local police station demanding to see the mayor and police chief. When they refused to speak to the protesters, the crowd erupted, pelting police cars with rocks.

From the Deep South to the ghettos and barrios throughout the country, there is a sharp rise in racist cop executions on the streets of capitalist America. Even according to FBI statistics, the number of people killed by cops climbed by close to 25 percent from 1989 to 1993. Behind this war of racist terror lies a bipartisan ruling-class consensus to cut off even the most minimal lifelines for the inner-city poor. As we noted in "Lynch Law U.S.A." (*WV* No. 631, 20 October 1995):

> "The capitalist rulers have decided to let the poor and the inner cities rot, slashing what pathetic remnants of social programs still exist, abandoning even the pretense of caring for broad sectors of the population. To carry this out, the ruling class requires a brutal army of repression. While legal lynching under the racist death penalty escalates...the cops are carrying out lynch law in the streets."

Capitalist Decay and Racist Repression

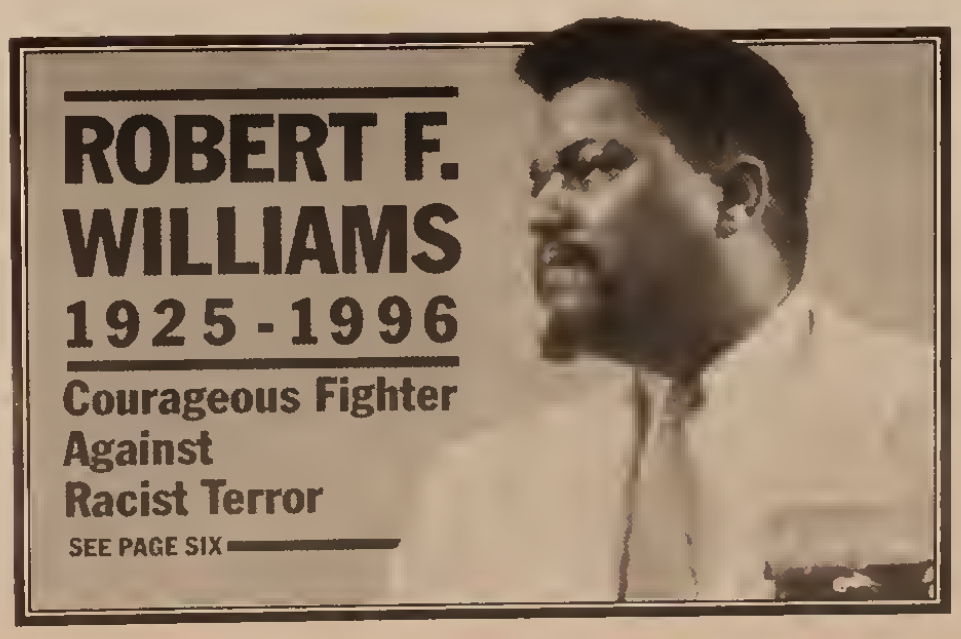
The unleashing of racist cop terror comes straight from the top of this country's capitalist ruling class. As a number of newspapers have pointed out, in the elections, Clinton has seized the issue of "crime" from the more overtly right-wing, racist Republicans. Clinton's long-time pledge to put an additional 100,000 cops on the streets by the year 2000, the continued acceleration in the use of the racist death penalty (reflected in a welter of new laws mandating executions), as well as Clinton's support for gun control won him the first-ever endorsement of a Democratic presidential nominee by the Fraternal Order of Police.

From the White House down to the local courthouse, the ruling class has given a green light to the cops to ride roughshod over minorities. Earlier in October, New York City was the scene of several days of protests following the acquittal of a Bronx cop for the chokehold death of 29-year-old Anthony Baez (see "Bronx Killer Cop Livoti Walks," *WV* No. 653, 11 October). Then in Pittsburgh on October 18, a mistrial was declared in the case of two white cops charged with "involuntary manslaughter" for the brutal beating death of Jonny Gammage a year earlier. Cops arrested Gammage when they saw him driving a Jaguar through a predominantly white area outside Pittsburgh. They threw him to the ground, tied his legs, handcuffed him and choked him to death.

The killing of Gammage, the cousin of a Pittsburgh Steelers defensive lineman, was met by integrated protests of hundreds of people. But when his killers went to trial, the racist "justice" system kicked in to try to ensure that, as usual, the cops would go free. The court ordered that a jury be selected from white suburbs outside Philadelphia—*over 240 miles away*—while the cops' lawyers summarily dismissed as potential jurors any trade unionists.

The massive reinforcement of the repressive apparatus of the state—centrally the cops and prisons—reflects the need of the U.S. ruling class to contain the explosive contradictions generated by the growing gap between the tiny handful of rich at the top and the mass of the populace. Among all industrial nations, the U.S. now has the most unequal distribution of wealth, with over 40 percent of income concentrated in the hands of 1 percent of the population. The U.S. also has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, with the majority of the prison population black, most of them victims of the racist "war on drugs." The biggest growth industry in the U.S.—at $30 billion per year—is prisons; for every manufacturing job lost in the 1980s, there's a

continued on page 9



San Francisco

Hands Off Cannabis Buyers Club!

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following letter of protest to California attorney general Dan Lungren after he ordered the arrest of Dennis Peron, co-founder of the San Francisco Cannabis Buyers Club (CBC) and an advocate of Proposition 215, an initiative in the November 5 ballot which would legalize medical use of marijuana. We favored a vote for Prop. 215 not only as a minimal democratic reform but as a good way to register a protest against Lungren's outrageous attacks.

* * *

21 October 1996

Attorney General Dan Lungren
Sacramento, California

Dear Sir:

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns and protests the October 11 arrest on your orders of Dennis Peron. At your instigation, indictments on trumped-up charges were issued against Peron and five others associated with the San Francisco Cannabis Buyers Club, including two AIDS patients. Those arrested have done nothing wrong. On the contrary, your persecution of those who supply marijuana to the victims of horrible crippling and terminal diseases is truly obscene. We demand that all charges be dropped at once!

The Cannabis Buyers Club was founded by Peron in memory of a companion who died of AIDS, and serves more than 11,000 acutely ill people. Your charge that this organization is a front for drug dealing is a transparent and cynical pretext for using methods characteristic of a police state to silence a political opponent. Peron is a prominent supporter and initiator of Proposition 215, a measure that would legalize the possession and use of marijuana for medical purposes. You signed the ballot argument against this initiative and are crusading to defeat it by slandering and repressing its advocates.

On August 4, you sent more than 100 Bureau of Narcotics Enforcement agents with automatic weapons, body armor and rubber gloves on a Gestapo-style early morning raid, breaking down the CBC doors in San Francisco, terrorizing the occupants, seizing medical records and shutting down the club. The same building is headquarters for Californians for Compassionate Use, the group which got Prop. 215 on the ballot. You had your agents and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Deputies raid the L.A. Cannabis Buyers Club on September 16 and arrest four people. You even tried to get cartoonist Garry Trudeau censored for criticizing your San Francisco raid in his strip "Doonesbury." Now, less than a month before the elections, you have had your police thugs throw Peron in jail.

Your drive to stop AIDS and cancer patients from using marijuana is of a piece with your attempts to shut down hypodermic needle exchange programs in San Francisco Bay Area cities. Were your efforts to succeed, you would condemn thousands to die from a horrible disease, while promoting the spread of this deadly epidemic.

The so-called "war on drugs," in which name you carry out these outrages, is in fact a campaign to repress, terrorize and intimidate blacks, Latinos, poor and working people in the face of vicious cutbacks by this country's racist capitalist rulers. Laws prohibiting drugs like marijuana are an intolerable interference by the state into the private affairs of citizens and should simply be abolished. Smoking marijuana, for any purpose, is no crime. Your persecution of Dennis Peron and the Cannabis Buyers Club is. We demand you cease at once.

Yours truly,
Barbara Franck for the
Partisan Defense Committee

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Hungarian Workers Uprising, October 1956

Last month marked the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The bourgeois press seeks to portray the Hungarian uprising as a precursor to the capitalist counterrevolutions which destroyed the bureaucratically deformed degenerated workers states in East Europe and the former Soviet Union in 1989-91. In fact, in their mass the Hungarian workers sought to defend the socialized property forms instituted in the aftermath of the Red Army victory over Nazism and the fascist Horthy dictatorship in World War II, fighting to replace the Stalinist bureaucracy with the rule of democratic workers councils (soviets). As emphasized in a January 1957 statement by the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party, the Hungarian workers uprising—though crushed by the Soviet bureaucracy's military intervention—was a living vindication of the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution. What was lacking was a Trotskyist party capable of leading this incipient political revolution to victory and extending it throughout East Europe and the USSR, as part of a perspective of world socialist revolution.

Councils—organs of workers' power—appeared on a nation-wide scale in the factories, the army and neighborhood areas. Dual power thus arose on the foundations of socialized property. Although capitalist restorationist elements maneuvered for advantageous positions in government, they were an insignificant force in contrast to the working class and its allies. The workers proved that in a revolutionary showdown they could crush all attempts at capitalist restoration just as they could defeat the native Stalinist bureaucracy, steering the political revolution on its true course toward the establishment of workers democracy. It was to preserve bureaucratic rule that the Kremlin intervened in Hungary, using the presence of restorationist elements as a pretext for its brutal assault on the working class.

In the absence of a revolutionary socialist party, the Workers Councils lacked the clear leadership and the clear declaration of aims that would have made the uprising unequivocal from the beginning. Nonetheless, all the available evidence shows that the working class, which was the decisive power, was bent on defending the social conquests already achieved, such as the planned economy, that it would not tolerate any attempt to return to the horrors of the fascism it had experienced under Horthy and under the Nazis, that its movement was in the channels of political revolution; that is, the building of a workers state freed from the bureaucratic abominations of Stalinism....

Socialist solidarity with the heroic Hungarian rebels has nothing in common with the hypocritical tears shed in the capitalist press by the imperialists and their agents. Socialist support of the Hungarian revolution rests on furtherance of the class struggle at home. A militant worker in an American plant who wants to help the Hungarian fighters stands at opposite poles from the Big Business publication that seeks to convert Cardinal Mindszenty into a new Horthy....

The Hungarian revolution has revealed with crystal clarity the source of danger to the progressive social structure of the Soviet Union and the East European countries. The danger comes from world capitalism on the one hand, and from the bureaucratic caste on the other. The evidence is now conclusive that the revolution of the Hungarian workers is a continuation of the Russian revolution of October 1917. In their aspirations, their conscious program and their organized action, the Hungarian workers are deepening and extending the social conquests of the Russian Revolution and are striking powerful blows at the bureaucratic obstacle to its extension.

The Hungarian revolution is thus a living proof of the Trotskyist thesis that the best defense of the Soviet Union is the extension of the workers revolution.

— Socialist Workers Party pamphlet,
Revolution in Hungary and the Crisis of Stalinism (1957)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 5

No. 655 **8 November 1996**

Woman Faces Seven Years in Prison for Helping Teen Get Abortion

Defend Rosa Hartford!

Rosa Marie Hartford, a mother of six from Shunk, a small town in Pennsylvania, faces up to seven years in prison for helping her son's girlfriend get an abortion. In August 1995, Hartford accompanied the 13-year-old to a clinic in Binghamton, New York, a state where parental consent is not required for minors seeking abortions as it is in Pennsylvania. Helping a minor get an abortion out of state is not illegal in Pennsylvania. So to punish Rosa Hartford for an act of elementary kindness for a desperate young woman in need, the local district attorney dragged out a little-used law against "interfering with the custody of a minor." Hartford was convicted on October 29 and is to be sentenced this month.

This vindictive decision is particularly dangerous because it is the first time since abortion was legalized that an adult has been prosecuted for helping a minor get an abortion, according to Hartford's lawyer at the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy in New York City. Like thousands of other teenagers who "get in trouble," the one in this case was afraid to tell her mother. If Hartford's conviction stands, it means that any friends and other adults can now face prison for helping out a young girl in what should be a purely personal, medical decision that is nobody else's business.

Meanwhile, Rosa Hartford's 19-year-old son was arrested for "statutory rape," even though he and his girlfriend had consensual sex. He is now in prison, facing at least 12 months and as long as 30 months in jail. In this brutal, cruel and viciously anti-youth capitalist society, safe, simple medical procedures like abortion and pleasurable activities like sex are targeted as "crimes" by a hysterical government.

As "right to life" bigots besiege abortion clinics and carry out murderous attacks on doctors and staff, state governments have passed a sheaf of draconian laws cutting back ever more sharply on the right to abortion. These attacks have a particularly heavy impact on young, minority and working women. As part of our fight for a socialist future, we are for free abortion on demand, for anyone, without any restrictions, and for drastically lowering the legal age of adulthood. Hands off Rosa Marie Hartford!

Protests Against Repression in Indonesia

Protest actions against a brutal wave of repression being carried out by the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia were held on October 28 in cities around the world, from San Francisco to Pretoria, South Africa and Sydney, Australia. As we reported last issue in "Indonesia Powder Keg" (*WV* No. 654, 25 October), the Jakarta regime arrested dozens of militants in the wake of massive anti-government protests in July, while scores of protesters were either killed or "disappeared." Trade unionists and supporters of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD) have been particular targets: PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko faces execution by firing squad on charges of treason and at least 25 other PRD leaders are being held in isolation. Dita Sari, president of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian center for Labor Struggles (PPBI), has been imprisoned, as has Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the banned Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI).

WV Photo

Australasian Spartacist

October 28: International Communist League contingents in protests in New York City (above) and Melbourne against military crackdown in Indonesia.

The International Communist League participated in the protests in various cities, with signs demanding "Free All Victims of Right-Wing Terror in Indonesia!" and calling for "Independence for East Timor!" which has been under the grip of genocidal repression since Indonesia's takeover in 1975. Everywhere, our comrades emphasized that "the main enemy is at home." Spartacist supporters at the New York City protest demanded, "U.S. Imperialism Hands Off South Asia!" Supporters of the Spartacist League/Australia (SL/A) at a protest in Melbourne called for "Independence for East Timor! For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! Down With Australian Imperialism!" The demonstrations in Australia came in the context of an exemplary act of internationalist solidarity by the Maritime Union, which lauhched a labor boycott of Indonesian shipping in late September in protest against the repression.

Suharto's rule was born out of the massacre of more than one million Communist Party (PKI) supporters and other militants in 1965—a reign of terror in which U.S. imperialism and its Australian junior partners were up to their necks. This bloodbath was prepared by the PKI's policy of class-collaborationist subordination to the former bourgeois-nationalist regime of Sukarno. Today, despite the evident courage and dedication of its supporters, the PRD offers a similarly suicidal strategy, supporting the PDI, the tame bourgeois opposition led by Sukarno's daughter, Megawati.

Encouraging the PRD in this are the reformists of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), organizers of the Melbourne protest, who single-mindedly pushed the call "Democracy for Indonesia Now!" A Spartacist placard called "For Working-Class Independence from the Bourgeoisie/PDI! Forge a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!" and an SL/A speaker who raised the need for socialist revolution and opposition to class-collaborationist popular-frontism was applauded by protesters.

As an SL/A spokesman explained at an October 12 DSP public meeting in Melbourne:

> "To direct the courageous upsurge of social struggle in Indonesia into the liberation of the masses requires not only solidarity but a revolutionary perspective. That means an understanding of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which shows that in the colonial and semicolonial countries, all wings of the bourgeoisie are so tied to their imperialist masters and the landlords that they are hostile to the unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. For a workers and peasants government in Indonesia! As confirmed by the 1917 Russian Revolution, key to this perspective is the building of an authentic communist party that fights above all for the complete political independence of the working class from all parties of the bourgeoisie."

Free the victims of Jakarta's bloody repression! For workers revolution to sweep away the Suharto dictatorship! ■

Drop All Charges Against Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

We reprint below a November 4 call issued by the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three. The three still face charges stemming from their arrest at a June 29 PDC-initiated united-front demonstration in Chicago's Daley Plaza, to which over a hundred anti-racist militants came out, to protest a race-hate provocation by the Ku Klux Klan. Support for these courageous anti-Klan activists from the labor movement is crucial. Letters demanding the dropping of all charges have already been sent by officials of a wide range of unions, including Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308; Steelworkers District 7 of Gary, Indiana; Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the Bay Area and the Midwest Regional Joint Board of UNITE (needle trades).

Three anti-Klan protesters threatened with up to a year in jail will go on trial in Cook County Circuit Court on December 2. Gene Herson, the Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons, a supporter of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, face bogus charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a protest against a Ku Klux Klan race-hate provocation in Daley Plaza on June 29. The PDC calls on unions, black and Latino groups, leftists, students and all opponents of racist Klan terror to join in a united-front protest demonstration at the courthouse, 1340 South Michigan Avenue, at 8:30 a.m. on the morning of the trial. *All out December 2!*

The Daley administration knew at least a week in advance that the racist vermin planned to rally on June 29 but imposed a news blackout to prevent the kind of massive mobilization of labor and minorities needed to stop the Klan and defend this union town. Even so, on less than one day's notice the PDC initiated a united-front protest against the KKK that drew over 100 outraged unionists, leftists and youth. The Klansmen were stopped as they marched provocatively—armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles wielded as clubs—toward the anti-fascist protesters. Finding themselves sprawled on the pavement, the KKK scum were taught a simple lesson: cross-burners and lynchers will not be tolerated in Chicago. *This was a victory for all working people and minorities!*

Daley's police intervened to protect the Klansmen, escorting them behind metal barricades where they continued to spew their genocidal filth. The cops launched a series of attacks against the anti-Klan protesters with pepper gas and clubs, heating several demonstrators and arresting nine. Among those arrested were unionists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program, as well as anarchists and supporters of the socialist Spartacist League, with which the PDC is affiliated. Cook County state's attorneys have dropped trumped-up charges against six of those arrested. But the continuing victimization of the Anti-Klan Three is the state's retaliation for the trouncing the Klan suffered on June 29.

This vendetta took a sinister turn September 21, just two days before a court hearing for the anti-Klan defendants. Twenty Klansmen, half of them wearing the hoods and robes of nightriding terror, rallied in Daley Plaza protected by a massive police presence. Some 30 unmarked police cars filled with cops were hidden at a nearby construction site and kept ready to pounce, backed up by horse trailers and police wagons near the Plaza. This was a state-sponsored provocation against—and a trap intended for—anti-fascist fighters.

The Democrats' and Republicans' attacks on desperate immigrants, on welfare mothers, on poor and working people, feed Klan terror. The fascist nightriders must be stopped, and what's necessary to do it are mass mobilizations of all the Klan's intended vietims: labor, minorities, immigrants, leftists, gays, Jews, Catholics. The PDC-initiated 500-strong labor/black mobilization against the KKK in Springfield, Illinois in January 1994, for which a hard core of Chicago labor turned out in a sub-zero blizzard, points the way toward mobilizing the decisive social power of the organized working class in the fight against Klan/Nazi terror.

Defense of the Anti-Klan Three is a vital necessity for the labor movement and all opponents of racist terror. The capitalist "justice" system is a system of racist and anti-working-class *injustice*. If the cops and courts get away with punishing anti-fascist fighters for making a stand against race-hate provocations in Chicago, a heavily labor, black and minority city, it will be a green light for the racist terrorists everywhere. It is urgent for all anti-racist fighters to come together in a *united front*, in which a broad range of organizations are free to raise their views in the framework of a common action, to defend the Anti-Klan Three against victimization. Come to the courthouse each day of the trial to show your support. All out December 2! Drop all charges against the Anti-Klan Three!

* * *

Funds are urgently needed to cover the legal costs of this defense effort. Donations should be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters").

Send protest statements demanding that the charges be dropped to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail donations and copies of protest statements to the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

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UAW Tops Cave In for Clinton

NOVEMBER 3—The United Auto Workers (UAW) announced a three-year contract with General Motors yesterday, even as two key GM plants remained on strike over local issues. UAW tops hailed the deal as a supposed blow against "outsourcing," the subcontracting of parts and sub-assembly work to low-wage, mainly non-union suppliers. But under the new contract, modeled on pacts already signed with Ford and Chrysler, workers in any new parts plant taken over or built by the Big Three will be permanently paid far less than other auto workers. This two-tier wage system is a recipe for the eventual disintegration of the UAW, as younger and older workers are pitted against each other.

The latest round of UAW contracts makes it crystal clear that *the union bureaucracy subordinates the interests of its members to its ties with the capitalist Democratic Party*. From the very beginning of the negotiations, the Big Three knew they had no reason to fear a national auto strike in this election year. The AFL-CIO has poured some $35 million into television ads for the Democrats, while contributing almost $27 million directly to Democratic candidates. Citing "labor experts," the *New York Times* (23 August) reported that the UAW tops were "reluctant to imperil" Democrat Bill Clinton's re-election "by staging a strike this autumn that might make the President look powerless." UAW head Stephen Yokich went so far as to openly denounce last month's walkout against GM in *Canada*, declaring that he was "disappointed" by the strike, which he hoped "our brothers and sisters in Canada could settle."

The union bureaucracy justifies its craven subordination to the Democrats as a means to elect so-called "friends of labor." But just like its Republican partner party, the Democratic Party represents the interests of America's corporate rulers and is therefore racist and anti-working-class, and support to it means knifing workers' struggles. Four years ago, the UAW tops called off a strike at Caterpillar one day after Clinton won the Democratic nomination. On top of this came last December's historic defeat at CAT, as Yokich liquidated a bitter 18-month strike. The bureaucrats have called off every strike provoked by job-slashing at GM, including a 17-day walkout at Dayton in March which had the company on the ropes. Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO tops have maintained a stony silence over Clinton's brutal attacks on blacks, immigrants and unemployed and desperate poor people. These are fundamentally assaults on the working class, yet the union chiefs tell their members to "vote Democrat" in both presidential and Congressional races.

The union officialdom supports the Democratic Party because its pro-capitalist outlook embraces the economic and political interests of U.S. capitalism. Far from acting as representatives of the workers' interests, the AFL-CIO leadership is a bureaucratic layer which is separated from its working-class base and views the world through the same eyes as the capitalist exploiters. The distance between the union bureaucrat and the assembly line worker daily facing the lash of speedup and layoffs can be measured in AFL-CIO head John Sweeney's statement that "It is time for business and labor to see each other as natural allies, not natural enemies" (*New York Times*, 27 October). No! The capitalists are not "allies" of workers but their enemies in the *class struggle*, and the interests of the two sides are irreconcilable.

Reinhard/Solidarity

Above: UAW president Yokich fetes Hillary Clinton last spring. Union tops push chauvinist protectionism, suppress class struggle on behalf of imperialist rulers.

Bakel/Sipa

Writing in 1940, just after the turbulent rise of the CIO industrial unions, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in an article titled "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

The labor bureaucracy's role as political police for the capitalist class is manifest in the unending string of defeats and the loss of millions of union jobs in recent decades. Since the early 1980s, UAW membership has plummeted nearly *by half*, from 1.5 million to 800,000 members. And the latest sellout goes a long way in further weakening the union. Many workers in non-unionized auto parts plants today earn *less than half* the wage of their counterparts in the Big Three. The institutionalization of the two-tier system, which already affects UAW members with less than three years' seniority, means that such glaring inequalities will become a permanent feature within the union itself, making a mockery of the elementary principle of equal pay for equal work.

UAW tops are selling the contract by touting the auto bosses' empty "promise" to maintain the total number of jobs at 95 percent of present levels. This phony "guarantee" is a sham on the face of it. It not only accepts the sacrifice of 5 percent of all jobs; it specifically ceases to apply in the event of a recession. In reality, this wretched deal is part and parcel of the union tops' complicity in the war of attrition on workers' jobs that the auto giants have been waging for decades. Half as many workers, with an average age in the late 40s, are today producing more cars than 20 years ago. Moreover, as much as one-third of the workforce is expected to retire over the next five years—to be replaced by younger workers at a much lower pay scale. Meanwhile, when retirees at the UAW bargaining convention last spring demanded that the union fight for a cost-of-living increase for their pensions, Yokich denounced them for trying "to destroy this great union" (*Washington Post*, 3 April).

Clark/Reuters

Striking Canadian auto workers occupied GM plant in Oshawa, Ontario in October.

Nationalism and Protectionism: Poison to Workers' Struggle

The need for coordinated strike action in the auto industry throughout North America was graphically underlined when the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) went on strike in the midst of contract negotiations between GM and the UAW. The three-week-long CAW walkout was punctuated by an occupation of the key Oshawa plant in Ontario, where 200 unionists stormed the plant, threw out the managers and welded the doors shut to prevent the removal of dies which GM sought to ship to the U.S. so that production could continue. Auto assembly operations from Quebec to Monterrey, Mexico are so highly integrated (accentuated by the "just-in-time" inventory system) that parts shortages stemming from the Canadian strike rapidly led to plant closures throughout North America. More than 23,000 auto workers in the U.S. and Mexico were laid off, including over 4,000 *maquiladora* ("free trade" zone) workers in the complex of auto parts plants in the sprawling industrial belt in northern Mexico. GM is the largest private employer in Mexico, which has some half million auto workers.

The union tops wrap themselves in the Stars and Stripes or the Maple Leaf flag, calling for jobs for "their" workers at the expense of working people abroad. Spewing the racist poison of protectionism, the Canadian and U.S. auto union tops attack workers in each others' countries, and both join in blaming Mexican and Asian auto workers for the methodical destruction of union jobs by American and Canadian capitalists. The chauvinist AFL-CIO misleaders opposed NAFTA not as the "free trade" rape of Mexico it is but from the standpoint of defending "American interests." But defense of "American interests"—i.e., corporate profits—means subordinating workers' struggles to the interests of Wall Street. Sweeney makes this clear when he pleads for "new ways to help the American economy" and calls on corporations like GM to "take your profits and invest them in the American economy. American workers and American wages" (*Solidarity*, January-February 1996).

It is necessary to mobilize internationalist solidarity and joint struggle with workers abroad, from Japan and South Korea to the deeply exploited working class of Mexico and throughout Latin America. Such solidarity across national borders is counterposed to the social-chauvinism of the union tops and can only be realized by a revolutionary leadership which understands that the workers of all countries are bound together by common class interests against *all* the capitalist rulers.

At the same time, a massive unionization drive must be waged *in North America*, especially in the open-shop, low-wage U.S. South. The AFL-CIO's refusal to organize auto and other industrial workers in the South permits U.S. corporations to increase their competitive edge by shifting operations from unionized factories in the North. A struggle to organize the millions of unorganized U.S. workers, in auto and beyond, cannot be carried out on the basis of "business unionism" and simple economic demands, and certainly not by the flag-waving bureaucrats atop the AFL-CIO. Such a unionization drive will mean a head-on confrontation with the capitalist class, and can only succeed if the labor movement brings its full power to bear in

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British Troops Out of Northern Ireland Now!

Bloody Terror Against Irish in Britain

We reprint below excerpts from a September 29 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/Britain (published in *Workers Hammer* No. 153, November-December 1996), denouncing the murder of Diarmuid O'Neill, a supporter of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), by cops in London on September 23. Barely two weeks after his murder, two huge IRA car

WORKERS HAMMER

Newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain

bombs went off inside the British Army headquarters in Lisburn, Northern Ireland, injuring 21 soldiers, one of whom subsequently died, and ten others.

The bombing, the first carried out by the IRA in Northern Ireland in two years, provoked a furor among the British bourgeoisie and its lackeys in Dublin. Conservative prime minister John Major ranted that the IRA had "murdered in cold blood in the United Kingdom." But when O'Neill was gunned down in cold blood, Major had declared himself "absolutely delighted" with the cop operation. Echoing Major, the Irish government in Dublin went so far as to compare the IRA to "Nazis and fascists."

While Marxists oppose the strategy of individual terrorism, which is counterposed to the necessary task of mobilizing the proletariat to overthrow the imperialist oppressors, we defend the perpetrators of acts such as the Lisburn bombing—directed against the forces of British imperialism—against capitalist state retribution. We take a different attitude to IRA acts of indiscriminate terror, such as the bombings in London and Manchester earlier this year, which are criminal acts from the standpoint of the working class. And we call for defense of the Catholic communities against the armed terror of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the British Army and the Loyalist militias.

* * *

In the early morning of 23 September, heavily armed cops brutally murdered Diarmuid O'Neill at his home in Hammersmith, West London during a round-up of "IRA suspects." The bourgeois press went into a frenzy, gloating over the "foiling of the IRA," linking reports of a massive haul of IRA arms and explosives found in North London with the dawn raids, proclaiming that O'Neill was shot in a "gun battle." Within days it emerged that there was no gun battle, the murdered man did not even have a weapon, he was riddled with bullets after CS gas was fired into his room. His parents bitterly commented: "Our eldest son, Diarmuid, was never arrested; he can never be tried, nor can he be acquitted or convicted other than by the press who have not waited to have a full and proper picture before judging him. Instead, those who accused him took the law into their own hands and killed him."

The murder of Diarmuid O'Neill is only the latest in a series of provocations against Sinn Féin and the IRA by the British government, conducted in the name of the imperialist "peace" fraud. This is linked to a campaign to target so-called "IRA sleepers," i.e., anybody with an Irish background. Tony Blair's despicable Labour Party backs the government's policy to the hilt while systematically playing their own version of the "Orange card." While screaming about "IRA terrorism," they back the brutality of the armed fist of the capitalist state—the cops and the British Army—while making overtures to representatives of the Loyalist militias. We say: British troops out of Northern Ireland now! We fight for workers revolution, on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

"Shoot to kill" has long been the de facto policy of British imperialism for those deemed to be "IRA suspects" in Northern Ireland; it was also the form of British "justice" meted out to three unarmed IRA supporters who were shot dead by the SAS [elite British Army commandos] in Gibraltar in 1988. Press reports at the time of a supposed "bomb" in their car were subsequently shown to be completely false. The British cops are also notorious for racist killings of blacks and Asians; since 1990 *eighteen* have been killed in police custody. The draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act is used to criminalise blacks, Asians and Irish people. The IRA bombing of British cities such as Manchester, which are criminal acts of indiscriminate terror, also fuel poisonous national hatred against the Irish, and serve to divide the working class. Trade unions must be mobilised to fight against anti-Irish chauvinism and racist attacks.

Imperialist-brokered "peace" deals are a feature of the "New World Order" proclaimed by the imperialists in the wake of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The much-vaunted Middle East "peace" process which established a supposed Palestinian autonomy was the model to which Sinn Féin looked when they decided to call a ceasefire and enter the "peace process." We Marxists have consistently warned against such illusions in imperialist "deals" which we noted would necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed. The bitter reality of this warning is now being borne out in the bloody killings of Palestinians by Zionist forces. We say: Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!

The current wave of Zionist terror against the Palestinians and the escalation of communalist divisions in Northern Ireland starkly reveal that the strategy of nationalism is a bankrupt one, whether it is pursued through "armed struggle" or "negotiation." The petty-bourgeois nationalist politics of groups such as Sinn Féin/IRA and the PLO inevitably seek a solution within the framework of capitalism. In both cases they have recently looked to U.S. imperialism to act on their behalf against British imperialism and Zionist Israel respectively. But there can be no progressive solution to the oppression of the Catholics in Northern Ireland, or of the Palestinians, short of workers revolution throughout the regions. Imperialist "solutions" in situations of interpenetrated peoples invariably include the prospect of intensified communalism, which means "ethnic cleansing," and fratricidal civil war.

The Socialist Labour Party [headed by miners union leader Arthur Scargill], which represents a break with Blair's New Labour, calls for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army. But this is contradicted by their support to the imperialist "peace process," which is premised on the army remaining in Northern Ireland. This points to the British nationalist perspective underlying the SLP's "old" Labour programme.

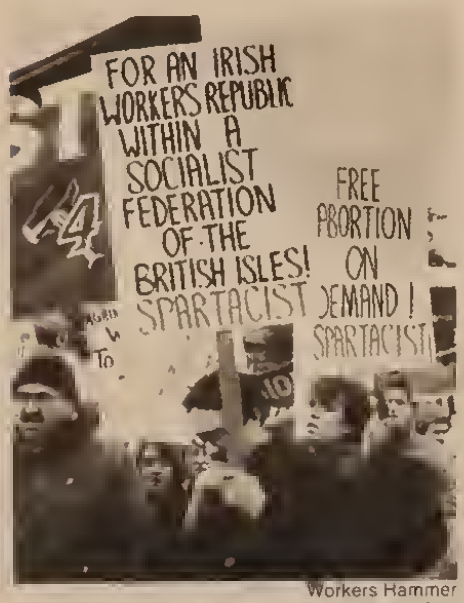
We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have a long record of fighting for a proletarian, internationalist perspective. The Catholics in Northern Ireland are currently an oppressed minority; we oppose the forcible unification of Ireland which would reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestant community—a scenario which is today being used by Loyalist demagogues to fan the flames of communalism. We fight for a workers republic in Ireland, as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. This requires an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, also smashing the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the vicious clerical-ist state in the south. "Social imperialism" has been a hallmark of Labourism throughout this century. In sharp contrast we stand in the tradition of the Chartists, who did not bow their heads before the monarch and were not filled with awed respect for the capitalist class, its state and institutions. Instead Chartism was republican, internationalist and revolutionary-minded. We fight to build revolutionary vanguard parties which are internationally united and imbued with this tradition. ■

ITN

Diarmuid O'Neill, executed by British cops on September 23 for the "crime" of being Irish.

Independent

While imperialists push phony "peace" negotiations, British troops occupy Catholic ghettos in Northern Ireland.



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain calls for immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of struggle for proletarian revolution.

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Militant

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS 1925-1996

Courageous Fighter Against Racist Terror

Robert F. Williams died last month in Grand Rapids, Michigan at the age of 71. Today, his name is little known among black people as a whole or among young activists fighting racial oppression. Yet at a critical moment in modern American history, in the early to mid-1960s, Robert Williams, like Malcolm X, personified black militancy. By deed and by word, Williams, the author of *Negroes with Guns*, did much to break a generation of young civil rights activists from their liberal illusions in American "democracy" at home and U.S. imperialism abroad. And in doing so, he became a target for repression by the capitalist state.

Robert Franklin Williams was born in 1925, the son of a boilermaker, in Monroe, North Carolina. During World War II, still a teenager, he was drawn along with millions of other Southern blacks into booming war industries in the North where the acute labor shortage opened up jobs that had previously been closed to them. Williams was later drafted into the army, but the war ended before he was shipped overseas. Nonetheless, his brief experience in the armed forces awakened him to the yawning gulf between the democratic pretensions of the American government and the reality of the pervasive racism in the U.S.

Wanting an education, Williams used his benefits under the G.I. Bill to attend a number of Southern colleges, which were, of course, segregated at that time. When the benefits ran out, he had to quit college and look for work. He found it difficult to make a decent living in a country where black men were proverbially "the last hired and the first fired." When the Korean War broke out in the early 1950s, Williams decided to enlist in the Marines, not out of patriotism but because the armed forces offered him better economic opportunities than he had in civilian life. However, his outspoken opposition to racism in the Marine Corps antagonized his white officers and after a year he was given a "dishonorable discharge." This bitter experience impelled Williams into political struggle, which would dominate the rest of his life.

In 1955 in his hometown of Monroe, Williams joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The local chapter was a tiny organization made up mostly of black middle-class professionals, "teachers and preachers." They elected Williams president, mainly so that they themselves would not be in the main line of fire of white racist retaliation. However, the boilermaker's son and ex-Marine refused to play by the accepted rules for Southern black community leaders. In his own words:

> "One day I walked into a Negro poolroom in our town, interrupted a game by putting NAACP literature on the table and made a pitch. I recruited half of those present. This got our chapter off to a new start. We began a recruiting drive among laborers, farmers, domestic workers, the unemployed and any and all Negro people in the area. We ended up with a chapter that was unique in the whole NAACP because of working class composition and a leadership that was not middle class."
>
> —*Negroes with Guns* (1962)

This in itself marked quite a radical difference from the traditional political organization of a black Southern community. Even more radical changes were soon to follow.

Organizing Black Self-Defense

Williams joined the NAACP at a time when mass black protest was erupting throughout the South against legalized segregation, the so-called Jim Crow system. A main target for desegregation in Monroe was the town's only public swimming pool, which only whites could use. Black children had to swim in local creeks, where some drowned. The prospect of an integrated swimming pool touched the very core of racist pathology in the South—"race-mixing," particularly the fear that white women might become sexually attracted to black males. Klansmen from the surrounding area descended on Monroe to protect the racial "purity" of the swimming pool. Motorcades of Klansmen, firing out of their car windows, sped through black neighborhoods.

Williams and his supporters responded in a way hitherto unheard of for a Southern black organization. They organized a defense guard, many of whose members were veterans of the armed forces. These were people, as Williams put it, "who didn't scare easy." The first encounter, in 1957, between the guard and the Klan is described by Robert Carl Cohen in his biography of Williams, *Black Crusader* (1972):

> "The Klansmen had driven into the Black areas to terrorize them, but when they suddenly found themselves surrounded by armed Blacks they started smashing into each other's cars in a rush to get away. Instead of acting like 'n[-----]s,' hiding in their houses with the shutters closed and the lights out, the Blacks were roaming the streets with guns, shooting out the tires of the KKK cars, shattering their windshields with buckshot, and beating up those racists who tried to escape on foot.
>
> "While there were no reports of anyone being killed or badly wounded, the Klan suffered a severe defeat."

Williams' efforts in organizing armed self-defense against racist terror blazed a trail for others active in the struggle for black rights in the South. One example was the formation of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which originated in Louisiana in 1964 as an armed defense guard for civil rights workers.

Those too young to have lived through the civil rights movement can scarcely appreciate the dramatic impact of what Williams and his supporters were doing in Monroe. All of the major black organizations, those sections of the Democratic and Republican parties which gave lip-service to black equality, the mass media—all were preaching incessantly that "nonviolent resistance" was the only acceptable way for blacks to oppose racist oppression, police brutality and Klan terror. Martin Luther King Jr. was already being elevated to the status of sainthood among blacks and white liberals. This it took not only physical courage but also great moral courage for Robert Williams to openly organize black self-defense in defiance of King, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins and the other "official" leaders of the civil rights movement.

In late 1958, Williams played a central role, along with radical black attorney Conrad Lynn, in defending David Simpson and Hanover Thompson, two young black children charged with rape for being kissed by a white girl in the infamous North Carolina "Kissing Case." This, too, offended the "moderate" NAACP national leadership, which initially refused to come to the defense of the children because it was deemed a "sex case"!

The effectiveness of Williams' actions in Monroe between 1957 and 1961 was a powerful answer to the argument by liberals and reformists that for blacks to resort to armed self-defense could only be suicidal adventurism. The Spartacist League originated in that period as the Revolutionary Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party, in opposition to the SWP's centrist departure from Trotskyism, marked by its adulation of the Stalinist Castro regime in Cuba and its capitulation to black nationalism. The RT fought for the SWP to intervene in the civil rights struggle with a Marxist program, raising a series of demands which would challenge the bourgeois order, including: "For *organized* self-defense movements in southern cities—for the tactics of Robert F. Williams" ("The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership" [August 1963], reprinted in "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism," *Marxist Bulletin No. 5 [Revised]*).

Williams faced not only open and declared enemies in the KKK but also insidious enemies on his "own" side, those whom Malcolm X called "the white man's puppet Negro 'leaders'." National and state officials of the NAACP attacked Williams for supposedly provoking racist violence and for running a "personal dictatorship" in Monroe. To this he replied: "The bourgeois elements who have complained about me aren't offering constructive, alternative ways to end segregation. Their sole purpose is to weaken our resolve in order to placate their racist employers." At one point the national leadership of the NAACP suspended him from the organization for "advocating violence." Yet the effect of these political attacks on a man who had stood up to Klan violence was to enhance Williams' authority among blacks who were beginning to revolt against King's "turn the other cheek" pacifism and Wilkins' groveling before the white racist ruling class.

Taking Refuge in Castro's Cuba

Since neither the KKK nightriders nor the "respectable" black leaders could stop Williams, this country's racist ruling class resorted to its ultimate weapon: the armed power of the state. In the summer of 1961, Monroe became a major focus of the Freedom Rides, a South-wide campaign to integrate restaurants and other public facilities. Thousands of Klansmen and other white-supremacists, many from out of state, converged on Monroe, savagely attacking the Freedom Riders and any local black people they got their hands on.

As the white racists were rioting in downtown Monroe, an elderly white couple happened to mistakenly drive into the black neighborhood. Their car was stopped by angry blacks who took them for Klan supporters. Williams intervened and escorted the couple into his house to protect them as angry blacks were defending themselves against whites who roared past with guns blazing. At this point, he got a phone call from the local chief of police, who threatened Williams that in 30 minutes he would be hanging in the courthouse square.

Fearing for his life, Williams and his family fled Monroe using back roads and made their way North. The FBI now got into the act, as Williams was charged with kidnapping the white couple whom

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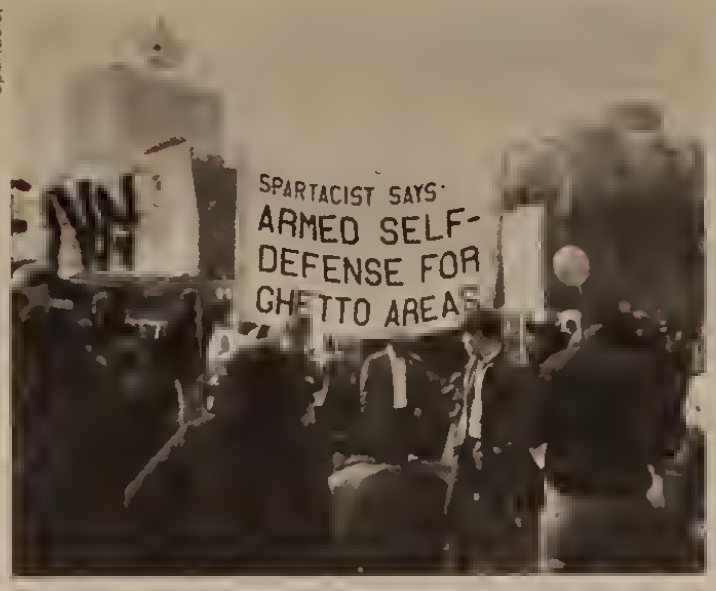
Police attack protesters in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963. Civil rights activists were regularly met with Klan and cop terror.



Spartacist

Spartacist League supported efforts by Robert F. Williams and others for armed self-defense against racist terror.

he had, in fact, rescued from a nasty situation. After living underground for several months, Williams and his family managed to get to Cuba. In the face of unremitting U.S. imperialist hostility in the aftermath of the 1959 overthrow of the corrupt Batista dictatorship by Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces, in 1960-61 the Castro regime expropriated the domestic and foreign capitalists. Williams had previously visited Castro's Cuba, where he was "made to feel that I was a member of the human race for the first time in my life."

Shortly after Williams and his family fled to Cuba, an independent left-wing publishing company, Marzani & Munsell, brought out *Negroes with Guns*, Williams' account of his experiences in Monroe and his general political views. From Cuba he continued to publish the *Crusader*, a newsletter he had begun in North Carolina. And through Castro's personal intervention, Williams was given a radio program, Radio Free Dixie, with which to broadcast his message of black liberation back into the United States.

Williams' activities in Havana were in their own way just as significant as his work in Monroe. The liberal idealistic youth—black and white—who rallied to the civil rights movement were still largely imbued with the anti-Communist attitudes of the Cold War/McCarthyite period of the 1950s. That a man of Williams' background and experience, who had never professed a belief in Communism, could find in Castro's Cuba not only a refuge from U.S. government persecution but also a platform to attack racist American society helped dispel such anti-Communist prejudices. American radicals who visited Cuba at this time could look forward to meeting and talking with Robert Williams, an interesting and rewarding experience.

In the mid-1960s, Castro's Cuba, following the lead of the Brezhnev regime in the USSR, its main protector, was pushing for better relations with Washington in the name of "détente." Williams' scathing attacks on liberal Democrats and mainstream black leaders like King thus became an embarrassment for the Cuban Stalinist regime. Cuban officials began to obstruct his activities and demanded that they be allowed to censor his newsletter and radio program. Fed up with battling the Cuban bureaucracy, in 1966 Williams went to China where the Mao Zedong regime was still posturing as a militant opponent of American imperialism.

Although Williams was treated well in China, he keenly felt the distance from his homeland, then in the throes of mass black radicalization. In 1969, Williams decided to return to the United States despite the legal threat hanging over him. North Carolina authorities attempted to extradite him from Michigan, where he had settled, on the old kidnapping charges. This entailed a court battle lasting several years. Finally, the charges were dropped. In the course of defending him at the time, *Workers Vanguard* ran an interview with Williams, publicizing his activities in Monroe (see "Black Self-Defense and the Civil Rights Movement," *WV* No. 92, 16 January 1976).

At the time Williams fled to Cuba, he had been in the vanguard of black militancy. When he returned eight years later, his views had become far more widely accepted among black activists, finding their most significant organizational expression in the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Furthermore, by the late 1960s it was common for American radicals of the most diverse tendencies to claim the authority of "Marxism-Leninism" for whatever program they espoused.

Williams was a mature activist who was not concerned with political trendiness. Though he was always willing to work with communists, he described himself as a "revolutionary black nationalist" but not a Marxist. This ideological position limited Williams' influence among the most left-wing black militants in the early 1970s, but it was more seriously held than the Panthers' "Marxist-Leninist" posture. Under the guns of murderous FBI/cop repression, some Panther leaders, like Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, soon sold out to the white racist rulers while some, like Huey Newton, dropped out of politics. Others, like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia

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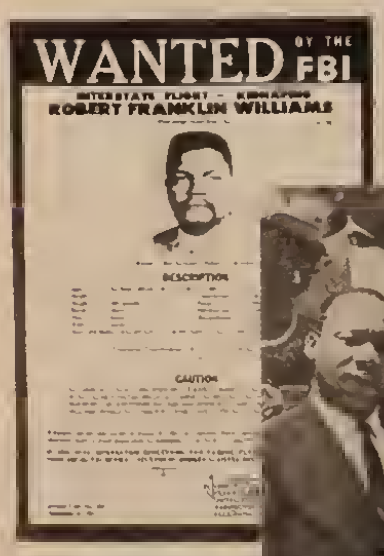

"Moderate" civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. hobnobbed with Robert Kennedy and Democratic president Lyndon Johnson while Robert F. Williams was in exile in Cuba to escape FBI vendetta.

UPI

From *Negroes With Guns*

By Robert F. Williams

(Marzani & Munsell, 1962)

Why do I speak to you from exile?

Because a Negro community in the South took up guns in self-defense against racist violence—and used them. I am held responsible for this action, that for the first time in history American Negroes have armed themselves as a group, to defend their homes, their wives, their children, in a situation where law and order had broken down, where the authorities could not, or rather would not, enforce their duty to protect Americans from a lawless mob. I accept this responsibility and am proud of it. I have asserted the right of Negroes to meet the violence of the Ku Klux Klan by armed self-defense—and have acted on it. It has always been an accepted right of Americans, as the history of our Western states proves, that where the law is unable, or unwilling, to enforce order, the citizens can, and must, act in self-defense against lawless violence. I believe this right holds for black Americans as well as whites....

The majority of white people in the United States have literally no idea of the violence with which Negroes in the South are treated daily—nay, hourly. This violence is deliberate, conscious, condoned by the authorities. It has gone on for centuries and is going on today, every day, unceasing and unremitting. It is our way of life. Negro existence in the South has been one long travail, steeped in terror and blood—our blood. The incidents which took place in Monroe, which I witnessed and which I suffered, will give some idea of the conditions in the South, such conditions that can no longer be borne. That is why, one hundred years after the Civil War began, we Negroes in Monroe armed ourselves in self-defense and used our weapons. We showed that our policy worked. The lawful authorities of Monroe and North Carolina acted to enforce order *only after, and as a direct result of, our being armed.* Previously they had connived with the Ku Klux Klan in the racist violence against our people. Self-defense prevented bloodshed and forced the law to establish order. This is the meaning of Monroe and I believe it marks a historic change in the life of my people.

* * *

My home town is Monroe, North Carolina. It has a population of 11,000, about a third of which is Negro. It is a county seat (Union County) and is 14 miles from the South Carolina border. Its spirit is closer to that of South Carolina than to the liberal atmosphere of Chapel Hill which people tend to associate with North Carolina. There are no trade unions in our county and the southeastern regional headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan is in Monroe.

There was also, at the time of my return, a small and dwindling chapter of the NAACP. The Union County NAACP was a typical Southern branch—small, not very active, dominated by, and largely composed of, the upper crust of the black community—professionals, businessmen and white-collar workers.

Before the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, the NAACP was not a primary target of segregationists. In many places in the South, including Monroe, racists were not too concerned with the small local chapters. But the Supreme Court decision drastically altered this casual attitude. The Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils made it their business to locate any NAACP chapter in their vicinity, and to find out who its officers and members were. Threats of violence and economic sanctions were applied to make people withdraw their membership. Chapters, already small, dwindled rapidly....

Since the city officials wouldn't stop the Klan, we decided to stop the Klan ourselves. We started this action out of the need for defense, because law and order had completely vanished; because there was no such thing as a 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution in Monroe, N.C. The local officials refused to enforce law and order and when we turned to Federal and state officials to enforce law and order they either refused or ignored our appeals.

Luther Hodges, who is now Secretary of Commerce, was the Governor of North Carolina at that time. We first appealed to him. He took sides with the Klan; they had not broken any laws, they were not disorderly. Then we appealed to President Eisenhower but we never received a reply to our telegrams. There was no response at all from Washington.

So we started arming ourselves. I wrote to the National Rifle Association in Washington which encourages veterans to keep in shape to defend their native land, and asked for a charter, which we got. In a year we had sixty members. We had bought some guns too, in stores, and later a church in the North raised money and got us better rifles. The Klan discovered we were arming and guarding our community. In the summer of 1957 they made one big attempt to stop us. An armed motorcade attacked Dr. Perry's house, which is situated on the outskirts of the colored community. We shot it out with the Klan and repelled their attack and the Klan didn't have any more stomach for this type of fight. They stopped raiding our community.

Armed black self-defense guards in Monroe, North Carolina beat back Klan attack in 1957.

Marzani & Munsell

Polish Spartacists Protest Racist Deportations

Anti-Immigrant Dragnets in Poland

The following is translated from a 30 September protest statement issued by our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski.

WARSAW—On September 18, the police surrounded and seized an abandoned factory building in Wola Przypkowska containing over 160 South Asian and African refugees, including several children, who were instantly arrested. Their "crime"? Entering the country "without papers." For an unknown period, they had been locked in an unused, unheated building without decent food or clean water. Many were reportedly awaiting transit to Germany. After the police raid, they were kept packed together and locked in the same rooms for several more days by the racist Polish cops for a so-called "identity check." They now await deportation in MSW (Internal Affairs Ministry) prison facilities. Soon after, police in Warsaw seized a private bus carrying 40 Pakistani refugees, who were at once handed over to the Polish Border Police for deportation. This was only the beginning. As the police expand their hunt for human prey, from three to four hundred people are now under arrest, many in miserable conditions. Meanwhile, the mouthpieces of the racist Polish bourgeoisie, like *Gazeta Wyborcza*, hiss against "floods of immigrants."

We Trotskyists of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) call on the workers and anti-racist youth of Poland: *Mobilize now to stop the deportations! Release the arrested immigrants now! Racist cops hands off! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

The newest wave of anti-immigrant terror by Polish cops and the Border Police is conducted on the orders of the bourgeois SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] popular-front government, which follows in the footsteps of reactionary Solidarność in fueling racism and anti-Semitism. In June, cops staged a Gestapo-style pogrom and deportation against 126 Roma [Gypsy] refugees in Warsaw. In the first half of 1996, the Border Police alone had already arrested 5,000 people for crossing the border "illegally," while 1,500 more were seized by various police forces around the country. Meanwhile, the Helsinki Foundation, a bourgeois "human rights" organization, has just issued a whitewash report on the June anti-Roma police pogrom, thus giving the green light for another wave of deportations.

As the SGP wrote at the time of the anti-Roma police pogrom, these deportations are "part of a plan which includes the opening of new 'deportation centers' financed through an agreement with the German Fourth Reich to keep 'undesirable immigration' out of Fortress Europe" ("Stop Racist Deportations of Gypsies!" *WV* No. 648, 5 July). Indeed, a new deportation camp—surrounded by double walls and barbed wire and paid for by the same racist bourgeoisie which carried out the barbaric extermination of millions of Jews, Roma and others at death camps like Auschwitz and Treblinka—is now in full operation outside Warsaw. The SGP joined with our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany in protesting this filthy deal when it was first announced in the spring of 1993. The deal signed by the Solidarność government is now being zealously carried out by the Social Democrats (SdRP), both working on behalf of the new Polish capitalist ruling class.

It's no accident that the Polish rulers are escalating anti-immigrant terror just as the Kohl government in the Fourth Reich has announced its own plans to deport 320,000 Bosnians who fled the nationalist bloodbath unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Yugoslavia.

Across Europe the bourgeois campaign against immigrants and refugees is designed to *divide and subdue the entire working class*, even as workers seek to fight back against the Bundesbank/Maastricht [European Union] program to wipe out any remnant of decent public health care, education and social services. The cops who are now grabbing Asian, African and Roma immigrants in the streets are preparing next to go after "illegal workers" from the countries of the former USSR. These same cops will be used tomorrow to break the heads of striking workers in the factories. The attack on immigrants is an attack on the whole workers movement.

In August, the brutal seizure and arrest of African immigrants who sought refuge in a Paris church provoked massive protests in which thousands-strong trade-union contingents joined immigrants and youth in trying to stop the deportations. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France agitated widely for strikes to "shut down the airports" to stop the deportations. Trade unionists at Air Afrique took up the cause of the refugees, issuing an order that none of that carrier's workers throughout Africa "should take part in the base task of helping these flights of shame." This gives a taste of the social power which can be brought to bear by the organized workers movement in countering the racist deportations and the entire capitalist anti-working-class onslaught unleashed in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

Polish workers should follow the example of the French unionists in mobilizing to defend our immigrant brothers and sisters. An injury to one is an injury to all! To do this, however, will mean a fight to oust the bureaucratic misleaders of the OPZZ trade-union federation, who are politically tied to the same SdRP social democrats, who are the dominant component of the government which is carrying out the racist attacks!

For their part, rather than calling to mobilize workers against deportations, fake-left organizations like the Morenoite GIPR openly sneer at the defense of immigrants and minorities—including the struggle against anti-Semitism, anti-Roma racism and women's oppression—as "secondary" issues of no interest to "Polish workers." The Cliffites of "Solidarność Socjalistyczna"—while boasting of their participation in reactionary Solidarność political rallies alongside open anti-Semites and fascists, and their support for anti-Communist "human rights" campaigns against the remaining deformed workers states like China—have so far *not lifted a finger to organize protests against pogroms by the racist capitalist state here at home*. Likewise, NLR/Dalej [supporters of the Mandelite United Secretariat] provide a left cover for the SLD government while making no call for the defense of immigrants and refugees. Every one of these organizations supported counterrevolutionary, CIA-backed Solidarność during the 1980s, and hence have no perspective for fighting the influence of racist Polish nationalism, i.e. bourgeois ideology, in the workers movement today.

Desperately necessary is the fight for an international party of the working class, armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky and the best traditions of the Polish workers movement of Ludwik Warynski's Proletaryat in the 1870s, the SDKPiL of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches and the early Polish Communist Party. Such a party will combat all forms of capitalist oppression including racism, anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry and anti-Semitism, on its way to sweeping the decaying system of capitalism and imperialism off the face of the earth! This is the type of party we of the SGP, as part of the Trotskyist International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), seek to build. Join us! ■

Der Spiegel

AP

Impoverished Gypsy refugees (left) and other immigrants subjected to racist deportations by Polish government of Aleksander Kwasniewski (above left), acting in league with German chancellor Kohl.

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Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next classes, November 20: ***How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***; December 4: ***The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class***; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106, 5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m. Next class, November 20: ***For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***; UCLA, Boelter Hall, Room 5514
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Wednesdays, 1:30 p.m. Next class, November 13: ***Marxist Economics***; Hunter College, 68th St. & Lexington Ave. (IRT No. 6 to 68th St.), Hunter West 506
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, November 16: ***Marxism: A Guide to Action***; November 30: ***Marxist Economics***; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next classes, November 14: ***The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***; December 5: ***The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room B116.
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ, CA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 19: ***How the Working Class Took Power—The Bolshevik Revolution***, UCSC, Student Center, Third World Lounge
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 14: ***South Africa: Fight Neo-Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturdays, 12 noon. Next classes, Nov. 16: ***Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question***; Room 2146; November 23: ***Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question***; Room 1102, University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Union
Information and readings: (202) 872-8240

WV E-Mail Address

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Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

new place in jail. Within the prison hellholes, barbaric measures are increasingly routine: the reintroduction of the chain gang, electric shock torture, stun guns, leg irons, isolation units, the shooting to death of inmates by prison guards.

The machinery of racist injustice has been extended to snare ever younger minority children in its clutches. One example is Travis Chaney, a 15-year-old California youth of black, Mexican and Native American descent. At the age of eleven, he was sentenced to "informal probation" and forced to wear an ankle transmitter for allegedly taking a neighbor's bike and playing hooky from school. For wearing the wrong color clothes in school, he was then sent to Juvenile Hall and later to a for-profit "boot camp" where he was beaten and abused by racist guards. Finally he was thrown into a California Youth Authority prison, while his family is being charged $25.00 a month for his incarceration!

Meanwhile in Mississippi, 17-year-old Azi Kambule, a high-school sophomore, honor student and choir singer originally from the black South African township of Soweto, now faces the death penalty. Kambule awaits trial as a supposed accomplice in a murder that he says he had nothing to do with. The trial has been moved to a predominantly white county, and Kambule has been denied bail. As the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty noted in a statement on his case: "During this decade, only five nations in the world are known to have executed persons for crimes they committed when under 18-years-old. Those countries are Iran, Pakistan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia...and the United States."

Roster/NY Times

Franco/NY Times

Brooklyn sidewalk memorial for Aswan Watson, shot to death by NYPD last summer. Right: Grieving parents of Anthony Baez after Bronx judge set killer cop free.

The Capitalist State Cannot Be Reformed

Racist cop terror is not an aberration flowing from the particular policies of Democratic or Republican politicians, but rather an expression of the very purpose of the capitalist state—an apparatus of repression aimed at keeping down working people and minorities. Calls for federal "investigations," raised by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and NAACP in St. Petersburg and by opponents of police terror in the Bronx, promote dangerous illusions that the government can be pressured to act on behalf of the oppressed. Nor do "civilian review" boards serve to alleviate, even slightly, murderous police terror. At best, on the rare occasion when a cop is slapped on the wrist, such actions are aimed by the rulers at "cleaning up" the police force to make it more credible and more effective in carrying out its repressive role. Federal investigations and civilian review boards serve to *whitewash* the crimes of the cops and to keep a lid on protests.

There *was* a government which acted on behalf of the oppressed, the Bolshevik government issuing out of the 1917 Russian workers revolution. In the aftermath of World War II, the U.S. capitalist government did feel some pressure coming from the Soviet victory over Nazism and the resulting fear of spreading social revolution. This was an important factor in the granting of a number of democratic reforms for the black masses—for example, the elimination of formal Jim Crow segregation in the South. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, however, both in the U.S. and West Europe, the bourgeoisies are redoubling their attacks on working people and the oppressed.

The recent outburst of protest from the Mississippi Delta to the Bronx show that there's no lack of anger among the oppressed against those who enforce the conditions of grinding poverty and oppression. Holding back militant struggle against these conditions are the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor misleaders and petty-bourgeois black spokesmen like Democrat Jesse Jackson and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. While the union bureaucracy's "answer" to the mammoth increase in police forces across the country is to "organize" these racist killers and union-busters into the unions, Jackson and Farrakhan are complicit in the build-up of cop repression through their support to the racist "war on drugs."

Farrakhan in particular bases himself on a growing layer of the black middle class which entertains illusions of having exclusive rights to exploit and repress the ghetto masses. In preaching that blacks must "atone" for the conditions of brutal racism under which they try to live in this society, and in pushing the bankrupt pipe dream of "black capitalism," the Nation of Islam leader serves to uphold the miserable *status quo*.

Jackson has, as usual, been stumping for the racist Democrats in the elections. But among the ghetto masses, there is widespread disgruntlement at the "choice" between two evident evils, Dole and Clinton. What is needed, however, is a political alternative. To direct the anger building at the base of American society into struggle against those responsible for homelessness, poverty, unemployment—conditions caused by the capitalist system in decay—requires *revolutionary* leadership. This means forging a multiracial workers party armed with a strategy of mobilizing the power of the labor movement to advance the cause of all the oppressed. It is through socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous machinery of the capitalist state that the countless victims of racist cop terror will be avenged and a decent life made possible for the oppressed and exploited. ■

UAW Tops...

(continued from page 4)

defense of blacks, immigrants and other minorities against the deadly, all-sided attacks being carried out by the present Democratic Party administration.

By tying the workers to the profitability of "their" national capitalist class, the labor traitors not only work to ensure that the offensive against workers and the poor will go ahead unopposed, but prepare the ground for a third interimperialist world war. The betrayals of the UAW tops led directly to the mass unemployment and poverty in black Detroit, which was devastated by the wholesale destruction of union jobs beginning in the early 1980s. Today, the drive by the capitalist rulers of North America to decimate the unions, gut benefits and force down wages has intensified as a result of heightened interimperialist rivalries in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Despite the profound bureaucratic deformations introduced by Stalinism, which eventually destroyed the workers state, the Soviet Union still represented to the major capitalist powers the spectre of workers revolution, and they suppressed their own differences in a common effort to overturn the planned, collectivized economy which issued out of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

Break with the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

If the trade unions are to serve as organs of struggle to defend workers' interests, they must break the shackles which, through their treacherous leaders, bind them to the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie's drive to cut labor costs through layoffs, wage-gouging and "outsourcing" production is intrinsic to capitalism, as the bosses seek to increase profits and gain an upper hand over domestic and foreign rivals. What is necessary is an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of class collaboration. The fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions is inextricably linked to the forging of a revolutionary workers party, armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks who led the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

The various reformist groupings which posture as an opposition to the AFL-CIO tops fundamentally share the same class-collaborationist program as the bureaucrats they seek to replace and so act merely as pressure groups on the existing labor traitors. A typical example within the UAW is New Directions, who tried to sound "militant" around the contract negotiations, calling for a cost-of-living adjustment for pensions, an end to two-tier wages and benefits and a stop to outsourcing UAW work. But New Directions supported Yokich in his bid for UAW president, and today these out-bureaucrats don't breathe a word about how to mobilize the strike action that would be necessary to win even a part of the demands they raise. This is because, at bottom, New Directions is an integral part of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that has consistently sacrificed workers' interests on the altar of class collaboration.

When not openly supporting the Democratic Party "lesser evil," New Directions boosts the "Labor Party" set up by Labor Party Advocates (LPA), a lash-up of bureaucrats from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and other unions as well as various fake-socialist outfits. Their model is the right-wing social-democratic Canadian New Democratic Party, which when in government, as in Ontario recently, has legislated massive wage cuts and torn up the union contracts of hundreds of thousands of public-sector workers. However, Labor Party/LPA is not even serious about building a tame social-democratic alternative to the Democrats. Rather, it is simply a shill for channeling the support of workers fed up with Clinton back into the Democratic Party, explicitly opposing running independent labor candidates (see "Labor Party Advocates Don't," *WV* No. 648, 5 July).

As the example of New Directions makes clear, what is required is not to replace one clique of pro-capitalist bureaucrats with another, more militant-talking variety. A new type of leadership is necessary, with a program which aims to do away with the capitalist property system. What is needed is a fight to build internationalist, revolutionary workers parties on both sides of the border, through sharp political struggle against the labor traitors. Taking up the cause of all workers, minorities and the poor, such a revolutionary party would lead a fight to overthrow the entire capitalist system of mass unemployment, misery, oppression and war through socialist revolution. To build such a workers party requires that the most determined and far-sighted working men and women step forward and join the struggle for a society ruled by the working class. ■

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Canadian "Socialist Action" Leader Caught Scabbing

TORONTO—Jack London once wrote that a scab was the lowest form of life, but there's one even lower: the scab who calls himself a "socialist." Such is Barry Weisleder, an Executive Board member of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). He is also leader of the Canadian Socialist Action group, which is allied with the U.S. organization of the same name and the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel. As *Walk/Talk* (6 September), the strike bulletin of the Ontario Public Service Staff Union (OPSSU), reported in an article titled, "He Talks Like a Socialist, But He Walks Kinda Funny": "Region 5 EBM Barry Weisleder showed up at the Ministry of Labour office at 400 University Avenue in Toronto for a day of scabbing."

Weisleder tried unsuccessfully to force his way through 20 strike pickets, members of the OPSSU, which represents 239 clerks, secretaries, negotiators and other workers for OPSEU. Weisleder later denounced these striking unionists for trying to "paralyze the normal work" of their employer, namely *himself*! The OPSSU members walked out after the "socialist" Weisleder and his fellow union bureaucrats tried to shove a clawback contract down their throats. The proposed contract would have laid off over 20 percent of the staff and called for millions in givebacks!

While trying to muscle through the picket line at the Ministry of Labour, Weisleder launched into a filthy anti-union tirade. *Walk/Talk* reported that Weisleder screamed that "he didn't make $50,000 a year and didn't see why anybody else should"! Weisleder raved on in this "fiscally responsible" vein for 45 minutes. All the while, "the circle of pickets slowly moved Barry from the doorway down to the pavement, while he continued to try to get in to do his scabbing."

Maclean's

OPSSU strike bulletin exposes scabbing by Socialist Action leader Barry Weisleder.

Strikebreakers cross picket lines, militant unionists—not to speak of socialists—defend them. Period. Speaking out of the other side of his mouth, Weisleder authored a piece in the U.S. *Socialist Action* (September 1996) calling to "Shut Down Toronto" during last month's "Day of Action." And during last winter's pivotal five-week OPSEU strike against the job-slashing Ontario Conservative government, Weisleder waxed on in the Canadian *Socialist Action* (Spring-Summer 1996) about how "Tens of thousands of women and men, most first-time picketers, held the line through the bitterest winter weather in years." But when it comes to pickets by his "own" workers, this "socialist" bureaucrat sings a different tune, arrogantly defending his scabbing. Thumping the Steward's Handbook, he declared that the OPSSU picket line wasn't a picket line at all, just a "political demonstration" (*Union Report*, September 1996). Clearly worried that "his" members would honor the lines, this unprincipled wretch sobbed, "Thank goodness [the pickets] didn't precipitate premature or unnecessary strikes at the work places concerned"!

Weisleder and his social-democratic friends at Socialist Action have always had a tough time telling who's on what side of the class line. For example, Weisleder supports the presence in OPSEU of prison guards, a key component of the armed fist of the capitalist state. Last spring, following the defeat of the OPSEU strike, Weisleder even claimed the racist, scabherding Toronto cops as union allies who were "friendly to OPSEU" and "in many instances acted as benign [!] mediators" (*Socialist Action*, Spring-Summer 1996). The capitalist state is the enemy of workers and the oppressed. We say: *Cops and jail guards out of the unions!*

Weisleder's gross anti-union acts were also noticed by his pale-pink cousins in the International Socialists (co-thinkers of the American International Socialist Organization). Their *Socialist Worker* (21 September) chided Weisleder for opposing the OPSSU strike. What they *don't* criticize him for is trying to cross a picket line, because they do it all the time. And *Socialist Worker* was even more profuse than Weisleder in praise of "militant" prison guards during the OPSEU strike.

The kind of class-struggle leadership needed by workers and the oppressed facing all-sided capitalist attacks won't come from scab "socialists" who chatter about "solidarity" and then act like the Junior Chamber of Commerce. We need a revolutionary workers party forged on the basis of an anti-capitalist program and genuine working-class principles—not least, the understanding that *picket lines mean don't cross!* ■

Canada...

(continued from page 12)

class, which could be unleashed to defeat the capitalist onslaught. Since taking office last year, Harris has slashed $9 billion from government spending in a vicious war on the poor, cutting already meager welfare payments by 22 percent and instituting union-busting "workfare" schemes. The Conservative government has massively hiked postsecondary tuition fees and announced the closure of 15 hospitals in Toronto alone, along with the elimination of nearly a quarter of all nursing jobs. Meanwhile unemployment in Toronto among those under the age of 24 stands at nearly 30 percent.

But the labor bureaucrats aim only to blow off some steam while they rebuild support for the reformist New Democratic Party (NDP) in preparation for the 1999 elections. Thousands marching on contingents organized by the Steelworkers and other unions chanted, "NDP, NDP," while Ontario party leader Howard Hampton glad-handed his way through the crowd. One placard summed up the labor tops' bankrupt perspective: "The Last Day of Action = Election Day."

The OFL bureaucrats are hoping that workers and the poor will forget the attacks of the previous NDP provincial government of Bob Rae. It was Rae's NDP which began the assault that is now being intensified under Harris' Conservatives. In office from 1990-95, the NDP social democrats legislated pay cuts throughout the public sector, tore up the contracts of hundreds of thousands of provincial workers and jailed leaders of striking postal unionists. In an act of gratuitous racism, they even moved to eliminate medicare coverage for refugees and visa students. In British Columbia, where the New Democrats still form the provincial government, they plan the elimination of thousands of public-sector jobs, some 8 percent of the workforce.

A headline in the current issue of *Spartacist Canada* (No. 110, Fall 1996) proclaimed, "Ontario Union Brass Peddle NDP Retreads." Supporters of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste (TL/LT), Canadian section of the International Communist League, marched on picket lines and intervened at rallies throughout the "Days of Action." The Spartacus Youth Club helped build the picket lines at the University of Toronto and put out a special leaflet titled "Students, Youth: Fight for a Socialist Future." More than 1,700 copies of *Spartacist Canada*, *Workers Vanguard* and other ICL publications were sold during the two days of protest in Toronto. The TL/LT raised the call "For a Revolutionary Workers Party!"

In contrast, fake-socialist groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and (less often) Labour Militant occasionally mutter vaguely about the need for a "socialist alternative" to the NDP while loudly screaming for more and bigger "action" from the labor tops. But as the Toronto transit shutdown and the Oshawa GM plant occupation show, the union misleaders are quite capable of organizing militant actions when they choose. The fundamental problem is political: the reformist labor tops, through the vehicle of the NDP, are tied to the racist rulers and their system of capitalist exploitation. And the fake socialists, in turn, hang onto the coattails of the pro-NDP bureaucrats. Having urged the re-election of the hated Rae government last year, the I.S. has already promised in advance to vote NDP again in 1999.

Leaders of the CAW try to posture as a militant alternative to the Steelworker and OFL tops, going so far as to "temporarily" withdraw their endorsement of the NDP in the last provincial elections. But they too call to rebuild the NDP, albeit with a more "left" face. They too push the racist poison of protectionism with their call to "save Canadian jobs." They direct their fire not against the capitalist rulers at home, but against workers on the other side of the U.S./Canada border and beyond—particularly in Japan and in Mexico, where the ravages of NAFTA mean grinding superexploitation for hundreds of thousands of workers in the factories and sweatshops of the *maquiladoras*.

Wedded to defense of their "own" nation-state, from which they plead only for a "fair share" of the profits, the labor bureaucrats of all stripes line up the workers behind the capitalists in a reactionary nationalist crusade. And the NDP in particular, waving the tattered flag of "Canadian unity," is a ferocious enemy of independence for the oppressed French-speaking nation of Quebec. As the SYC leaflet noted:

> "The key block to class struggle in this country is the deep animosity created by the national oppression of Quebec and the frothing chauvinist tirades of the English Canadian ruling class. Marx insisted that a nation which oppresses another can never itself be free. As revolutionary internationalists, we say only independence for Quebec can lay a basis for directing social struggle against the capitalist rulers in both nations."

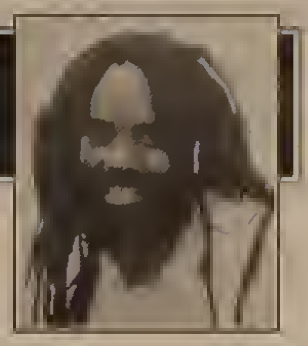
A popular chant at the Toronto demonstration was "Hey Mike, Hey Harris, We'll shut you down like Paris." But the powerful wave of public workers strikes in France last December was defused and sold out by the reformist misleaders. Capitulating to the French bourgeoisie's virulent campaign of racist terror, the trade-union bureaucracies refused to extend the strikes to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong, combative component of workers from North and sub-Saharan Africa. Instead, the bureaucrats cut short the strike movement and pushed through a "compromise." While the Chirac government was forced to temporarily retreat on some of its austerity measures, it simply waited out the strike wave, then reintroduced them a few months later.

Throughout the world, capitalist governments of every hue are taking the hammer to jobs, working conditions and vital social programs in the name of "global competition." This ruling-class offensive, intensified by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, has provoked large-scale worker resistance from Italy to France, Germany and now Canada. The reformist labor misleaders seek to channel the anger into the straitjacket of bourgeois parliamentarism. Yet the supposedly "left" governments which they champion—like the NDP, or Italy's "Olive Tree" popular front centered on the Party of the Democratic Left—only implement their own vicious attacks on workers and the poor, following the austerity dictates of their capitalist masters.

In letting the working class get a sense of the power of labor's weapons, the pro-NDP bureaucrats are skating on thin ice, posing the question of why the proletariat's immense social power is not unleashed to do away with the chauvinism, racism, immiseration and unemployment which are endemic to capitalism. The answer lies in the need to build a new internationalist and revolutionary leadership to make the working class conscious of its historic task of sweeping away the *entire* capitalist profit system. Without this, even the most militant struggle cannot achieve lasting victory. As the SYC leaflet explained:

> "With its numbers and organization, the working class can not only beat back these attacks, but can bring down the entire system of exploitation and oppression, replacing it with a just and egalitarian socialist society. But to wage revolutionary struggle against capitalism, the working class must be *conscious* of its power and its historic task. We need to build a revolutionary party, based on the program and perspective of Marxism, which can bring this consciousness to the working class. Only such a party, acting as what the Marxist leader V. I. Lenin called a 'tribune of the people,' can break down the endless attempts of the capitalists to 'divide and rule' by setting white worker against black and Asian, English Canadian against Québécois, men against women. In freeing itself, the working class will necessarily liberate all sections of society from the many forms of oppression which are rooted in class divisions." ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Fugitive from Injustice

On Tuesday, October 1, 1996, a woman named Veronica Jones walked into a courtroom and a few hours later walked into history. In a throaty, deep voice she announced to a packed courtroom that, "I lied" in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Jamal* in 1982, when she denied seeing two men jogging away from a Center City killing. Police detectives, she testified, visited her in jail (where she was being held on armed robbery charges) and told her not only to change her statement, but to finger this writer. She went ½-way.

"They told me I'd hafta do ten years away from my children if I said what I saw," she explained, weeping. "I couldn't leave my babies!"

"That's a part of my life I tried to erase," she said.

After her 1982 testimony, serious weapons charges (two loaded pistols were allegedly seized by police from her pants' waistband), robbery charges and related offenses resulted in—probation!

Moments after her recantation, prosecutors promptly produced two New Jersey cops who arrested the [illegible] on an outstanding bench warrant stemming from a 1994 bad check charge (for less than $250) from New Jersey—and hustled the startled witness off of the stand and into a jail cell.

Imagine that—a woman leaves her home state, crosses the bridge to give sworn testimony in a court of "law," and gets busted there as a "fugitive of justice!" Is this proof that there ain't no justice in American courtrooms?

The courts are *their* courts—places where, as Judge Sabo so aptly put it, "Justice is just an emotional feeling." And because justice is foreign to U.S. courts a woman can be hauled off to jail for speaking a powerful truth, that detectives tried to intimidate her into lying on the stand!

For over 20 months Ms. Jones lived openly in New Jersey, and state officials let a warrant sit in a file gathering dust. Only when she appeared in court in the *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Jamal* case did detectives "find" her, in another state!

This poor, single mother, now on the brink of grandmotherhood, summoned up the courage to speak the truth, and the state attacked her savagely. As she was being led away, tears lining her dark face, stunned by the unprecedented premeditated prosecutorial ambush, she managed to cry, "You don't think that's going to make me change my story? It's not!"

In teary-eyed defiance, she was marched off to jail to await a hearing in southern New Jersey.

Hours later, adding insult to injury, Philadelphia police announced it was arresting Ms. Jones *again*, this time on a bench warrant for a prostitution charge from *1982*!

That's right—*14 years ago*!

New Jersey waits over 600 days and Philadelphia waits over 14 years to serve warrants and city prosecutors have the gall to say defense lawyers could've found her any time, when cops from two states couldn't find her to serve bench warrants?

Amazing.

In a blatant act of judicial vindictiveness and prosecutorial petulance, a witness is punished and humiliated for coming to court and speaking the truth.

In such a case, the law is nought but a tool of state repression, and the statute of limitations nothing but a forgotten memory.

Just like "justice."

4 October 1996

© 1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Sabo...

(continued from page 12)

As Jamal's attorneys pointed out in their "findings of fact" following the hearing:

> "The prosecution's blatant effort to coerce Veronica Jones on the witness stand in 1996 spoke volumes about the prosecutorial misconduct which was used to intimidate her in 1982, and which has tainted every piece of evidence in this case since the inception. If the prosecution can resort to such open misconduct before the public, one can only imagine what the prosecution and police do to coax and coerce witnesses behind closed doors."

The state's effort to railroad Jamal to death row has consisted from the beginning of a clearly documented pattern of cover-ups, coercion of witnesses and fabrication of evidence. What happened to Veronica Jones in Sabo's courtroom last month is only the latest example of that.

William Singletary testified at Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing last year that he actually saw Faulkner's shooting and that police repeatedly tore up his initial statements recounting that someone other than Jamal shot Faulkner. Singletary was threatened by the cops until he signed a false statement which denied seeing the shooting at all. He was then forced to flee the state after being subjected to constant police harassment. Another eyewitness, taxi driver Robert Chobert, changed his initial account—that the shooter ran away—after he was promised a deal by the District Attorney to reinstate his suspended driver's license. Cynthia White, the "star witness" against Jamal in 1982, was allowed to work the streets as a prostitute with police protection in exchange for repeatedly tailoring her story to favor the prosecution.

As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have said from the beginning of our ten-year involvement in the struggle to save Jamal from execution, Mumia was targeted for death by the capitalist frame-up system because of his political views, and especially because he is a black man who stood up to the racist oppressors. The cops and FBI have had Mumia in their cross hairs since he was a leading activist in the Philadelphia Black Panther Party at the age of 16. They continued their vendetta when Mumia became a popular radio journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his scathing exposures of cop terror and racist oppression. He was then singled out for sympathizing with the MOVE organization when it was subjected to a murderous cop siege in 1978 (followed by the infamous 1985 bombing of the MOVE home).

Sabo conducted the October hearing only under orders from the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Sabo's decision will now be appealed before this court, as part of its consideration of Saho's ruling last summer against Mumia's PCRA petition. It was clear from the outset that Sabo had no intention of parting from the 14-year-old script of browbeating defense witnesses and attorneys on the way to ruling, yet again, against Jamal.

Sabo dismisses Jones' testimony out of hand as "incredible and worthy of little or no belief." He then incredibly proclaims that "her claim that the men were actually running away from the scene is of no moment." To Sabo, any proof of Jamal's innocence is of "no moment," as he declares: "The evidence is material only if there is a reasonable probability that, had the evidence been disclosed to the defense, the result of the proceeding would have been different." In his own way, Sabo here reveals a fundamental truth, perverse as it is. For ever since this case began, the cops, prosecutors and courts have demonstrated that no matter how much evidence is offered exculpating Mumia, *there is no justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal in the capitalist courts.*

From the 1982 frame-up "trial" to the recent hearing, Sabo has made it abundantly clear why he is known as a "prosecutor in robes." Over the last couple of years, many involved in the struggle to free Mumia from his death row hell have had their eyes opened by the events in Sabo's courtroom to the racist reality of the American "justice" system. But as we noted last month, "The openly pro-prosecution Sabo simply exhibits in a blatant fashion the real workings of the frame-up system that *is* bourgeois 'justice'" ("Key Witness for Mumia Abu-Jamal Arrested on the Stand," *WV* No. 653, 11 October). The capitalist state—with its cops, courts, prosecutors and executioners—is an instrument for the repression of working people and minorities which cannot be reformed.

The wave of international protests for Mumia in the summer of 1995, which helped stay the executioner's hand at the time, gave a glimpse of the kind of militant struggle that must take place to free Mumia. Mobilizing the power of the integrated labor movement on behalf of the rights of blacks, immigrants, the poor—all the oppressed—against the common class enemy shows the road to sweeping away this entire racist capitalist system once and for all. ■

Robert F. Williams...

(continued from page 7)

WV Photo

Robert F. Williams endorsed Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped KKK provocation in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

Abu-Jamal, were framed up and thrown into prison. In the climate of growing racist reaction of the late 1970s-'80s, Williams remained a principled champion of black rights. He involved himself in a wide range of causes, and consistently supported united-front labor/black mobilizations which were initiated and organized by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee against the Klan, Nazis and other racist terrorists.

Like other black radicals of the 1960s, Williams' political consciousness was shaped by the deep and deepening racial divide in American society, which he regarded as unchangeable. While in Havana, he expressed the opinion to a senior Cuban official that as long as white workers "have jobs and can buy automobiles and homes, they've no real reason to rise up against the capitalists. Only those, like us Blacks, who are the victims of severe economic discrimination and racism, have the motivation to want to overthrow the system" (quoted in *Black Crusader*). The idea that in the course of class struggle white workers could overcome their racist prejudices and recognize their common interests with blacks was alien to Williams' outlook. Yet within the limits of that outlook, Robert F. Williams was a heroic and honorable fighter against black oppression. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Bureaucrats Push Support for Pro-Capitalist NDP

Canada: Mass Labor Protests Against Austerity

TORONTO—A quarter million protesters filled the streets on Octoher 26 in a demonstration against vicious austerity cutbacks by the Ontario provincial government of Conservative premier Mike Harris. Trade unionists poured into Toronto for the protest from all over Ontario—auto workers from Oshawa and Windsor, steel workers from Hamilton, nickel miners from Sudbury, as well as tens of thousands of teachers, government and health care workers. They marched alongside immigrants and other minorities, anti-poverty activists and the unemployed, students and anti-racist youth, in the largest demonstration in Canadian history.

The previous day, a 24-hour protest strike shut down major industry, transport and most government offices, as unionists threw up nearly 700 picket lines at worksites around Toronto. Not a subway, hus or streetcar moved throughout the city, as the Toronto-area TTC transit system, which with two million riders a day is the second-largest in North America, was brought to a halt. Flying pickets organized by the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) defied a strikebreaking court injunction which city officials hoped would stop picketers from shutting the strategic TTC system. But transit workers refused to cross the picket lines of 200 or more unionists chanting "Nobody in! Nohody out!" which went up outside key TTC yards and depots beginning in the early morning. This action came on the heels of a dramatic occupation a week earlier of the General Motors fabrication plant in Oshawa, as part of a three-week CAW strike against the auto giant.

The Toronto protest was the fifth and largest in a series of anti-Tory "Days of Action" called for various cities over the past year by the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) bureaucracy. The citywide general strikes have given a taste of the potential power of the organized working

continued on page 10

Spartacist Canada

Hundreds of thousands of workers, immigrants and anti-racist youth marched in Toronto "Day of Action," October 26.

No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

"Hanging Judge" Sabo Dismisses New Evidence of Jamal's Innocence

NOVEMBER 2—Continuing the state's vendetta against black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, "hanging judge" Albert Sabo ruled yesterday against new evidence of Jamal's innocence and of the long, sordid record of police coercion of witnesses in the case. At issue is the powerful testimony provided by Veronica Jones at an evidentiary hearing held last month in Sabo's Philadelphia courtroom. Jones was an eyewitness in the December 1981 shooting death of police officer Daniel Faulkner, for which Jamal was falsely convicted.

Corroborating her initial account to the police and that of four other witnesses, Jones testified that she saw two men run from the scene of the shooting. Jamal, however, was sitting on the ground, bleeding severely from a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner. Jones, who was working as a prostitute in 1981, stated at the hearing that days before Jamal's July 1982 trial, two Philly detectives visited her in jail and threatened her with a long prison sentence on gun possession charges if she did not change her original statement. So Jones was coerced into lying at the 1982 trial, over which Sabo also presided.

For courageously coming forward to tell the truth at last month's hearing, Jones was subjected to unrelenting harassment and intimidation by both Saho and the prosecution. Finally, in the middle of the hearing, Jones was summarily *arrested on Sabo's witness stand and dragged off to jail*, on the basis of a bench warrant she didn't know about issued more than two years ago in New Jersey (see "Fugitive from Injustice," page 11). Faced with arrest, she steadfastly replied, "You think that's going to make me change my story? It's not!"

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Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, on death row for speaking out against racist oppression.

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 656 — 22 November 1996

Elections '96: Bipartisan Racist Reaction

For a Revolutionary Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!

WV Photo

Union demonstration in support of striking nurses in New York City, July 10. To mobilize labor in defense of workers and all the oppressed requires political struggle against pro-capitalist misleaders who tie workers to Clinton's Democrats.

The racist reaction which defined the presidential "contest" between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole was brought home a week after the elections with the acquittal of a cop in Pittsburgh and another in St. Petersburg, Florida who had killed young black men. The first-ever Democratic Party presidential nominee to be endorsed by the Fraternal Order of Police, Clinton swept back into office by outflanking the Republicans as the candidate of racist "law and order" and co-opting huge chunks of their program, from welfare-bashing to ever more sinister attacks on the rights of immigrants and other minorities. While liberals applauded the victory of the supposed Democratic "lesser evil," Wall Street hailed Clinton's retention of the White House and continued Republican control of Congress as a victory for untrammeled capitalist greed. "The initial reaction from the markets was euphoric," reported *Business Week* (18 November).

For Marxists, the understanding that the Democrats and Republicans are simply partner parties of capitalist rule in America is a given. But in these elections, virtually everyone—from the big-business media to small-town voters—couldn't help but note that there was little to distinguish the two parties. Clinton's Republicrat platform was the reflection of a broad ruling-class consensus on domestic policy: keep on grinding the poor and driving down wages to jack up profits. And when it comes to foreign affairs, Clinton has presided over one of the most aggressively militaristic administrations in years. Immediately after the elections, Republican Congressional leaders proclaimed their "common ground" with the White House, while Clinton reciprocated by canvassing leading Republicans for high-level Cabinet appointments. A headline in *U.S. News and World Report* (18 November) expressed the political climate in Washington: "Clinton's Big Choice: Govern as President Bush or President Gingrich?"

The absence of even a semblance of choice was reflected in the voter turnout, the lowest in a presidential election since 1924, with only 49 percent of registered voters bothering to go to the polls. The evident disaffection with both major capitalist parties reflects deep social alienation, as well as a broadly shared distrust of the government. But the desperation that has been produced by a drastic erosion of living standards among wide layers of the population can and has generated responses all over the social and political map.

There is growing despair not only in the black ghettos but in the hills of Idaho and in the Midwest Rust Belt. In the inner cities and even more so among the black middle class, there is a hearing for black separatist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. Among self-perceived "middle-class" whites who have been cut out of the "American Dream," there is a tendency to look to all kinds of rightist answers, blaming the ills of society on everything from immigrants to the "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government), satanism and black welfare mothers.

To cut through the pervasive cynicism and despair—which in turn fuel more sinister reactions—what is needed is a sharp outbreak of *integrated class struggle* against the racist capitalist exploiters. But the pro-capitalist labor misleaders are in business precisely to *stop* any challenge to the capitalist system. Sweeney's "new" AFL-CIO pulled out all the stops for Clinton's re-election, pouring tens of millions of dollars into the Democrats' election campaigns, while the United Auto Workers tops knifed any possibility of a national strike in the runup to the elections. If the working class is to wage any serious fight to defend its interests—much less those of all the oppressed—there must be a political struggle to oust these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class as part of a fight for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie and its parties.

Revolutionary Leadership and the Class Struggle

The pronounced shift to the right of the bourgeois political spectrum is integrally linked to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. For decades, the capitalists' desire to overturn the Soviet degenerated workers state served to a certain degree to suppress antagonisms among the imperialist powers. Now, beset by resurgent rivalries, the various bourgeoisies must ratchet up the rate of exploitation, drive down living standards and slash social programs in order to gain an edge against their competitors.

As bourgeois ideologues trumpet the so-called "death of communism," the capitalist rulers don't think anything stands in their way. They don't worry about workers' struggles, a calculation that is reinforced by the labor misleaders, who operate more like low-wage labor contractors these days than even as political police for the bosses in the unions. Wielding a huge arsenal of state repression—the courts, the cops and the prisons—America's rulers think they can cut welfare, cut out Medicaid and food stamps, deny any and all rights to immigrants, force people to work for next to nothing or let them just die. At the same time, the bourgeoisie is throwing its weight around internationally, trying to make Washington's imperialist "allies" kowtow to U.S. trade boycotts against Iran, Iraq and Libya and the starvation embargo aimed at strangling the Cuban deformed workers state.

What is going on in this country is brutal, but it's the real face of capitalist exploitation. In their unbridled arrogance, the American bourgeoisie thinks it can get away with it. But this is a short-sighted miscalculation. People do not like having no future for themselves and their kids, being treated like slaves, facing sickness, starvation and homelessness.

The power to smash the rule of the bourgeoisie and to use the enormous wealth of this country for the benefit of the many as opposed to the profits of a few lies with the multiracial working class. What stands in the way of unleashing the power of the American proletariat is backward consciousness—most profoundly the deep racism rooted in the

continued on page 8

Young Spartacus

An Exchange on Nestor Makhno—

Peasant "Anarchism," Pogroms and the Russian Revolution

See Page 4

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Build Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

This year the Partisan Defense Committee is holding its eleventh annual Holiday Appeal fund drive for class-war prisoners. Funds raised through the Holiday Appeal help maintain the PDC's program of monthly stipends to 17 of these prisoners and provide holiday gifts for them and their loved ones. Last year's Holiday Appeal was tremendously successful, raising over $15,000 in donations.

The level of continued support for this program demonstrates that supporters of the PDC understand the importance of keeping alive the tradition of the early International Labor Defense expressed in the words of James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary from 1925 to 1928: "The class conscious worker accords to the class war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem" (*Labor Defender*, September 1926). It is as clear today as when Cannon wrote these words more than 70 years ago that support of these prisoners is not charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice on the outside for those inside prison walls.

Initiated by the Spartacist League in 1974, the PDC is partisan on the side of the working class. The class principles upon which we base our work—principally that an injury to one is an injury to all—have become lost and corrupted over generations of betrayals and defeats by the misleaders of the workers movement. We are non-sectarian, defending cases in the interests of the whole of the working people, irrespective of particular political views. We rely on the independent power of the working class, and not on the capitalist courts which have thrown the class-war prisoners behind bars.

Jennifer Beach — WV Photos

Class-war prisoners aided by PDC stipend program: Mumia Abu-Jamal, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Jerry Dale Lowe. Their fight is our fight!

Here is the latest information on the recipients of our stipend program:

December 1996 marks 15 years of **Mumia Abu-Jamal**'s imprisonment on frame-up charges. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist and MOVE supporter, Jamal was falsely convicted on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs. Jamal's case has won support from death penalty abolitionists and anti-racist fighters around the world, whose protests stayed the executioner's hand in the summer of 1995. This year, Veronica Jones, an eyewitness in the shooting for which Jamal was framed up, came forward to provide powerful testimony of Jamal's innocence and of police coercion against witnesses in the case. Jamal's case is currently on appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. His book, *Live from Death Row*, came out this year in paperback.

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), 49 years old, former Black Panther and decorated Vietnam vet, is a victim of a racist FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. Geronimo has now served over 25 years for a murder the government knows he did not commit. This year, the Los Angeles District Attorney's office revealed that Julius Butler, whose testimony put Geronimo behind bars and who was an informer for the FBI and LAPD, was at the same time an informant of the D.A.'s office! Despite this, Geronimo has been denied bail.

Other recipients include:

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers member framed up on federal charges in the shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia during a UMWA strike. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. After losing his appeal, Lowe was forced back to federal prison in Ashland, Kentucky in January 1996 to serve almost eleven years for the "crime" of defending his union. There is no parole.

Ed Poindexter, 53, and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice)**, 50, former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of the racist COINTELPRO program, they were framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to commute their sentences to specific numbers of years, which would allow them to be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, Minnesota and Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur**, of the Ohio 7, were arrested in 1984 and 1985 and are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late 1970s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, Kansas and Ray Luc Levasseur is in the high tech torture chamber of Administrative Maximum at Florence, Colorado.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He is a militant anti-racist and leader of prison rights organizing. He worked alongside George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. Pinell has been in prison over 30 years. Just denied parole again for five years, he is currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay prison in Crescent City, California.

We also send stipends to nine MOVE members in prisons scattered throughout Pennsylvania who are serving sentences of 30-100 years, framed up for the shooting of a policeman during a massive cop siege of their home in 1978. They are: **Chuck Africa**, Graterford; **Debbie Sims Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Delbert Orr Africa**, Dallas; **Edward Goodman Africa**, Camp Hill; **Janet Holloway Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Janine Phillips Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Merle Austin Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Michael Davis Africa**, Graterford; **William Phillips Africa**, Dallas.

These class-war prisoners, while encompassing a range of political perspectives and views, have fought, each in his or her own way, against racist capitalist oppression. Join us in demonstrating our respect for and solidarity with these courageous prisoners who have fought for all of us as we pledge to redouble our efforts until all are set free.

We urge our readers to contribute generously to this year's Holiday Appeal fund drive and help us build this effort. Benefits are being organized in the Bay Area, Chicago and New York. Invite your family, friends and co-workers to attend the benefit in your area. Meet others who are active in this important work. Send in your Holiday Appeal contributions now. Support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send donations to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

Capitalism Breeds Misery and Poverty

LENIN

The U.S. today has the greatest disparity in distribution of wealth among industrialized countries. Liberals and reformists who look to the Democrats hark back to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "New Deal" in the 1930s, which implemented many of the social programs now being eliminated under Clinton. In fact, the New Deal was aimed at salvaging the system of capitalist exploitation in the face of militant workers' struggles and at preparing the U.S. for the impending interimperialist world war. In much of Europe, the bourgeoisies felt compelled to place fascist dictatorships in power for similar reasons. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote at the time, the Great Depression of the 1930s debunked any notion that workers' living standards could steadily progress under capitalism. What is needed today, as then, is a socialist revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party which rips the means of production from the capitalist rulers and organizes an egalitarian, planned economy.

The illusion of the uninterrupted "progress" of all classes has vanished without a trace. The *relative* decline of the masses' standard of living has been superseded by an *absolute* decline. Workers begin by economising on skimpy entertainment, then on their clothes and finally on their food. Articles and products of average quality are superseded by shoddy ones, and the shoddy by the worst. Trade unions begin to look like the man who hangs on desperately while going down in a rapidly descending escalator.

With six per cent of the world's population, the United States holds forty per cent of the world's wealth. Still, one-third of the nation, as Roosevelt himself admitted, is undernourished, inadequately clothed, and lives under subhuman conditions. What is there to say, then, for the far less privileged countries? The history of the capitalist world since the last war has irrefutably borne out the so-called "theory of increasing misery." The increase in the social polarity of society is today acknowledged not only by every competent statistician, but even by statesmen who remember the rudimentary rules of arithmetic....

To save society, it is not necessary either to check the development of technique, to shut down factories, to award premiums to farmers for sabotaging agriculture, to turn a third of the workers into paupers, or to call upon maniacs to be dictators. Not one of these measures, which are a shocking mockery of the interests of society, are necessary. What is indispensable and urgent is to separate the means of production from their present parasitic owners and to organise society in accordance with a rational plan. Then it would at once be possible really to cure society of its ills. All those able to work would find a job. The work-day would gradually decrease. The wants of all members of society would secure increasing satisfaction. The words "property," "crisis," "exploitation," would drop out of circulation. Mankind would at last cross the threshold into true humanity.

— Leon Trotsky, "Marxism in Our Time" (1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 19.

No. 656 **22 November 1996**

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SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Castro Courts Pope, Capitalist Rulers

—— Down With U.S. Imperialist Embargo! ——

Defend Cuba—For Workers Political Revolution!

On November 19, Cuban president Fidel Castro had a "historic" audience with Pope John Paul in the Vatican, where they agreed to a greater role for the church in Cuba and a visit by the anti-Communist cleric to the island next year. We Trotskyists warn that any involvement in Cuba by the Pope, the patron of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, can only be for the purpose of fomenting capitalist restoration.

The Cuban leader's visit to the Vatican came little more than a week after attending the Sixth Ibero-American Summit in Santiago, Chile, his first trip there since 1971. While former Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet railed that Castro was the devil himself, thousands of Chilean leftists greeted the Cuban leader with red flags and cheers. But the purpose of Castro's trip was to hobnob with the assembled Latin American capitalist rulers, including Mexican president Zedillo, who is waging a ruthless war of terror against leftist guerrillas and imposing starvation austerity on the working people and peasants. One Latin American diplomat called Castro "a wayward sibling who's trying to reconnect with his family." These days Latin American and West European bourgeois leaders no longer view the graying guerrilla chieftain as a threat and, indeed, believe that capitalism can be restored in Cuba by working through the Castro government.

American imperialism, however, remains determined to avenge itself against Castro for ripping Cuba out of the hands of the Mafia and the United Fruit Company. The differences in policy toward Cuba between Yankee imperialism and the neocolonial Latin American bourgeoisies surfaced at the Santiago conference, which brought together the heads of 23 Latin American states along with Spain and Portugal. The Clinton administration lobbied hard that Castro not even be invited to the Ibero-American Summit, but was rebuffed. The summit also went on record in opposition to the Helms-Burton law signed by Clinton earlier this year, which penalizes foreign companies doing business with nationalized Cuban enterprises originally expropriated from American capitalists.

Washington has tried to destroy the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state for more than three decades, through military invasions, CIA/*gusano* provocations and economic strangulation. Especially since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. economic embargo has exacted a terrible toll on Cuban workers and peasants. Direct military action against Cuba remains very much a possibility, and the Pentagon continues to hold onto its military base at Guantánamo. We say: Down with the American imperialist embargo! U.S. out of Guantánamo!

The Castro regime hails the denunciation of Helms-Burton at the Chilean summit and similar anti-U.S. declarations in various diplomatic forums as victories in its pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with Cuba's capitalist neighbors. A week after the Santiago meeting, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution for the fifth year in a row against Washington's economic embargo of Cuba. Yet for Cuba's workers and peasants, besieged by U.S. imperialism, Castro's diplomatic victories are hollow.

AP

Chilean leftists greet Castro in Santiago.

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

It is the duty of all class-conscious workers and leftist youth to defend Cuba against imperialist attack and the threat of capitalist counterrevolution, either from within or without. This is what the Spartacist League has fought for since our inception. At the same time, we have always warned that the Castroite Stalinist bureaucracy which consolidated itself during the Cuban Revolution would undermine the revolution, unless an additional *workers political revolution* placed political power into the hands of the working class itself. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is vitally necessary to lead that political revolution, and to fight to extend proletarian power through socialist revolutions throughout Latin America and in the U.S. imperialist "belly of the beast." Isolated, the Cuban deformed workers state cannot survive.

Castro's nationalist pursuit of "peaceful coexistence"—the hallmark of Stalinism—is counterposed to class struggle and proletarian internationalism. The Havana regime courts foreign capitalist investors, like the Canadian conglomerate which now runs the island's largest nickel smelter and the Mexican capitalists who have invested heavily in Cuban telecommunications. Castro's promotion of foreign capitalist investment and economic "liberalization" is a recipe for disaster. "Dollarization" of the economy has brought acute inequalities, making access to even basic items like food and soap incredibly difficult for anyone who doesn't have dollars. The biggest source of dollars are the overwhelmingly white Cubans who fled to Miami, so ugly racial divisions between black and light-skinned Cubans are being resurrected and intensified. Women are being driven to prostitution in the growing tourist sector.

Financial Times

Fidel Castro in Chile with Mexico's Ernesto Zedillo, enforcer of Wall Street austerity against workers and peasants.

The Cuban bureaucracy would like to follow the road taken by the Chinese Stalinists, who have surrendered vast chunks of China's planned economy to private capital while maintaining the Communist Party's grip on power. Facing the implacable hostility of American imperialism and based on a relatively small island dependent on foreign trade, the options available to the Stalinist bureaucrats in Havana are far more limited than those of their counterparts in Beijing. Nonetheless, the Cuban regime likewise fears and would oppose the rule of workers councils far more than the reintroduction of capitalism.

Meanwhile, in the U.S. the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes acts as uncritical cheerleaders for the Castro bureaucracy. The SWP's adaptation to Castroism in the early 1960s was one of the decisive factors marking its break with Trotskyism, which was fought internally by the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League. Today, the SWP seeks to attract radical-minded youth by proclaiming itself the most consistent defenders of the Cuban Revolution. In fact, its politics are counterposed to genuine defense of the Cuban workers state.

The Barnesites focus almost exclusively on seeking to pressure the Clinton administration to lift the U.S. embargo, while parroting the U.S. bourgeoisie's lies about the "death of communism." In a recent interview, SWP presidential candidate James Harris grotesquely gloated that the breakup of the Soviet Union "was one of the most progressive things that has happened in decades" (*Militant*, 11 November). Yet it was only the existence of the Soviet Union which allowed the Cuban deformed workers state to defy U.S. imperialism over the decades. And in the early 1980s, reflecting its acquiescence to U.S. imperialism, the SWP joined Washington and the Vatican in supporting CIA-backed Solidarność. The Cuban workers and peasants can do without "defenders" like the SWP!

Chile Revisited

The thousands of Chilean leftists who welcomed Castro with red banners are evidence of the Cuban leader's continuing

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Winter 1996-97

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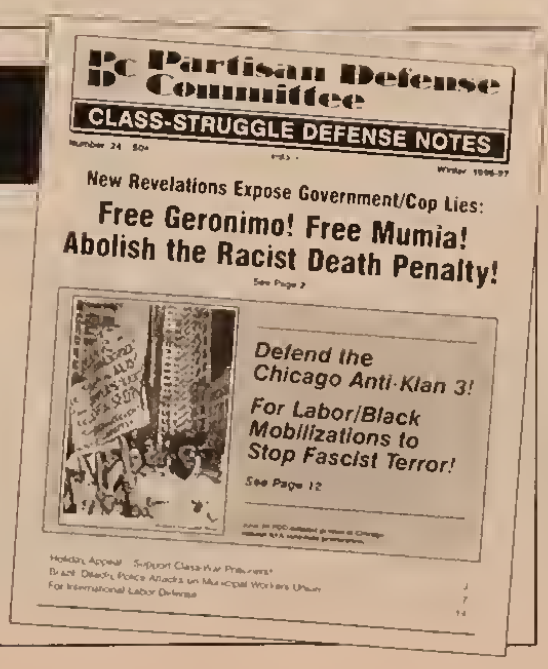
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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3!
For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!

Sygma

On previous visit to Chile in 1971, Castro stood shoulder to shoulder with "constitutionalist" general Augusto Pinochet, architect of bloody 1973 coup.

Young Spartacus

An Exchange on Nestor Makhno

Peasant "Anarchism," Pogroms and the Russian Revolution

We publish below excerpts, taken from a substantially longer letter, which include the writer's arguments on the Makhno movement.

Oakland
27 September 1996

Dear apologists for wage labor and state capitalism:

I'm writing to refute several egregious Leninoid lies peddled by Joseph Seymour, in part 7 of his series, "Marxism vs. Anarchism" (*Workers Vangnard* (sic), page 7, 8/30/96). In the section of his article dealing with the Russian Revolution of 1917-1921, Seymour claims:

"The most significant counterrevolutionary force under the banner of anarchism was the Ukrainian peasant-based army of Nestor Makhno, which carried out pogroms against Jewish communities and collaborated with White armies against the Bolsheviks."

Seymour makes these accusations without providing any documentation, and with good reason, for outside of Stalinist hagiographies, Stalin-era fiction like Suslov's [actually, Sholokhov's—*WV*] *And Quiet Flows the Don* and Seymour's imagination no evidence exists to support his claims. Surviving partisans of the Makhnovist movement, for example Makhno's comrade the ex-Bolshevik Peter Arshinov in his *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, the anarchist historian Voline in his work *The Unknown Revolution*, and independent historians who are not friends of revolution or anarchism, like Stanford scholar Michael Palij, in his book *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*, affirm that:

1. The Makhnovist Movement was a mass revolutionary movement of the poor in the Southern Ukraine, and fielded an army of several tens of thousands of partisans. This revolutionary movement lasted from 1918 until the final wholesale massacre of its partisans, and large numbers of non-combatant sympathizers, by the Bolsheviks in 1921.
2. An important part in the Makhnovist Movement was played by revolutionaries of Jewish origins, among them Voline. He was a key figure in the anarcho-communist "Nahat" confederation in the Ukraine during the Russian Civil War.
3. Jewish communities in the Ukraine furnished numerous combatants to Makhno's Insurrectionary Army. Jewish communities participated in regional revolutionary mass assemblies of workers, peasants and partisans called by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Makhnovist Army.
4. The Makhnovists named one of their free-communist agricultural communes after Rosa Luxemburg, who was of Jewish origins.
5. Nestor Makhno and his comrades issued numerous proclamations against anti-Semitism, and Makhno himself killed instigators of violence against the Jewish population, including a bandit named Grigorev. (See Arshinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, pp. 135-137.)
6. Leah Feldman, who died in London in the late 1980's, was the last known survivor of the Makhno movement in the west. As a young girl, Feldman helped sew uniforms for the Makhnovist Army. Feldman, who was of Jewish origins, vehemently attested to the Makhnovists' violent hostility to anti-Semitism.

University of Washington

Nestor Makhno with members of his peasant army. Whitewash by present-day anarchists to the contrary, Makhnoites did carry out anti-Semitic pogroms, as documented in eyewitness accounts in Russian and Yiddish obtained from YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City.

Погромы Махно.

Каково- бы ни было,однако, отношение самого Махно к погромам, создавшееся вокруг его имени и пропаганды повстаническое движение вписало кровавую страницу в летопись погромного движения на Украине.

In *The Unknown Revolution* (p. 698), Voline quotes a Jewish historian, M. Tcherikover, interviewed in Paris, who was neither an anarchist or a revolutionary:

"It is undeniable that, of all these armies, including the (so-called) Red Army, the Makhnovists behaved best with regard to the civil population in general and the Jewish population in particular.... Do not let us speak of pogroms alleged to have been organized by Makhno himself. This is a slander or an error. *Nothing of the sort occurred*" [my italics].

With regard to Seymour's claim that the Makhnovists "...collaborated with White armies against the Bolsheviks":

1. Makhno fought against Austrian and German Imperialist forces and their allies among the local gentry, as opposed to the Bolshevik regime, who collaborated with these enemies of the world revolution by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918.
2. Makhno's forces played a key role in the defeat of the Austro-German invasion of the Ukraine and in the defeat of the Ukrainian nationalist regime of Petliura in 1918.
3. Makhno's forces destroyed a significant portion of the White army general Denikin's forces in September and October 1919, thus crippling Denikin's attempt at that time to take Moscow.
4. Makhno's forces played the decisive part in the defeat of the White general Wrangel in late 1920. At that time an agreement was made between the Bolshevik state, signed by Frunze and Bela Kun, and the revolutionaries of the Makhno movement, where Makhno's forces were considered to be effectively a part of the so-called Red Army. This agreement is reproduced in Arshinov and Voline's works. Earlier, in May of 1919, the leading Bolshevik Lev Kamenev had journeyed to Makhno's headquarters and negotiated in person with Makhno.

The Bolsheviks are the only counterrevolutionaries the Makhnovists can be accurately accused of collaborating with.

Space considerations prohibit me from describing in great detail the counterrevolutionary treachery displayed by the Bolsheviks with regard to the Makhnovists. But those who read the sources mentioned above and who also read of how the Stalinists behaved during the Spanish Civil War will note many telling similarities....

Trotskyism is not a materialist weapon for understanding and changing reality, but a dogma, an impoverished amalgam of social democracy and Stalinism; an ersatz "socialism" devoid of social content. Trotskyism is a personality cult worshipping Lenin and Trotsky, around whom all history is made to revolve in a Ptolemaic fashion. The future can't be held hostage by the failures of the past.

For world communist revolution
and the eradication of Leninism,
Max Anger
The Poor, the Bad and the Angry

WV replies: Max Anger's raving defense of Makhno's peasant bandits provides a measure of the dementia that can be induced by bourgeois anti-Communism in the U.S. In their efforts to denounce the Bolshevik Revolution from the "left," anarchists invariably raise the Makhnoite movement of 1918-21 and the Soviet government's suppression of the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny. We have dealt at length with the latter, notably in an extensive commentary, "Kronstadt and Counterrevolution" (*WV* Nos. 195 and 203, 3 March and 28 April 1978), in the form of a review of Paul Avrich's *Kronstadt 1921*, a definitive account of this event by an American historian sympathetic to anarchism. We have not, however, previously discussed the Makhnoite movement. In addition to substantiating that Makhno's forces did engage in anti-Semitic pogroms, we therefore want to address the general significance of this particular episode in the history of the anarchist movement.

The Revolutionary Partisan Army of Nestor Makhno, as it was officially called, can be understood only in the context of class and national divisions and of the revolutionary turmoil and many-sided civil war which engulfed the Ukraine following the fall of the tsarist autocracy and

Progress Publishers

Red Army units entering Ukrainian capital of Kiev in 1919. Makhno's peasant partisans initially collaborated with Soviet forces, later attacked Red Army.

the dissolution of the Russian empire. More than 90 percent of ethnic Ukrainians at the time were peasants or rural villagers. The peasantry was saturated not only with anti-Russian but also anti-Polish and anti-Semitic prejudices, fueled in part by the fact that landlords, particularly in the western Ukraine, were predominantly Polish while Jews had historically played the role of middlemen and moneylenders. Industry was concentrated in the eastern area bordering Russia. The industrial proletariat of this region—in the Donbass and the cities of Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav—was predominantly Russian or Russified. The cities also contained large, ghettoized Jewish communities.

The overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and ensuing political chaos unleashed an elemental peasant revolt in the Ukraine as well as in Russia. The basic goals and outlook of the peasants were summed up by a liberal American historian of the Ukrainian civil war:

> "Peasants who had always been landless now dreamed of obtaining *some* land; peasants who owned a *little* dreamed of getting *more*. The desire to come out of this 'Time of Troubles' with a private plot and a system of self-government appears to have been virtually universal." [emphasis in original]
>
> — Arthur E. Adams, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine: The Second Campaign, 1918-1919* (1963)

Militarily, the peasant revolt in the Ukraine took the form of locally based partisan bands personally loyal to their own chiefs, who took the traditional titles of ataman or batko ("little father"). The peasant partisans were generally *hostile* to the heavily Russian and Jewish cities. Moreover, for well over a year following the October Revolution, much of the Ukraine was alternately under the control of the pro-German, anti-Soviet Rada regime or the German puppet dictatorship of the hetman Skoropadsky. (For a sense of the Ukraine in this period, see Mikhail Baitalsky, *Notebooks for the Grandchildren: Recollections of a Trotskyist Who Survived the Stalin Terror*, Humanities Press [1995].)

Understandably, the core of Bolshevik support in the Ukraine was the Russian industrial proletariat in the eastern region along with a sizable fraction of the urban Jewish intelligentsia. Unfortunately, many of these Russian workers still retained chauvinist attitudes toward the Ukrainian peasant masses. Thus national divisions aggravated the economic conflict between the urban working class and peasant smallholders which was enormously intensified by the conditions of civil war and Western imperialist intervention. The conflict between the Bolsheviks and the Makhnoites was at bottom an expression of this *class conflict* and not at all a contest between the ideas of Marxism and anarchism. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote in a January 1938 article titled "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt":

> "Only an entirely superficial person can see in Makhno's bands or in the Kronstadt revolt a struggle between the abstract principles of Anarchism and 'state socialism.' Actually these movements were convulsions of the peasant petty bourgeoisie which desired, of course, to liberate itself from capital but which at the same time did not consent to subordinate itself to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Elias Tcherikower

University of Washington photos

Pogrom victims in the Ukraine in 1919. Anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalist leaders Simon Petlyura and Pavlo Skoropadsky (right) were notorious for anti-Semitic terror.

Nestor Makhno and the Nature of His Movement

Nestor Makhno was born in 1889, the son of a poor peasant, in the eastern Ukrainian village of Gulyai-Pole in the province of Ekaterinoslav. During the turbulent period after the Revolution of 1905, he joined a local anarchist-communist group which helped finance its activities by armed robbery. On one occasion this resulted in the death of a security guard. When the tsarist police finally rounded up the Gulyai-Pole anarchists, they were sentenced to death by hanging. Because of his youth, Makhno's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment at hard labor. At Moscow's Butyrki prison, he encountered a veteran anarchist (and one-time Bolshevik), Peter Arshinov, who educated the anarchist-minded peasant youth in the doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

Released from prison as a result of the general amnesty which followed the overthrow of the tsar in February 1917, Makhno returned to his native village, where he placed himself at the head of the burgeoning peasant revolt. In the spring of 1919, the Makhnoite forces were joined by Arshinov and a few months later by the prominent Russian anarchist intellectual Voline. However, the Revolutionary Partisan Army was *not*—present-day mythologizing to the contrary—an anarchist movement. In 1920, the official organ of the Makhnoites, *The Road to Freedom*, edited by Arshinov, stated categorically: "The Makhnovist army is not an anarchist army and does not consist of anarchists" (quoted in Michael Malet, *Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War* [1982]).

Rather, Makhno's forces consisted of peasant smallholders who were fighting for their own land and to freely market and dispose of their own produce. Michael Palij's study of the Makhnoite movement, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921* (1976), which Max Anger commends as scholarly and objective, explained:

> "It would be a mistake to assume that the peasants in the region of the Makhno movement were anarchists; in reality, they knew and cared very little about anarchism or Marxism.... Although some of the anarchist principles were quite compatible with traditional peasant aspirations, the basic desire of the Ukrainian peasants was not the creation of an anarchist utopia but the expulsion of all the foreign invaders who exploited them and disrupted their way of life."

The handful of agricultural communes established by the Makhnoite leadership in the Gulyai-Pole region encompassed only a small fraction of its followers. The overwhelming majority of Makhno's partisans were committed to their own private property. As Palij put it: "His partisans and the peasants understood the slogan 'free anarcho-communes' to mean free individual farms."

Max Anger's romanticized views notwithstanding, an army of largely illiterate Ukrainian peasants, with no prior experience in political struggle, was hardly capable of assimilating the principles of anarchist-communism. The rival Ukrainian partisan leader Grigorev claimed to be a Left Social Revolutionary (populist) while Makhno raised the black flag of anarchism. Yet, whether they fought under ataman Grigorev or "batko Makhno," the social and political attitudes of the peasant partisans were essentially similar and could not have been otherwise.

This was recognized by a majority of anarchists in the Ukraine and Russia at the time. Both Arshinov and Voline (in his book *The Unknown Revolution* [1955]) recount, quite bitterly, that most anarchists did *not* join or even support the Makhnoite movement, despite appeals from its leadership to do so. In Arshinov's words:

> "The majority of Russian anarchists who had passed through the theoretical school of anarchism remained in their isolated circles, which were of no use to anyone. They stood aside, asking what kind of a movement this was, why they should relate to it, and without moving they consoled themselves with the thought that the movement did not seem to be purely anarchist."
>
> — Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement (1918-1921)* (1974)

The Makhnoite Movement and the Bolsheviks

Until the spring of 1919, relations between Makhno and the Bolsheviks were generally collaborative. For example, when Makhno was in Moscow in the fall of 1918 he secured a personal interview with Lenin, and the Soviet leader helped smuggle the anarchist militant back into the Ukraine, then under the rule of a German puppet regime propped up by German and Austrian troops. When Bolshevik forces entered the Ukraine a few months later, the peasant partisan bands of Makhno, Grigorev and others rallied to their side and were incorporated into the newly formed Soviet Army of the Ukraine. Makhno's forces were assigned a strategically vital section of the Red Army's southern front facing the counterrevolutionary White army of the former tsarist general Denikin.

Yet even in the period when he was a commander in the Ukrainian Soviet Army, Makhno willfully undermined the defense of the social revolution of which he claimed to be the purest partisan. Historian Arthur Adams writes: "Makhno supplied himself, sometimes by commandeering entire Bolshevik supply trains meant for the Southern Front. In the vast area centered at his home at Gulyai-Pole, he and his lieutenants made it quite impossible for the Communists to collect food or to set up local governments" (*Bolsheviks in the Ukraine*). Adams' account is corroborated in his own way by Arshinov: "The Communist authorities who penetrated into all parts of the region were received as foreigners and intruders.... The attempts to implant Communist institutions resulted in bloody collisions between the population and the authorities."

At the same time, the Makhnoites

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Mikhail Shmigelsky

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky organized Red Army and "Red Cossack" detachments which crushed anti-Semitic pogromists to defend proletarian order.

Makhno...

(continued from page 5)

demanded that the central Soviet government in Moscow supply them with modern weaponry to fight the Whites. But in order to feed the workers in munitions factories or buy arms from abroad, the Soviet government had to collect surplus grain from the peasantry. By preventing this where they held sway, the Makhnoites sabotaged the military struggle against the Whites. In short, the Makhnoites wanted the Soviet workers state to economically support them but they refused—arms in hand—to give any economic support to the Soviet workers state.

Soviet grain collection, often carried out by Russian or Jewish Communists, encountered an increasingly violent response among the Ukrainian peasantry, especially the kulaks, the wealthier peasants. In May 1919, Grigorev openly mutinied against the Red Army command. Declaring the Communists to be the main enemy, the ataman now called for an alliance of all anti-Bolshevik forces including the Russian Whites.

Makhno initially adopted a stated position of neutrality toward the Grigorev revolt, but his military actions were directed solely against the Bolsheviks. He resigned his Red Army command and with his most loyal supporters retreated behind the front lines. According to Palij: "As soon as Makhno left the front he and his associates began to organize new partisan detachments in the Bolsheviks' rear, which subsequently attacked strongholds, troops, police, trains, and food collectors." Needless to say, the Bolsheviks answered the Makhnoites in kind. In early July 1919, Makhno entered into a short-lived alliance with Grigorev. The attacks by Grigorev, Makhno and other armed peasant bands so weakened the Red Army that Deniken's Whites were able to occupy most of the Ukraine by the fall of 1919.

The withdrawal of the Red Army brought about a significant change in the political and ideological character of the Makhnoite movement. Until then, Makhno had been quite hostile to the bourgeois-nationalist forces led by Simon Petlyura, which were concentrated in the western Ukraine. From the fall of 1919 onward, however, the Makhnoites increasingly appealed to anti-Russian Ukrainian nationalism and entered into collaborative relations with the Petlyuraites. Palij notes:

> "Makhno's slogans assumed a more pro-Ukrainian, patriotic, and, at the same time, a more anti-Russian tone. Makhno began to brand the Bolsheviks not only as social, but also as national enemies; at the same time, his newspapers blamed the Bolsheviks for preventing the Ukrainian people from 'creating their own life by themselves' and urged them to 'take the authority into their own hands.' Also, the newspapers and Makhno himself appealed to the people to fight against the 'Moscovite oppressors' and to 'liberate our native Ukraine from the Russian yoke'."

Joseph Rosen

Bolshevik Revolution opened door to emancipation for Jews oppressed under tsarism. Right: Jewish students in Kiev trade school.

In this period, Makhno's partisans shared their surplus weapons with the Ukrainian Army of Petlyura. Though Petlyura, too, styled himself a "socialist," his forces were synonymous with anti-Semitic pogroms. Makhno, according to his former chief-of-staff Viktor Bilash, was even preparing to join Petlyura's Ukrainian Army, but this plan was jettisoned because his lieutenants strongly objected.

When the Red Army fought its way back into the Ukraine in 1920, Makhno did another about-face and offered the Bolsheviks a military alliance against the White army. The Bolsheviks demanded that Makhno explicitly incorporate his forces into the Red Army. In an October 1920 article, Leon Trotsky, then leader of the Red Army, insisted also that the Makhnoites "purge their troop of kulak bandit elements" and warned:

> "We, of course, can only welcome the fact that the Makhnovites wish henceforth not to fight against us but with us, against [the White general] Wrangel. But our pact with the Makhnovites must certainly not be temporary in character. The working class of the Ukraine can never, and especially not in conditions of tremendous military danger, allow particular units sometimes to fight in our ranks and sometimes to stab us in the back. Waging war against the world's exploiters, the workers' and peasants' Red Army says: 'Who is not with me is against me, and whoever is with me is to remain in my ranks and not leave them till the end'."
>
> — Trotsky, *How the Revolution Armed*, Vol. 3 (1981)

After Wrangel's White army was defeated, the Makhnoites sought to establish themselves as an independent military force in the Crimean peninsula with its strategically vital ports on the Black Sea. The Soviet government could not and did not tolerate this situation, especially given Makhno's treacherous history of allying with whatever military force he thought would best ensure his vaunted "independence." In late 1920, the Red Army suppressed the Makhnoite partisans. This had nothing to do with their formal anarchist doctrines, to which no one at the time paid much attention.

Makhno's Partisans *Did* Commit Anti-Semitic Pogroms

The war of the Ukrainian peasant armies against the Soviet power was accompanied by anti-Semitic pogroms on a mass scale. "Down with the Jewish Commissars!" was a battle cry of Petlyura, Grigorev and other Ukrainian nationalist chieftains. A member of the Jewish Bund in the Ukraine expressed the sentiments of the Jewish masses at the time: "The armed carriers of socialism, the Bolsheviks, are the only force which can oppose the pogroms.... For us there is no other way" (see "Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Jewish Question," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). As we noted in that article: "In its struggle to defend and consolidate the new proletarian state power against the White counterrevolutionaries, the Red Army necessarily had to sweep away the pogromist old order."

Wayward elements of the Red Army who carried out excesses against the population, Jewish or otherwise, were subjected to the harshest disciplinary measures, like summary execution. The various peasant bands arrayed against the Bolsheviks, in contrast, whatever the formal political views of their leaders, either actively fostered or adapted to the backward prejudices of their peasant base. As Trotsky noted in his October 1920 article:

> "Exploiting the backwardness of the rural lower orders, their lack of confidence in the revolution, the kulak took the leadership of the countryside and counterposed it to the town.... This was the basis on which both Petlyura's movement and Makhno's grew up. Petlyura regards himself as a statesman, has dealings with the Pope of Rome and with the French Freemasons, whereas Makhno regards himself as an Anarchist. But they both try to find support in a *united* countryside, raising this in revolt against the advanced proletariat ... Petlyura did this consciously—Makhno, without thinking."

Max Anger and other anarchists contend that, uniquely among Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik partisan forces, the Makhnoites carried out no crimes against the Jewish population. Some of his arguments can be described as circumstantial evidence. The Makhnoites' official proclamations and publications consistently denounced anti-Semitism. They named an agricultural commune after the Polish Jewish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. Voline, a leading Makhnoite, was Jewish. Yet these seemingly convincing arguments say nothing about what Makhno's partisans actually did on the ground.

Would Max Anger accept similar arguments from an apologist for the Stalin regime's murderous purge of Soviet Jewish intellectuals in the late 1940s and early '50s? After all, in the same period that Stalin ordered the killing of famous Yiddish actor Solomon Mikhoels and the arrest of prominent Jewish figures in the infamous "doctors' plot," official Soviet propaganda continued to strongly condemn anti-Semitism and to honor the German Jewish revolutionary Karl Marx. And a leading figure in the Stalin regime at the time was Lazar Kaganovich, a Jew.

Anger indignantly demands "documentation" for our charge that Makhno's forces engaged in anti-Semitic pogroms. Such documentation can be found in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City (based before the Holocaust in Vilna, Lithuania), perhaps the world's foremost research and archival center for East European Jewish studies. File No. 29 (Folios 2623-2681) of the Elias Tcherikower Archives at YIVO contains material on the Makhnoites in Yiddish, Russian and French, including *contemporary, eyewitness accounts* by Jews living in the areas in which Makhno's partisans operated. Thanks to the efforts of John Holmes, a sympathizer of the Spartacist League in the Bay Area who has researched the question, many of the YIVO materials are also available in English translation (as are copies of the original documents) at the Prometheus Research Library in New York, the central archival and research facility of the Spartacist League/U.S.

We did not say that Makhno and his colleagues officially preached anti-Semitism, but rather that his peasant-based army carried out pogroms. This point is also made by I. Klinov in an article polemicizing against Makhno apologists, published in the Yiddish newspaper *Haynt* [*Today*], 23 July 1926). Klinov wrote: "There were many instances in which Makhno, led by a group of intellectuals which included Jews, behaved decently and one could even think that Makhno was a protector of the poor Jewish masses; these instances do not make up for the excesses that Jews had to suffer from the Makhnoites as from the other bands." Among the numerous Makhnoite atrocities documented in the YIVO files is one reported by M. Aspiz on 24 August 1922:

> "At the end of December 1918 and the beginning of January 1919, Makhno's insurgent detachments fought with the Petlyuraites in and around Ekaterinoslav.... The Makhnoites looted and burned the 'Azyorne' marketplace. Also the entire commercial region was looted. As a result, when the battle ended 83 Jewish victims were brought to the cemetery for burial, only a small number of the fatalities being caused by accidental bullets and shells. The remainder were savagely slain by the Makhnoites."

Another account, presented by Wolf-Aaron Dubkin to the Odessa Kehillah (Jewish community organization) in late 1919, described how the previous August "a band of Makhnoites showed up in Bratskeye, near Elisavetgrad." The Makhnoites looted all the Jewish families and murdered a 75-year-old man who tried to prevent his daughter-in-law from being raped. In Kazatin, the secretary of the Poale-Zion organization reported that in October 1919 a unit of Petlyuraites which included around 800 "Makhnoites" from Chudnov took the town. "They murdered the Jews Kodel and Belilovsky. Forty women were raped. The Makhnoites were there for 12 days."

As for the apparent discrepancy between the statement by Tcherikower cited in Anger's letter and the materials in the Tcherikower files, a YIVO archivist speculated to John Holmes that this could be partly explained by the fact that Tcherikower was based in Kiev, while many of the pogroms were perpetrated in outlying areas. Much new documentation on anti-Semitic atrocities by the Makhnoites has come to light with the opening of Soviet archives in the past few years. Before they rush to defend the Makhnoites against charges of anti-Semitic pogroms, we suggest that anarchists read the archival material in YIVO or the PRL.

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Prop 209...

(continued from page 12)

[affirmative action programs] myself" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 November).

Now Jesse Jackson, black front man for the Democrats, and Patricia Ireland, president of the bourgeois National Organization for Women, are literally begging *Clinton* to organize defense of affirmative action! The liberals say they can stop Prop. 209 in the courts. Fat chance! Prop. 187's intended terrorization of immigrants has been largely achieved regardless of court orders supposedly blocking parts of its implementation. The courts are an integral part of the capitalist state, the enforcement arm of the filthy rich capitalists who run this country.

The affirmative action programs set up under the pressure of the social upheavals of the 1960s at best have benefited only a thin layer of minorities and women. In fact, hiring quotas were initially instituted with the aim of breaking the unions and increasing racial divisions in the workforce. Now the ruling class wants to wipe out the minimal access minority youth have to the race- and class-biased system of higher education. What's needed is to mobilize real class struggle against this racist offensive.

Yet organizers of the current protests are bent on continuing their bankrupt strategy of alliance with the class enemy. To this end they are eagerly promoting widespread illusions in the "liberal" wing of the university administration. From Berkeley and Santa Cruz to San Diego and Riverside, the main official demand of the campus protesters is to call on the administration not to enforce Prop. 209. At UC Santa Cruz, organizers hailed as a "great victory" the establishment of a "Post Prop. 209 Commission" headed *by the chancellor*, and a few dollars set aside for minority recruitment. At Berkeley, many look to the "anti-209" chancellor Tien, and in San Diego protesters there invited him to join them.

The campus administrations are not allies in the fight against racism but enemies! Their job is to run the universities on behalf of the capitalists, turning out the future technicians and bureaucrats the capitalists need while ruthlessly suppressing student protest against injustice. Just look at the history of Berkeley—from the crackdown on civil rights activists which sparked the free speech movement in the 1960s, to assaults on protests against the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam, to the persecution of anti-apartheid activists, and now the brutal arrest of anti-racist protesters by Chancellor Tien's campus cops. We say: *Abolish the Board of Regents and the administration—for worker/student/teacher control of the university!*

Students who want genuine racial and social equality must demand that everyone have the right to an education! This is a minimum requirement to cut through the race and class discrimination built into capitalist America. The SYC fights for *open admissions* with no tuition—free quality education for all! To combat massive unemployment which has especially ravaged minority youth, we fight for *jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay*. But any serious step toward genuine social equality runs up hard against the capitalist profit system, which is racist to its very core.

Prop. 209 is an integral part of the capitalists' ongoing class war against workers and the oppressed. Anti-racist students must broaden the struggle by linking up with the multiracial working class—the only force with the social power to defeat the ruling class. This means, for example, supporting embattled campus workers also targeted by Prop. 209, including the Association of Graduate Student Employees who are planning a strike this month against the UC administration's union-busting. As an SYC speaker told Berkeley protesters on November 7:

> "The capitalists have decided to throw millions of youth on the scrap heap. They won't educate them because they don't have jobs for them, so they just hire more cops and build more prisons.... The leaders of this protest have just kept their demands within what is acceptable to the capitalists. We call for what is *needed* by the working class, and seek to mobilize *their* power so that *their* children can have a future."

The reformists of the Committees of Correspondence (CoC), self-proclaimed "socialists" who openly hack the racist Democratic Party, are working overtime to keep the protests within "respectable" boundaries. Trailing along on their left flank is the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) with its front group, the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN). At Berkeley, BAMN endorses calls for the chancellor to "openly resist" Prop. 209. The *San Francisco Examiner* (9 November) quoted Tanya Kappner of BAMN declaring that "We need [Chancellor Tien] to guarantee specifically that he will maintain the same numbers of black and Hispanic students at this school." In other words, the BAMN "revolutionaries" are happy to settle for the current token representation of minorities at UC Berkeley—where barely five percent of students are black and less than 14 percent Latino—and look to the capitalist administration to defend it!

Now the student bureaucrats running the current campus protests, including the CoC, are distributing a grotesque anti-communist diatribe against the RWL/BAMN titled "Divide and Disrupt" which redbaits the RWL/BAMN as a "vanguardist Trotskyist party" whose members show "many indications of being agent provocateurs." They smear the RWL as "violent" in a sinister bid to set them up for police repression. This anonymous piece of filth sounds like it was written by J. Edgar Hoover, with tales of how the RWL seeks to "subvert coalitions" and "co-opt crowds." They even denounce "sectarians" for "constantly trying to sell newspapers"—a harb clearly aimed at the Spartacists, since the liquidationist RWL no longer even produces its own newspaper.

Far from being the Red Menace, the RWL/BAMN simply tries to put a more tactically militant face on the same liberal reform pressure politics the CoC pushes. But the vicious redbaiting pushed by the CoC aims to keep opposition to the racist offensive from posing any threat to the capitalist status quo.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club opposes racist rollback of affirmative action, fights for opening universities to all working-class and minority youth.

Thus the bureaucratic anti-communist "facilitators" at a November 11 UC Berkeley open "planning meeting" hysterically shouted down an SYC speaker when he raised the call for open admissions.

In opposition to Prop. 209 *and* the racist status quo of Clinton, Chancellor Tien and the reformists, the SYC fights to win anti-racist students to the program and perspective of *socialist revolution*, to put an end to racism and exploitation once and for all and create a genuinely egalitarian society on the basis of a planned socialist economy. The only social force with both the power and the interest as a class to carry out such a revolution is the integrated working class whose labor produces all wealth. We aim to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead that struggle to victory. Join us! ■

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which is open by appointment to left-wing activists and qualified scholars.

Finally, the fact that Makhno's forces contained many pogromists is indicated by the material cited in Max Anger's own letter, the significance of which he distorts, either out of ignorance or deceit. It is true that Grigorev was a pogromist. It is also true that he was killed by Makhno's men. But it is *not true* that he was killed because he was a pogromist.

When Grigorev mutinied against the Red Army in May 1919, his forces carried out one of the worst atrocities in the entire Ukrainian civil war, killing some 3,000 Jews in the village of Elisavetgrad. Yet in early July Makhno entered into a military alliance with Grigorev against the Bolsheviks. However, Makhno and his colleagues distrusted Grigorev as an unprincipled adventurer who might suddenly turn on them. By getting rid of the ataman, they also hoped to incorporate his followers into their *own* army.

And that's just what they did. After Grigorev was killed at a joint assembly of the two partisan forces in late July, according to Arshinov's account: "The assembly also decided that the partisan detachments formerly under Grigor'ev's command would henceforth be part of the general insurrectionary army of the Makhnovists." Thus, Makhno and his anarchist colleagues knowingly recruited en masse into their ranks men who only a few months before had massacred thousands of Jews.

Certainly Makhno, Arshinov, Voline and their cothinkers professed hostility to anti-Semitism. But they based themselves on an army composed of small property owners. That is why a majority of anarchists in the Ukraine and Russia at the time did *not* support the Makhnoite movement. Moreover, many Russian anarchists, such as Vladimir (Bill) Shatov, supported the Soviet workers state and fought with honor in the Red Army. Yet today almost all Western anarchists retrospectively embrace the Makhnoites as their own. Why is that? Because in their hostility to Leninism, they have bought into the anti-Communist prejudices which pervade the bourgeois societies in which they live and which have shaped their political consciousness. ■

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Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
Next class, November 30: ***Marxist Economics***; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m.
Next class, December 5: ***The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room B116
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ, CA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, January 14: ***The USSR's Degeneration: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***; UCSC, Student Center, Third World Lounge
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturdays, 12 noon. Next class, December 7: ***The Fight for a Revolutionary Party Today***, University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Union, Room 2146
Information and readings: (202) 872-8240

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Gasaway/SF Bay Guardian

Workers World, SWP and other self-styled "socialists" endorsed April 14 San Francisco pep rally for racist "law and order" Democrat Clinton, supported for re-election by Fraternal Order of Police (right).

AP

Elections...

(continued from page 1)

forcible segregation of the black masses at the bottom of society—and a thin, brittle layer of corrupt, pro-capitalist union bureaucrats.

Today, the labor misleaders see their main job as overseeing strikebreaking, layoffs and the decimation of the unions. This has led to mass unemployment particularly in the ghettos, as the factories that once employed millions of black workers have been turned into rusting hulks. Having thus made their own contribution to the devastation of the inner cities, the labor tops have of course done nothing to oppose the savage attacks on the poor, blacks and immigrants. Rather they push the racist poison of "America First" protectionism, taking aim at immigrants and foreign workers in the interest of safeguarding the corporate holdings and profits of the American ruling class. Thus they feed into the racial, ethnic and national hatreds which the ruling class fosters to divide the working class.

For labor to fight in its own interests it must champion the rights of all the oppressed. For the unions to become fighting organizations in defense of the interests of the working people, the labor misleaders who keep them tied to their exploiters must be replaced with a class-struggle leadership. This is integrally linked to the fight for a multiracial workers party to lead a socialist revolution which will take industry out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and build an egalitarian socialist society.

Democrats' Fake-Left Waterboys

With the rapid accumulation of social pressures in the U.S., things can and *will* blow. But this could go in every and any conceivable direction. Ours is a revolutionary Marxist perspective of a proletarian, internationalist fight for a workers America. In this we recall a 1948 speech by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, on the election policy of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP):

> "In the terrible crisis that is impending in America there are possibilities for all kinds of political manifestations, from the most revolutionary to the most reactionary. We must not get mixed up in bourgeois politics of any kind. We must not let our party become involved in any kind of substitute for genuine working class action. All of the activities of our party must be compressed within the framework of the class line. We must have in view the perspective of the terrific social crisis that is impending, when things will move at such terrific speed that some of the comrades who are impatient today may be left behind. We must foresee the possibilities of a rapid radicalization of the American working class, which will almost overnight confront us with a genuine class movement on the political field."

This stands in marked contrast to the recent election campaign of the reformist shell of Cannon's SWP. SWP presidential candidate James Harris proclaimed that "working people need a break from the parties of the rich." But this populist rhetoric masks a program which fosters deep illusions in the bourgeois parties and the capitalist state. This summer, the SWP appealed to the racist Clinton to send federal troops to "protect" black churches from racist arsonists. For months, the SWP echoed the perennial calls of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) to "fight the right"—a code word for support to the Democratic "lesser evil"—as it decried ultraright Republican candidate Pat Buchanan as the supposed leading edge of American fascism. Meanwhile the SWP itself has grotesquely tried to "intersect" genuine fascists like KKKer David Duke, selling its paper at Duke election rallies in Louisiana a couple of years ago and recently hailing a polite debate with KKKer David Duke at a California campus (see "Fascist Duke Spews Racist Filth at Cal State Northridge," Young Spartacus pages, *WV* No. 653, 11 October).

As for Gus Hall's fossilized CP, it has promoted the Democrats as the "progressive" wing of American capitalism since the "New Deal" era of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the mid-1930s. Now, the CP has dispensed even with running its own candidates as a fig leaf, as Hall urged his depleted ranks to defeat the Republicans, proclaiming: "The elections will decide whether our country will move forward in a more progressive, democratic direction or continue moving backward, to the right, and even in a dangerously fascist direction" (*Political Affairs*, September-October 1996).

But with the Democratic presidential candidate barely attempting to differentiate himself from the Republicans, Clinton was seen as too hard a sell for most ostensibly "socialist" reformists. Both the Democratic Socialists of America, whose leaders have served as advisers to Democratic Party administrations since the 1960s, as well as the more "radical" social-democratic Solidarity outfit came out for Ralph Nader, a Democrat running as a candidate of the Green Party. Solidarity bemoaned the demise of "erstwhile insurgencies such as Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition" which had previously provided a convenient vehicle for backhanded support to the Democratic Party (*Against the Current*, September-October 1996).

While some saw Nader as a critic of corporate America, his stance was an overt appeal to refurbish the image of the Democratic Party. As Nader himself put it, "Corporations will always try to pull the Democratic Party to the right, and

St. Petersburg, Florida

Killer Cop Walks, Black Protesters Tear-Gassed

Defend Uhuru—Drop the Charges!

On November 13, a new wave of protests broke out in the black neighborhood on the south side of St. Petersburg, Florida after a white cop, James Knight, was found not guilty in the shooting death of black youth TyRon Lewis the month before. On October 24, Knight pumped five bullets into Lewis, who was sitting in a car with his hands up after being stopped by the police at an intersection. Lewis' killing sparked immediate angry protests. To quell the demonstrations, 600 cops and National Guard troops were mobilized to occupy the area under a state of emergency. Aided by an orchestrated media campaign, the cops went after a black nationalist group, the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, which was raising bail for those arrested in the protests. Meanwhile, sensing an opportunity to foment race-terror, Ku Klux Klan fascists publicly appeared downtown.

Immediately after last week's decision by an 18-member grand jury—which included only one black person—to let Knight walk, the cops launched a series of provocations against the black neighborhood, particularly targeting Uhuru, which had begun distributing flyers denouncing the verdict. As cops blocked off the area, police cruisers swarmed in to arrest four members of Uhuru, all on minor violations like driving cars without license tags. While the bourgeois media reported that the police moved in to suppress "rioting," *the cop invasion was planned weeks ago.* One Uhuru supporter was arrested at the house which serves as the group's headquarters, where scores of people were meeting to protest the verdict. Declaring the gathering an "unlawful assembly," police launched an assault using tear gas and pepper gas on the men, women and children inside the house.

As the number of street executions by racist cops skyrockets, the capitalist rulers are fearful of another explosion like the one that rocked Los Angeles and other cities following the 1992 acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. This was said in so many words by a St. Petersburg police spokesman in explaining why they sealed off the black neighborhood. The St. Petersburg cops' assault on black protesters is part and parcel of the system of racist state terror exemplified by the brutal beating of King and the killings of TyRon Lewis and countless other minority youth.

Rivenbark/AP

November 13: Black demonstrators protesting racist verdict are attacked by cops.

Three Uhuru supporters have been arrested. With its program of strident black nationalism, Uhuru has in the past played into the capitalist rulers' divide-and-rule schemes, for example by spewing vile anti-Asian bigotry. Nonetheless, it is vital for all opponents of racist repression to defend all those arrested for protesting cop terror in St. Petersburg. We demand: Drop all the charges! Hands off Uhuru!

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

On Farrakhan's "Atonement Day"

The following column is dated October 16, when Louis Farrakhan organized a "World's Day of Atonement" rally outside the United Nations building in New York City to mark the first anniversary of the Million Man March.

Ona Move! Long Live John Africa!

On this day a question comes to mind.

For what do the capitalists of Babylon have to atone? In this land, mislabeled as the land of the free, over a million men and women stagnate in cages, an estimated three million people are in search of a home, and over 30 million subsist in direst poverty.

For what do we have to atone? Is our poverty, our homelessness or our captivity a sin? And if it be a sin, who has sinned against whom? And who needs to atone?

This nation has become a Vampire under the jugular vein of our Mother Earth, it has slaked its sordid thirst with the blood of millions. It threatens to poison the very foundation of Life for its highest principle of profit.

Who needs to atone?

It has made law a commodity of the wealthy and justice a bitter memory, its courts are corrals of New Age slavery, its judges are priests of property. Its legislators representatives of repression. Its schools are cemeteries of consciousness.

Who needs to atone?

For the unfree, for the poor, for the homeless, for the damned, atonement brings nothing but another nightmare at day's end.

What slavemaster dare ask his slave to forgive him? The freed need freedom. The poor need the resources with which to live. The homeless need decent housing. And the damned need a true salvation.

For them, for us, for us all, revolution is the only solution.

Let us unite. Let us organize. Let us rebel against a system that, as John Africa says, "GIVES NOTHING BUT PAIN TO OUR FAMILIES, OUR BABIES."

Ona Move! LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!

© 1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

there's got to be a pull to the left" (*New York Times Magazine*, 20 October). Moreover, the Greens represent not an alternative to corporate capitalism but a "left" face of *capitalist austerity*. While eco-conscious yuppies salve their conscience by putting their wine bottles in the right recycling containers, behind the Greens' diatribes against "consumerism" and their calls for ecological conservation lies a deeply conservative program which dovetails with the interests of the capitalist rulers who seek to drive down the living standards of the working class. And in the impoverished "Third World," this program amounts to telling the masses that they should get by without electricity, clean water and the most minimal necessities accessible through modern technology.

Of those self-proclaimed socialist groups which ran candidates in the elections, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) had the most visible campaign, getting slightly over 29,000 votes compared to the SWP's 11,513. But Workers World's nominally independent campaign was belied by its years of joining in "coalitions" with and cheerleading for Democratic Party "progressives" like Jesse Jackson and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Indeed, the WWP was compelled to admit that its popular-frontist "National People's Campaign" against Gingrich's "Contract With America" was a vehicle for the Democrats, hypocritically complaining that "many elements in the progressive movement began arguing that the only way to stop the right was to get behind the Democratic Party" (*Workers World*, 15 August). And *Workers World* (14 November) hailed the election of a black (Democratic!) Congresswoman in Georgia and an Asian American (Democratic!) governor in Washington as "signs of resistance to the reactionary onslaught."

Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

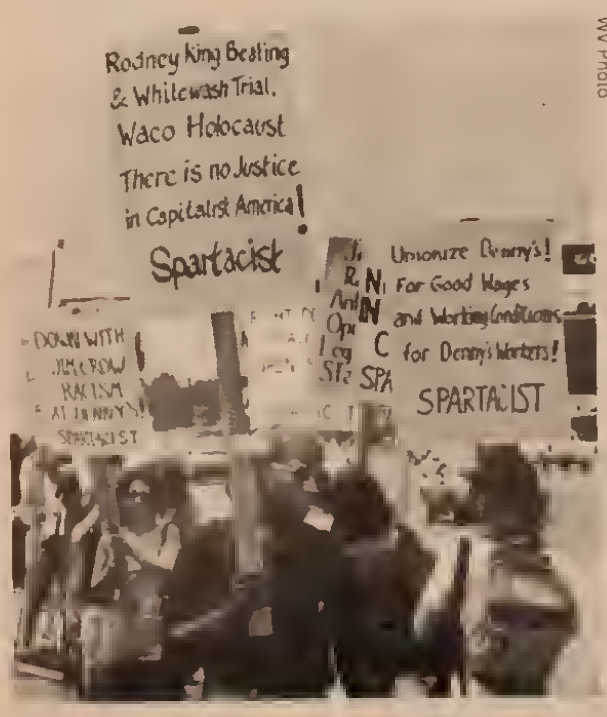
Mass picket during 1989 Pittston miners strike, sold out by union tops. AFL-CIO misleaders suppress workers' struggles in service to Democrats.

Finally, there was the glossy campaign of David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP), formerly the Workers League, which managed to scrape up some 2,700 votes. But this peculiar "equality" party not only dismisses the fight against racial and sexual discrimination, but is positively hostile to it. Front and center in the SEP's election platform was an *attack on affirmative action*—this in an election year marked by a virulently racist bipartisan assault on welfare and affirmative action. (Meanwhile, with the consummate cynicism which is a hallmark of North's outfit, in California, where thousands of youth have taken to the streets in defense of affirmative action, the SEP issued a leaflet opposing Proposition 209, which bans state affirmative action measures.)

The core of the SEP's program is profoundly reformist, pushing among other things for the bourgeoisie to reallocate its economic resources: "Tax codes would have to be radically revised to place the greatest burden on those who can afford it, the corporations and the rich" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 11 November). This may sound like standard "tax the rich" reformist tinkering, but it's not even that. David North is ever so solicitous to the interests of the ruling class, assuring that "Our aim is not to reduce the rich to conditions of penury." In fact, the aim of communists is the *expropriation* of the bourgeoisie as a class. In a socialist society, they too will be able to find meaningful employment, if they want to eat.

For Marxists, election campaigns can provide an opportunity for a wider hearing among the working people for a program of struggle against the racist rulers, a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda. However, none of the supposed "socialists" claiming to be an alternative to Clinton's Democrats warranted a vote from class-conscious workers and radical youth, because not one of them offered a clear political break from capitalist politics on any decisive question. In any case, bourgeois elections are but a pale reflection of the class struggle, a shell game to reshuffle the political representatives for the capitalist class. Workers and the oppressed will never come to power through another class's ballot.

What is needed is a genuine workers party, one which organizes class struggle, which seeks to mobilize the power of labor to defend the rights of blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, women, gays and all the oppressed. Examples of this are the labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee over the years to stop fascist race-hate provocations. Such a party can only be forged in irreconcilable struggle against all support—both open and hackhanded—to the partner parties of capitalism. The capitalist rulers cannot be pressured to act on behalf of the oppressed and exploited; they and their profit system must be swept away through workers revolution. Only after the power of the deadly racist capitalist rulers is broken will there be an opportunity to carry out the measures necessary to rebuild this society for the benefit of all. ■



WV Photo

Spartacists launched nationwide campaign against racist discrimination at Denny's restaurants in summer of 1993. The fight for black liberation is key to workers revolution in the U.S.

On the United Front

A Spartacist pamphlet originally printed in 1976 as *Young Communist Bulletin* No. 3

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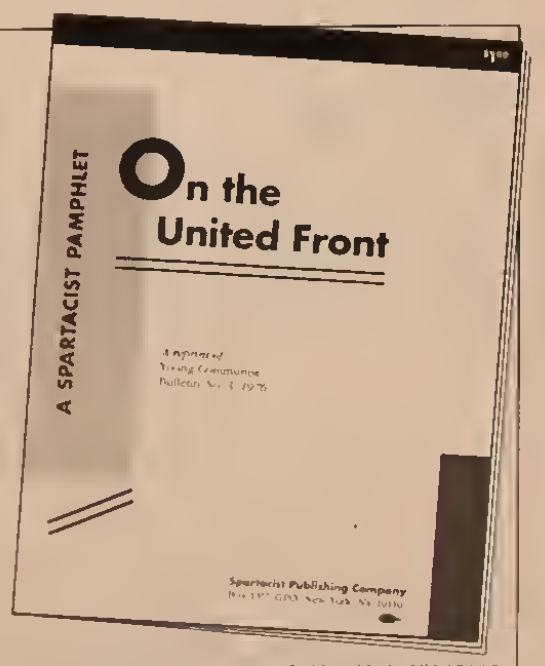

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Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Three anti-Klan protesters continue to be persecuted by the capitalist courts and cops for their participation in a June 29 protest against the Ku Klux Klan in Chicago's Daley Plaza. Gene Herson, the Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee and Jeff Lyons, a supporter of Refuse & Resist, face up to one year in jail, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, faces up to two years—all on bogus charges of assault and battery against police. Originally scheduled to go on trial on December 2, the three are now to appear in Cook County Circuit Court on that day for a status hearing to set a date for the trial. The Partisan Defense Committee has issued an appeal for unions, black and Hispanic groups, leftists, students and all opponents of fascist terror to join in a united-front protest to demand, "Drop all charges against the Anti-Klan Three!" Mobilize outside the courthouse, 1340 South Michigan Avenue, at 8:30 a.m., December 2.

What the three anti-Klan militants confront is a vendetta by Chicago cops, and behind them the Daley city administration. In preparation for the Democratic National Convention last summer, Chicago authorities were desperate to prevent any protests. The cops protected the deadly Klan racist terrorists on June 29. Police launched a series of attacks against the more than 100 anti-fascist protesters after a provocation by Klansmen—armed with bolt-studded shields and wielding heavy flagpoles as clubs—had been successfully routed. The demonstrators had struck a blow on behalf of all victims of fascist terror and the cops were incensed.

As Leroy Collier, president of the Pasadena, California branch of the National Association of Letter Carriers, wrote in a letter protesting the arrest of the anti-Klan demonstrators: "The actions of the police—indiscriminately beating and spraying protestors with pepper gas at close range—is indicative of the current political and social climate in America. Attacks on people of Color, poor people, labor unions, immigrants, gays and lesbians are a reality."

The fascists are emboldened by the climate of racist reaction whipped up by the rulers of America—Democrats and Republicans alike—as they shred any [illegible] for the working class and the poor, particularly minorities. At the same time, with the gap between rich and poor growing wider by the day, there is an accelerating drive by the state, its cops and courts to suppress protest, denying such elementary constitutional rights as freedom of speech and assembly.

The current vendetta by the Chicago police is aimed at reinforcing the cops' authority to trample on the democratic rights of the population as a whole. As noted in a letter to the Cook County State's Attorney by a representative of the Service Employees International Union in Springfield, Illinois: "A grave injustice will be served in prosecuting the brave protestors against the Klan hatred. Pursuing charges against the protestors sends a clear message to hate groups like the Klan that they are welcome and their violence against African Americans, Jews, Hispanics, Gays and others is okay and has the support of our society's institutions."

Statements protesting the state's attempt to victimize the anti-Klan militants have been sent by a wide range of unionists and others both in the U.S. and internationally, including Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, the Fire Brigades Union in Scotland, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Robert Allen, the editor of *The Black Scholar*, black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the Bay Area. Join in the defense of the Anti-Klan Three—it is vital to the defense of the rights of all of us against the racist terror of the KKK and its police protectors.

Funds are urgently needed to cover the legal costs of this defense effort. Donations should be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters").

Send protest statements demanding that the charges be dropped to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail donations and copies of protest statements to the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

Stop German Fourth Reich's Anti-Communist Witchhunt!

We publish below an edited translation of a leaflet issued by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany on November 19, following a new wave of arrests of leading officials of the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state and its ruling Stalinist party, the SED.

On November 12, the Federal Constitutional Court headed by Social Democratic (SPD) witchhunter Jutta Limbach upheld a ruling condemning "DDR injustice" following a legal appeal. Right after that, the former commander of the DDR border troops, Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, was arrested on charges of murder of East Germans illegally attempting to cross to the West years earlier. The following day the Berlin State Court issued a warrant against four former members of the SED Politburo, Egon Krenz (who succeeded Erich Honecker as DDR leader in late 1989), Günther Kleiber, Horst Dohlus and even Günther Schabowski, who is known for having "opened" the Berlin Wall. Mass trials against "several hundred suspects" from the former DDR's National People's Army (NVA) are to follow. Additionally, members of the DDR National Defense Council convicted in the 1993 Honecker trial, including Heinz Kessler, are to be jailed. We Spartakists demand: Hands off the ex-DDR bureaucrats and border guards! Free Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten now!

The Fourth Reich's anti-Communist witchhunt is being fired up again, this time at a point when the German ruling class has set about smashing the hard-won gains of the working class; when the Bonn government, with the support of the SPD, has decided on mass deportations of Bosnians (while war minister Rühe plans the reinforcement of the German army in the Balkans); and as the law on "foreigners" is to be tightened yet again. Simultaneously, Red Army Faction supporter Birgit Hogefeld, who survived the GSG 9 ("anti-terrorism" unit) ambush in Bad Kleinen, has been given a life sentence. And in Lübeck Safwan Eid, one of the victims of a fascist firebombing, is himself facing racist class "justice."

The Stalinists were a parasitic caste resting on the proletarian property forms of a bureaucratically deformed workers state, who exercised a monopoly of political power over the working class by bureaucratic police-state methods. But the Stalinists are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes. For the German bourgeoisie, itself no stranger to police-state methods, the real crime of the Stalinist leaders of the former DDR is that they symbolize the military victory of the former Red Army that resulted in the expropriation of capitalism in a third of defeated imperialist Germany. Because the Berlin Wall constituted a defense of the collectivized economy of the DDR, albeit in bureaucratic fashion, the bourgeoisie hated the wall, and we Trotskyists defended it. Now the same ruling class that feared workers revolution in Germany and put the Nazis in power in 1933—in order to brutally smash all working-class organizations through state terror and paramilitary violence—haughtily accuses the remnants of bankrupt Stalinism of "crimes against humanity"!

We Spartakists defended the DDR against capitalist counterrevolution, while fighting for socialist revolution in West Germany and for proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and to establish a government of workers and soldiers councils. The West German bourgeois state, self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich, was able to annex the former DDR only because of the collapse of bankrupt Stalinism and because Gorbachev restrained the 350,000-strong Soviet forces based in East Germany as a bulwark against NATO. The Stalinist bureaucrats ultimately stood at the head of the counterrevolution, handing the DDR to the imperialists. They sold out the East German proletariat just as the SPD and SPD-led DGB trade-union federation leaders sell out the working class today.

As soon as the DDR and the Soviet Union were destroyed, the German capitalist rulers had no more reason to retain the benefits of the "welfare state." Now the vengeful German bourgeoisie, mistakenly believing that the bankruptcy of Stalinism has ended the threat of workers revolution, shakes its fist in the face of the workers by seeking to make an example of the old Stalinists. The SPD, which acted as the Trojan horse for capitalist counterrevolution in the ex-DDR, drives forward this ruling-class retribution. Since 4 August 1914 they have loyally served their capitalist masters, drowning in blood the Spartakist-led workers revolution of 1918-1919. During the Cold War, the SPD served as the ideological bulwark of pro-imperialist anti-Communism throughout Europe.

All workers organizations should oppose these prosecutions and show trials, which from the viewpoint of the ruling class are really aimed at the working class itself. Hands off the accused in the "Wall trials"! Freedom for Safwan Eid, Birgit Hogefeld and all leftist political prisoners! ■

Castro...

(continued from page 3)

popularity throughout Latin America, a measure of the considerable authority he retains for having led a revolution and challenged U.S. imperialism. But that authority has been used for decades to stifle revolutionary opportunities which could have brought assistance to the Cuban workers state.

There is no clearer example of that than Castro's role in Chile in the early 1970s. Despite the fact that workers revolution was a real possibility in Chile at the time, never and nowhere did the Castroites call for the working class to organize and seize state power. On a state visit to Chile in 1971, Castro stood shoulder to shoulder with Pinochet in a military review, reinforcing the illusions pushed by the "socialist" president Salvador Allende that the Chilean generals and their armed forces—the backbone of the capitalist state—would be loyal to "constitutional democracy" while Allende pursued his "peaceful road to socialism." As we said at the time, Allende's popular-front government acted to demobilize the working class, paving the way for Pinochet's bloody coup—sponsored and supported by the U.S.—in September 1973, in which Allende himself was killed. While espousing a perspective of peasant-based guerrilla uprisings in various parts of Central and South America in the mid-1960s—which led to a string of bloody defeats—the Castro regime has always relied on diplomatic maneuvers with "progressive" capitalist regimes to curry support against the U.S.

A decade after the bloodbath in Chile, Castro set the stage for a similar counterrevolutionary debacle when he explicitly advised the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime in Nicaragua not to take "the Cuban road." The Sandinistas never expropriated the Nicaraguan landlords and capitalists, pursued an impossible "mixed economy," and eventually handed power back to the *contra* capitalists. Besides their common heritage as petty-bourgeois guerrillas, what Castro and the Sandinistas share is the same opposition to mobilizing the only revolutionary class created by capitalist society—the working class.

As we wrote in "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road" (*WV* No. 630, 6 October 1995): "The future of the Cuban Revolution hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere." Chile today is a prime example of both the possibilities for proletarian struggle and the danger of bourgeois reaction. In the past year, the country has been convulsed by strikes of copper miners, teachers and municipal workers. There have been three walkouts at mines owned by Phelps Dodge Corporation and at the state-owned Codelco pits. In late October, a march by striking civil servants in downtown Santiago was broken up by police using water cannons and tear gas. And days before the summit began, the head of the Chilean Communist Party, Gladys Marin, was arrested and thrown into jail for calling Pinochet a psychopath at a memorial service for *los desaparecidos*—those, including Marin's husband, Jorge Muñoz, who were "disappeared" during the dictator's bloody reign of terror.

There have been and will be ample opportunities for proletarian revolution in the Caribbean, Mexico and Central and South America. The key requirement for victory in the struggles which lie ahead is the forging of Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties, built in irreconcilable opposition to all variants of petty-bourgeois nationalism. That is the aim of the International Communist League. ■

Africa...

(continued from page 12)

powers participated in the UN-sponsored "humanitarian" rape of Somalia four years ago, where U.S. helicopter gunships massacred hundreds of unarmed men, women and children in the streets of Mogadishu and Belgian troops killed hundreds more in the port of Kismayu, raping Somali women and throwing children into the Juba River to drown. Canadian units shot through with Klan-type fascists engaged in outright torture and murder. Their crimes were covered up by the Canadian high command, provoking a scandal which forced the resignation of the country's defense minister last month.

We bitterly recall the last U.S. military intervention in Zaire in the early 1960s, also carried out under the UN's blue flag. When that country, the former Belgian Congo, gained independence, the imperialists were determined to retain its vast copper, cobalt, manganese and zinc riches for themselves. Setting up a puppet secessionist movement in the mineral-rich client state of Katanga, the imperialists organized a bloody civil war against the militant nationalist government of Congolese independence fighter Patrice Lumumba (see "25 Years Ago: How CIA Murdered Patrice Lumumba," *WV* No. 405, 6 June 1986). The CIA had Lumumba murdered and installed a pliant dictatorship headed by Mobutu Sese Seko, who over the past three decades has amassed a personal fortune worth billions of dollars over the backs of the impoverished masses. Malcolm X, in one of his last speeches in 1964, captured the hypocrisy of imperialist "humanitarianism" as he tore into the American media for covering up Washington's atrocities in the Congo:

> "You won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No. Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian."

Imperialists Compete to Exploit African Masses

With the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, conflicts between rival imperialist power blocs dominated by the U.S., Germany and Japan have increasingly come to the fore, as the competing bourgeoisies no longer feel compelled to subordinate their differences to the overriding goal of destroying "red Russia." Like other recent UN "peacekeeping" operations, the planned intervention in Central Africa presents an arena for the imperialist powers to jockey for position against one another. Behind the thin veneer of imperialist "unity" lies a sharpening clash for domination in black Africa between the U.S. and France, whose competing capitalist rulers view the peoples of central Africa as expendable pawns to be exploited—or murderously sacrificed—in their insatiable quest for profit and power.

For the French bourgeoisie, control of its former colonial empire in sub-Saharan Africa is seen as key to its pretensions of being more than a second-rate imperialist power. Today, Washington is seeking to extend the tentacles of its "New World Order" into France's traditional *chasse gardée* (private hunting ground), in particular pushing South Africa's ANC government to front for a U.S.-financed "African Crisis Response Force." French president Jacques Chirac railed last year that "the Anglo-Saxons dream of pushing France out of its position in Africa without paying a price" (*Economist*, 12 August 1995). More recently, a Clinton administration spokesman haughtily sniped: "Some people in Paris seem to live under the delusion that certain parts of Africa can be the preserve or the domain of a certain colonial power—excolonial power, by the way" (*New York Times*, 17 October).

Der Spiegel

UPI

Racist U.S. occupation force in Somalia (above) terrorized civilian population. Right: Congo (now Zaire) independence leader Patrice Lumumba, murdered in CIA operation during imperialist intervention in early 1960s.

Imperialist intrigues form the backdrop to the human tragedy being played out today in central Africa. In 1990, France sent hundreds of troops to prop up Rwanda's Hutu-dominated government, and dispatched troops again three years later, as *Interhamwe* death squads were carrying out a horrendous slaughter, mainly of Tutsi people, which left at least 500,000 dead. In 1994, after a Tutsi-dominated regime supported by Washington took over, Paris launched "Operation Turquoise" to create a "safe zone" for the Hutu militias. The *Interhamwe* also terrorized Hutu refugees in Zaire, preventing them from returning home. Meanwhile, U.S. Special Forces are acting as "advisers" to the current Rwandan army.

France first proposed the latest military intervention earlier this month, as the Hutu militias appeared to be in danger of being overrun by Tutsi forces. After initially balking, the U.S. finally agreed to a joint intervention headed by a French-speaking general from Canada, America's junior partner. In the last few days, France has moved troops into its former colony of Congo (Brazzaville), across the river from the Zairian capital of Kinshasa, and into the Central African Republic, where a few months earlier French troops bloodily suppressed an uprising against their neocolonial satrap.

As we underlined two years ago, the Tutsi-Hutu conflict is a direct legacy of colonialism (see "The Rwanda Horror," *WV* No. 601, 27 May 1994). Resorting to racist colonialist stereotypes reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's "white man's burden," the imperialist media portray this as an "age-old," "tribal" conflict. But the Hutu and Tutsi people have a common language, culture and territory. In precolonial times there existed a permeable, occupational division between cattle-owning Tutsi and subordinate Hutu cultivators. But imperialist ideologues adopted the supposedly lighter-skinned Tutsi as a superior "race," while artificial borders carved up the various peoples among different countries. Colonialist "divide-and-rule" policies combined with desperate land pressure, rural poverty, starvation-level austerity imposed by the International Monetary Fund and continuing neocolonial exploitation have compacted distinct Hutu and Tutsi communities with murderous antipathy toward each other.

South of Rwanda in Burundi, some 150,000 civilians have died over the last three years in fighting between the Tutsi-dominated army and Hutu militias. Last year, Zaire's Mobutu banned all Tutsi from government employment. An expulsion order against some 400,000 Tutsi in eastern Zaire two months ago provoked the rebellion that routed the Zairian army and the Hutu militias controlling the refugee camps. This in turn set off chauvinist, anti-Tutsi demonstrations and pogroms in Kinshasa last week. France's push for imperialist military intervention came amid fears that the conflict in Zaire—a prison house for 250 different ethnic groupings—could spread and topple the various neocolonial regimes in the region. A French spokesman said, "They all have ethnic problems of their own that spill over borders. They are afraid if Zaire becomes a maelstrom they will get splashed in the mud and will not be able to save themselves" (*London Financial Times*, 14 November).

In the last few years, the imperialists have slashed economic and military aid while pressuring the neocolonial rulers to head off potential social explosions by allowing their opponents a share of power. The result of this has been a series of largely ethnic civil wars across the continent. With Mobutu incapacitated by cancer in one of his villas on the Riviera, the imperialists are dogged by the fear that mineral-rich and strategically placed Zaire could blow up in their faces.

South Africa: Regional Powerhouse

South African president Nelson Mandela's decision to commit troops to the "UN" expeditionary force is a measure of the neo-apartheid rulers' regional imperialist ambitions. The ascendancy of a layer of ANC politicians as black front men for white capitalist rule, not only in the government but in such major mining conglomerates as Anglo American, has facilitated South Africa's renewed push for influence throughout the region. An article in the *New York Times* (6 July 1995) commented, "With apartheid dead, South Africa's pent-up entrepreneurial energy is exploding all over Africa"—including railroads in Zaire, mines in Ghana, hotels in Kenya and a host of other ventures. The article cited a South African economist expressing the view of the bourgeoisie that "the rest of Africa is our hinterland." This, too, has alarmed French imperialist interests. The newsletter *Lettre d'Afrique* warned of "increasingly aggressive financial, industrial and commercial competition, in particular by Anglo-Saxons and Japanese, in league with South African firms."

While the bourgeois-nationalist ANC leaders further the interests of the racist bourgeoisie and serve as junior partners to British and U.S. imperialism, the black masses who looked to it for liberation continue to suffer brutal racist discrimination and mass unemployment. Yet the South African proletariat is the largest and most combative in the region. The expropriation of the South African bourgeoisie through socialist revolution and the creation of a black-centered workers republic would mean not only the emancipation of the non-white masses in that country but would open the road to social transformation throughout the rest of that horribly impoverished continent.

Such revolutionary struggle must be based on an internationalist perspective. In South Africa, this means in particular championing the rights of immigrant workers from Mozambique and other neighboring countries. A key task is to reach out to workers in the imperialist centers in West Europe and the U.S. In particular, the black proletarians of sub-Saharan Africa must appeal to the oppressed black working masses in the U.S. and to the French working class, which has recently engaged in militant struggle not only for its economic interests but in defense of black African immigrants. What is necessary is the forging of internationalist Trotskyist vanguard parties standing at the head of the proletariat and leading behind it all the oppressed and dispossessed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Imperialist Hands Off Central Africa!

NOVEMBER 19—An imperialist expeditionary force nominally headed by Canada is set to descend on the black central African countries of Zaire and Rwanda. Thousands of soldiers from eight countries, including the U.S., France and neo-apartheid South Africa, are to take part in the United Nations-sponsored mission, supposedly aimed at ensuring "humanitarian" aid to Rwandan Hutu refugees who had been trapped in eastern Zaire without food, caught in fighting between Tutsi rebels and Zairian-backed Hutu militias.

After U.S.-supported Rwandan Tutsi forces succeeded in engineering a mass exodus of refugees back to Rwanda last week, the Clinton administration temporized about sending in combat units. But advance guards of U.S. and Canadian troops have already landed, and Washington today announced it will go ahead with a contingent of up to 1,000 "logistics" support troops. Several days earlier, Clinton also declared that he intends to keep 8,500 "peacekeeping" troops in Bosnia for at least another 18 months.

AP photos

Hutu refugees leaving Zaire to return to Rwanda, caught in war between rival forces supported by U.S. and France. Right: U.S. troops preparing to join imperialist expeditionary force in central Africa.

In the name of "peace" and "humanitarianism," the would-be masters of the world in Washington ride roughshod over semicolonial peoples around the globe. With the collapse of the Soviet Union removing the restraint of any countervailing force, U.S. imperialism has been emboldened in the past few years to launch one invasion after another, from the grisly slaughter in Iraq in 1991-92 to racist occupations of Somalia and Haiti. As revolutionary internationalists, we say: *U.S. and all imperialist-led forces get out and stay out of central Africa! U.S. imperialism, get your bloody hands off the world!*

A U.S./UN military occupation of central Africa would do nothing to ease the terrible suffering of the people in that region and can only pave the way for a far greater slaughter—by rival ethnic groups or at the hands of the imperialists themselves. The real aim of the imposing show of military force being readied for central Africa is to affirm the imperialists' "right" to assert their control over their neocolonial slaves wherever and whenever they please. Many of the same

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California

Student Protests Erupt Against Racist Prop 209

Repreza/Golden Gater

Students protest outside San Francisco State University against passage of measure abolishing affirmative action.

Young Spartacus

OAKLAND—The day after the November 5 elections, outraged anti-racist students took to the streets and occupied buildings on a number of California campuses to protest the passage of Proposition 209—the cynically misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative" which outlaws affirmative action in public education and government contracting and hiring. Hundreds of students at the University of California's Santa Cruz campus assembled before dawn to blockade and shut down the student services building. At San Francisco State University, more than 400 marched through the streets surrounding the campus, while students also staged protests at state universities in San Diego and Sacramento.

Several hundred marched through the UC Berkeley campus and down city streets, then occupied the campus bell tower, the Campanile, a Berkeley landmark. Campus police savagely attacked this peaceful student protest, arresting 23 in a predawn raid. The following Monday, more than 20 students were arrested at UC Riverside after occupying the administration building. The Spartacus Youth Club, which took part in the demonstrations in Berkeley and Santa Cruz, demands that charges against all the protesters be dropped, immediately!

Proposition 209 crystalizes the capitalists' drive to eliminate every last vestige of the gains won through the civil rights movement some 30 years ago. Under Prop. 209, the already meager number of black students accepted to college will likely drop by another 70 percent, and Chicano students by 79 percent (*Third World and Native American Student Press*, UC Santa Cruz, 31 October). This is a racist *purge* of the campuses. Prop. 209 is also the spearhead for a racist assault directly targeting the heavily integrated government workers unions. And California's racist governor Pete Wilson, a chief instigator of Prop. 209, has already declared it to be a model for the "private sector." As we said last month: "Taken together with the devastation of welfare by Democratic president Clinton and Congress and the widespread destruction of manufacturing jobs, Prop. 209 is a declaration that no black person need ever be hired again" ("California: Vote No on Prop 209!" *WV* No. 654, 25 October).

In 1994, huge demonstrations against Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant predecessor of Prop. 209, were dominated by the slogan "Prop. 187—No! Kathleen Brown—Yes!" Brown, the Democratic candidate for governor at the time, lost to Republican Wilson despite railing, like him, against "illegal immigrants." This time there weren't even any big demonstrations, as Clinton openly went for the racist vote. Clinton waited until the last week to declare "opposition" to Prop. 209 that sounded like an endorsement, bragging, "I've actually gotten rid of some

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 657

6 December 1996

New York Governor Follows Clinton's Lead

Welfare-Bashers: Busting Unions, Starving the Poor

Reuters

Richards/Magnum

Yee/NY Times

Bipartisan war on the poor consigns millions to misery. Democratic president Clinton signing federal anti-welfare bill (left), Republican New York governor Pataki (right). Above: Desperate mother begs for handouts in NYC subway.

Jobs for All at Union Wages!

A few days before Thanksgiving, the New York City government heralded the holiday season by dumping more than 6,000 people off the welfare rolls, leaving them with no money, food stamps or medical coverage. Around the same time, the federal government sent out letters notifying 260,000 children suffering from cerebral palsy, sickle cell anemia and other serious disabilities that their benefits were about to be taken away. But as already paltry benefits for poor and working people get the ax, the vultures on Wall Street are glowing with holiday cheer as stock prices go through the roof.

While the pre-Thanksgiving welfare massacre in NYC was blamed on "administrative error," it prefigured what's in store for nearly one and a half million welfare recipients throughout the state. Following the lead of Democratic president Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress, New York Republican governor George Pataki last month announced plans to slash welfare benefits across the board. This vicious proposal aims not only to starve the poor, but to *punish* them as well. Families would have their benefits reduced if their children miss school, teen mothers would be forced to live with their parents, and all recipients would be subjected to fingerprinting and demeaning drug tests.

New York State's Home Relief program, which provides cash grants to about 230,000 adults without children, would be abolished. Nearly all welfare recipients, no matter how weak and disabled, no matter how many kids they have at home, would be forced into slave-labor "workfare" programs, as is already happening in New York City and other areas. Payments to families would be progressively cut for each year on welfare, declining by 45 percent after four years and going down to zero after five. The "poor laws" enacted in 19th-century England at least provided for some minimal subsistence. The anti-poor laws being imposed across the U.S. today are a recipe for starvation. What Pataki's cruel and vindictive measure means is that there will be ever more homeless mothers standing on wintry street corners begging for handouts to feed their children.

When Clinton signed the federal anti-welfare law last summer, the story was that benefits were being handed back to the control of the states through "block grants." In fact, the real message to the states was to shred all social welfare programs. As an article on "Single Mothers and Welfare" in *Scientific American* (October 1996) noted, "an ensuing 'race to the bottom' will occur, in order to discourage potential recipients of welfare from moving between states." Now Clinton is cynically talking of "softening" the devastating effects of his new law, mainly by restoring food stamps to "legal" immigrants—but millions of immigrants and other poor people would still be left to starve.

The devastation of welfare will further decimate the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic inner cities, whose inhabitants the capitalist rulers increasingly deem to be a "surplus" population now that the big urban industrial plants they used to work in have been turned into rusting hulks. While the median family income for blacks is barely half that of whites, the percentage of blacks living below the official poverty line is more than *triple* what it is for whites. Meanwhile, 42 percent of all black children are on welfare, compared with 16 percent of white children.

The all-sided assault on the ghetto masses can be measured in the huge gap in life expectancy between whites and blacks: a recent study shows that a young black man in Harlem—where the death rate is over four times that for white men nationally—has only a 37 percent chance of making it to age 65. To enforce the growing disparity in income between rich and poor and the immiseration of the inner cities, the racist rulers unleash ever more virulent police terror against the ghettos and barrios.

Seeking as always to foster and deepen racial antagonisms within the working class, the bourgeoisie seeks to sucker white workers and the middle class into believing that the assault on social welfare programs is directed at black people and immigrants, who supposedly live off of working people's hard-earned tax dollars. Aside from the fact that the majority of welfare recipients are white, this grotesque racist lie aims to cover over the reality that the attacks on welfare are part and parcel of a broader assault on the living standards of *all working people*. Well over a century ago, Karl Marx described in *Capital* how the maintenance of a "reserve army" of unemployed was an integral part of capitalism, serving to degrade working conditions and to lower wages for all workers. As Marx explained:

> "The over-work of the employed part of the working-class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to over-work and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working-class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists."

This was written during the period of capitalist expansion. Today, under conditions of capitalist decline, this process is qualitatively exacerbated, resulting in the massive growth of a chronically unemployed population. And in this deeply racist country, minorities—particularly black people—make up a vastly disproportionate share of this growing army of permanently unemployed.

It is in the vital interest of the integrated labor movement to launch a class-struggle fight in defense of the poor, blacks and immigrants. Yet the existing pro-capitalist leadership of the trade unions doesn't even act to defend the interests of its own members against layoffs and wage cuts, much less mobilize on behalf of the ghetto and barrio poor. To smash the assault on social

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The Fight for a Revolutionary Party

Cannon Writings Published in Spanish

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Village Voice Spits on Greensboro Anti-Klan Martyrs

NATION

Everything You Always Wanted To Know About Sex but Were Afraid To Ask

Who's Who on the Far Left?

BY ROBERT FITCH

VOICE

26 November 1996

Making the revolution can be dangerous to your health: A c

Village Voice "exposé" on "sectarian left" was accompanied by repulsive photo caption sneering at leftists murdered by KKK in 1979.

Marching to the ever more right-wing beat emanating from Bill Clinton's Democratic Party, New York City's erstwhile rad-lib muckraking weekly, the *Village Voice*—now reduced to a free handout on Manhattan street corners—is hitting new lows. In its November 26 issue, the *Voice* ran a piece on "Who's Who on the Far Left?" with a layout dominated by a photo of the bleeding body of Cesar Cauce, a hospital worker who was murdered by the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. The *Voice*'s sneering caption—"Making the revolution can be dangerous to your health"—could have appeared in a KKK rag.

The November 1979 KKK/Nazi massacre of five leftists and trade-union organizers, supporters of the now-defunct Communist Workers Party, was one of the most horrendous fascist attacks in the U.S. in years (see "Greensboro: A Requiem," *WV* No. 640, 1 March). It was carried out in broad daylight in front of dozens of onlookers and TV cameras, and with the direct knowledge, complicity and active participation of local and federal police agencies, from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the FBI to the Greenshoro police. It seems that in these "death of communism" years of liberal cynicism, the *Voice* is now willing to spit on any leftist, even those murdered at the hands of the Klan.

The "Who's Who" article by Robert Fitch was a companion piece to "Commie Fiends of Brooklyn," a story on a group calling itself the "Provisional Communist Party," whose members were arrested en masse after an army of cops busted into their Brooklyn home on the night of November 11. The bust was accompanied by tahloid "red scare" hysteria and "informed "exposés" by the *New York Times*. A number of the group have been charged with "obstruction of governmental administration" and "gun possession" after cops found a supposed "arsenal" of rusting weapons which had not been fired in years and were hidden away in dusty closets. Whatever the nature of this group, its members should be defended against any trumped-up weapons charges and sinister grand jury fishing expeditions.

Not only was this a sinister display of how the state uses its reactionary "gun control" laws, but it also illustrated the ominous role of the "child abuse" hysteria fomented by the capitalist rulers. The mass bust was initiated when a group of vigilantes from the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children"—a bunch of "wannabe cops," as a sidebar in the *Voice* rightly labeled them—reported hearing a child crying in the building. No evidence was found to back up the bogus "child abuse" charge, but it was enough to get the cops pouring into the group's house without a search warrant.

The *Voice* then added its rad-lib angle to the "red scare" sensationalism in the tabloids, with its rundown on the "top 10 far-left American sects" by Fitch. A cofounder of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (now the Revolutionary Communist Party), Fitch summons some nostalgia for the 1930s and '40s, when Trotskyists and other socialists led mass strikes and the Communist Party served as a "political school" for various black Democratic Party pols of later years. But that was then. Today, Fitch remarks, oozing with urbane "death of communism" derision: "The sectarian left feeds principally on the imagined grass of a socialism that exists somewhere else. Now it can't even be imagined—Cuba and North Korea notwithstanding." In the face of "futility," he informs his readers, "the party becomes a sect, and sometimes from there, a mind-controlling cult"—a classic canard from the "god that failed" crowd.

Needless to say, the Spartacist League is included in Fitch's "top ten sects," described as "the edgiest members of the Trotskyist family, the most cerebral, and the most prone to factionalism.... Most recently, they expelled the editor of the paper, Jan Norden, and his *mishpochch* [family, in Yiddish]. The burning issue? How to assess the practice of Trotskyist trade unionists in a province of Brazil." Readers who are concerned with issues and areas somewhat more important than the *Voice*'s shrinking little corner of the world around Astor Place are encouraged to write us for documents on our recent internal struggle with the Norden group, materials which address the tasks of communists in Germany, Brazil and other areas.

Fitch does have a point, though, when he talks about those émigrés from the "sectarian left" who "enter the Democratic Party, the roach motel of American leftism: They go in but they don't come out." This comes from one who knows. The *Voice*'s biographical note on Fitch reports that "as an advisor to the Communications Workers of America Local 1180, he played a role in its endorsement of [Kathryn] Freed," a Democratic Party politician elected to the City Council in 1993. The *Voice* has always been essentially a house organ for Democratic Party liberals, an outlook that fits well not only with anti-communism but with scabbing. During last winter's SEIU Local 32B-32J building workers strike, numerous *Voice* staffers, including one from the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency," regularly waltzed across the strikers' picket lines outside their building.

Of course, the *Village Voice* has been going downhill for decades. It canned its only first-rate political journalist, left-wing gadfly Alexander Cockburn, back in 1984, because Cockburn took money from an Arab foundation to write a book, thus offending the Zionist lobby. We defended him at the time, noting that he was an interesting opponent whose snotty wit hid a conciliatory core we ourselves enjoyed exposing. If Cockburn got in hot water, it was because once in a while he crossed the rad-lib line. To return to the Greensboro massacre, perhaps the best response to the *Voice*'s disgusting snickering is Cockburn's article in the 19 November 1979 *Voice*, "Silent as the Graves":

> "Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberat allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit. But our liberals are too busy with Teddy, and labor is getting ready to elevate Lane Kirkland as Meany's successor. Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it." ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Fight for a Revolutionary Party

The following quote, taken from a selection of American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon's works newly translated by the International Communist League for Spanish-language Spartacist, *is excerpted from a November 1953 speech titled "Factional Struggle and Party Leadership" This speech came at the conclusion of a factional struggle within the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party against Pabloite liquidationism, which destroyed the Trotskyist Fourth International in the early 1950s The "party question" was at the core of Cannon's fight, as it was in the recent struggle within the ICL against a liquidationist grouping led by former* Workers Vanguard *editor Jan Norden, whom we characterized as "Pablottes of the second mobilization." The dissemination of Cannon's writings in Spanish and other languages is part of our struggle to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.*

The only barrier between the working class of the world and socialism is the unsolved problem of leadership. That is what is meant by "the question of the party." That is what the *Transitional Program* means when it states that the crisis of the labor movement is the crisis of leadership. That means that until the working class solves the problem of creating the revolutionary party, the conscious expression of the historic process, which can lead the masses in struggle, the issue remains undecided. It is the most important of all questions—the question of the party.

And if our break with Pabloism—as we see it now clearly—if it boils down to one point and is concentrated in one point, that is it: the question of the party. That seems clear to us now, as we have seen the development of Pabloism in action. The essence of Pabloist revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part—the conception of the crisis of mankind as the crisis of the leadership of the labor movement summed up in the question of the party.

Pabloism aims not only to overthrow Trotskyism; it aims to overthrow that part of Trotskyism which Trotsky learned from Lenin. Lenin's greatest contribution to his whole epoch was his idea and his determined struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading the workers in revolution. And he did not confine his theory to the time of his own activity. He went all the way back to 1871, and said that the decisive factor in the defeat of the first proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, was the absence of a party of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard, capable of giving the mass movement a conscious program and a resolute leadership. It was Trotsky's acceptance of this part of Lenin in 1917 that made Trotsky a Leninist.

— *Fourth International* (November-December 1953)

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Why Internationalists Call for U.S. Bases Out of Japan

The following letter by our comrades of the Spartacist Group/Japan is in reply to a Japanese leftist named Fujimoto, who criticized in an Internet posting, quoted below, our call for "U.S. military out of Japan!" (see "ICL Protests Bombing of Iraq," WV No. 651, 13 September)

Tokyo, Japan
29 November 1996

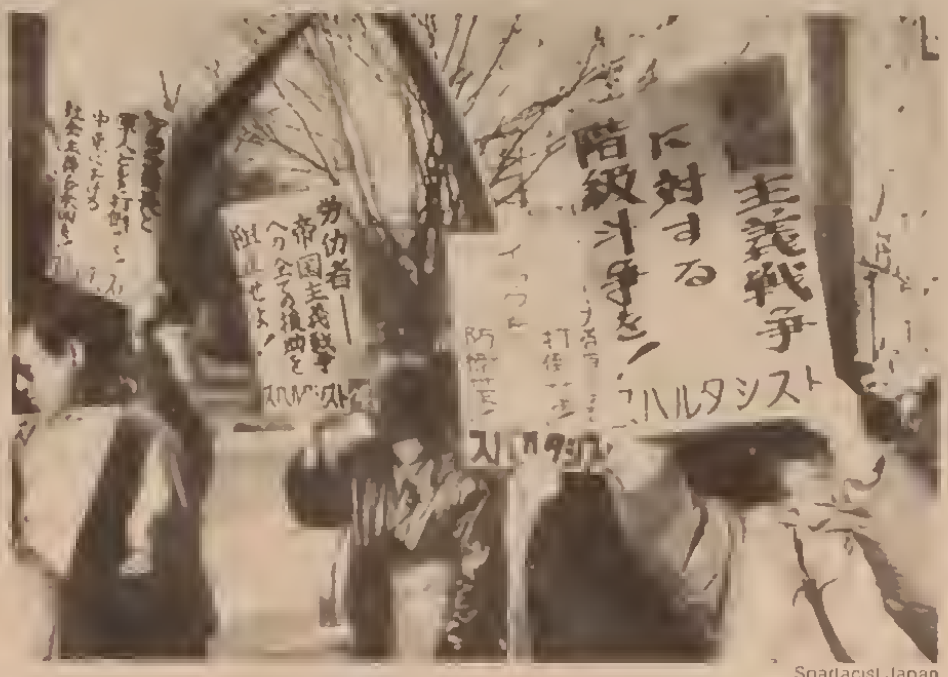
Dear Fujimoto,

Our comrades at *Workers Vanguard* forwarded to us an undated E-mail letter you sent to them in late September. In this letter, and in the course of our numerous discussions, you have raised your disagreement with our slogan "U.S. military out of Japan!" which appears in our September 9 leaflet, "Japanese Imperialism Endorses the Killing of Arabs and Kurds—U.S. and All Imperialist Forces Out of the Persian Gulf!"

Our leaflet was issued as part of an International Communist League campaign of protest which stretched from New York to Berlin and from Tokyo to Milan in the spirit of true Leninist internationalism. *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., headlined, "U.S. Imperialist Butchers Hands Off Iraq!" and called for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Far from simply condemning the U.S., our leaflet was directed against our "own" ruling class, which was complicit in the bloody bombing of Iraq. As we wrote, "Under the fig leaf of UN Resolution 688, the Hashimoto popular-front government is one of the few imperialist governments to come out in support of this attack against Iraqis and Kurds."

You write, "The SGJ raises a slogan 'U.S. military out of Japan!' It is wrong. It is anti-U.S. nationalist JCP's and various new lefts' slogan, nationalist and pacifist. Communists must call to 'Organize SDF and U.S. soldiers!'" This touches on an important question for communist internationalists. Indeed, any group in Japan whose primary slogan is "U.S. Troops Out," such as the Japanese Communist Party, is indeed social-chauvinist, alibiing their own bourgeoisie. Our opposition to U.S. troops is a subordinate and tactical question in the framework of our opposition to all imperialism, in which the first premise is "the main enemy is at home." If U.S. troops were forced out of Japan, the Japanese proletariat could more clearly see their main enemy, the Japanese capitalists, with their own imposing military machine.

A genuine internationalist position is developed from actual, concrete circumstances. Today, in global terms, Japan is a second-rate military power while the huge American military machine is a dagger pointed at the deformed workers states in Asia. Hence, U.S. troops in Japan are the forward detachments for provocations against the Chinese, North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states. To fail to oppose this imperialist military presence would be to acquiesce to the continued military encirclement of three of the four remaining deformed workers states, and would suggest an attitude of disinterest toward the aspirations of the masses of Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, etc. who seek an end to military dictatorial rule backed by U.S. support, training, weaponry and the threat of possible direct U.S. intervention. In September, U.S. F-16 fighter bombers and aircraft carriers stationed from Misawa to Yokosuka were deployed and used in the murderous bombing of Iraq.



Spartacist Japan

Spartacist Group/Japan at January 1991 protest against Persian Gulf War called for defense of Iraq and for labor to oppose Japanese bourgeoisie's aid to U.S.-led imperialist war.

By way of historical analogy, we found it useful to review documents written during the time of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International took up the question of French imperialist troops occupying sections of Germany after World War I: "The Communist Parties, above all those of Germany and France, must start a joint struggle against the Versailles peace treaty.... The Czechoslovak and Polish Communist parties, as well as the Communist Parties of other vassal countries subordinate to France, have a duty to combine the fight against their own bourgeoisies with the fight against French imperialism."

In a 13 September 1922 letter to the French CP, Trotsky, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, writes of the French troops: "The constant threats to occupy German territory constitute one of the biggest obstacles in the way of the growth of the proletarian revolution in Germany." Indeed, when French troops occupied the German Ruhr valley in January 1923, this became a rallying cry for all German nationalists. If French troops had not been occupying parts of Germany, German workers could have more clearly seen that "the main enemy is at home," and the Freikorps and Nazis would not have had this as a cause to rally around.

Troop occupations by the imperialist victors followed World War II, with U.S. troops occupying Japan. During the post-war strike wave, the U.S. occupying army was instrumental in propping up a weak capitalist Japanese government, and was key in crushing many post-war strikes. Following the Chinese Revolution of 1949, the U.S. saw it in its interest to have a prosperous and stable Japan as an anti-Communist bulwark in Asia. Thus, while the occupation ended in 1953, U.S. troops stayed as a forward base to fight against Communism. The U.S. bases in Japan were strategic to U.S. imperialism's killing and maiming millions of Chinese, Koreans and Vietnamese in the wars in Korea and Vietnam.

During the Cold War, the Japanese bourgeoisie was nearly united in support of American military troops being stationed in Japan. But the whole shape of global politics has undergone a fundamental sea change with the final undoing of the October Revolution. Today, a significant wing of the Japanese bourgeoisie is openly and vocally "anti-American." The vicious, inhuman gang-rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl by U.S. soldiers has served as a rallying cry for nationalism and cheap anti-Americanism, spanning from the rightists and fascists through sections of the bourgeoisie to the JCP and New Leftists. What we have here is an intensification of tensions between competing imperialist powers over spheres of influence and economic markets, and the left is lining up behind its own ruling class.

In our leaflet of September 9 we write: "What is needed are strikes by the Japanese proletariat working on the [U.S.] bases similar to those that occurred in Okinawa during the Vietnam War in 1971 which prevented U.S. ships and planes from leaving the base for 24 hours." As you can see, we call for *class-struggle* means of evicting U.S. troops; unlike the JCP, we don't preach illusions in a peaceful, democratic capitalist Japan brokering a deal with U.S. imperialism to get them out. We firmly reject the JCP's nationalist position that Japan is a neocolonial victim of U.S. imperialism. Thus, we go on to write in our leaflet, "The main enemy is at home, our own rapacious bourgeoisie and military. Japan is not a colony of the U.S. but the second largest imperialist power in the world with its own appetites—to once again enslave and exploit the workers and toilers of Asia." ■

Afghanistan and the Fight for Political Revolution in the USSR

New York, NY
22 October 1996

Dear Editor,

The article "Afghanistan: Hell for Women" (*WV* No. 654, 25 October) is very powerful on the woman question and also good on exposing the role of anti-Soviet "leftists" who opposed the USSR's military intervention in Afghanistan beginning in 1979-80.

Within that context, I think the article somewhat underplays the direct relationship between the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 and the final collapse of Stalinism itself. The Soviet intervention in support of the modernizing nationalist PDPA regime and of the civil war against CIA-instigated counter-revolutionary terror was the last time the bureaucracy ruling the Soviet degenerated workers state undertook a progressive act. Although undertaken purely for defensive geopolitical reasons, it did, as the article emphasized, go across the grain of the Stalinists' abject pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

In the 1930s and heading into World War II, Trotsky analyzed the character of the Soviet degenerated workers state and put forward the program of political revolution, noting that if the working class did not throw out the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy would strangle the workers state. Though it took longer than Trotsky anticipated, the final dissolution of Stalinist rule under the military and especially economic pressure of imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union conformed very precisely to his analysis.

The Afghanistan intervention testified to the persistence—attenuated as it was after some six decades of Stalinist repression, lies and sellouts—of a contradiction between the collectivized foundations of the Soviet state and the parasitic bureaucracy. When Gorbachev & Co. abandoned Afghanistan with the futile aim of trying to appease imperialism, making a point of renouncing the supposed "Trotskyite heresy" of "export of revolution," this was the *direct* precursor to the Soviet bureaucracy abandoning "socialism" in East Germany and even in its own country.

The Partisan Defense Committee's 1989 offer to the Afghan government to organize international brigades to help fight the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats in the city of Jalalabad was aimed not only at bringing concrete assistance to the side which the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League) militarily supported. The formation of an international brigade acting to defend the Soviet Union and unveiled women in Afghanistan could have also had explosive consequences in the USSR itself, especially among soldiers and officers who had believed in the internationalist implications of their involvement in Afghanistan. This calculation was among the things that led the ICL to say, retrospectively: better to have fought imperialism in Afghanistan than have to fight (or not fight) counterrevolution inside the Soviet Union. In other words, the brigade proposal was made in good part to further the struggle for political revolution in the Soviet Union.

In the absence of such an internationalist struggle, among the reported consequences of the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan was a growth of ultranationalist sentiment and sympathies for fascist outfits like Pamyat among embittered veterans of the Afghanistan war, after that effort had been repudiated by the Soviet government.

Comradely,
LG

South Carolina KKK "Store": Provocation for Racist Terror

Late on the night of October 27, two Ku Klux Klansmen stopped their pickup truck outside Club Illusions in rural Pelion, South Carolina, pulled out a semi-automatic rifle and began methodically firing into the crowd of black people gathered outside. Three teenagers were wounded by the terrorist nightriders and a dozen other young people were left in a state of shock. The would-be killers' truck was emblazoned with a Confederate flag, and the KKKers had come from a "Rebel Flag" rally earlier that day.

Barely three weeks after this potentially deadly racist attack, on November 20 the city council in Laurens, South Carolina, an hour's drive from Pelion, voted to grant a business license to the town's notorious KKK "Redneck Shop." Billing itself as the "World's Only Klan Museum," it sells Confederate flags and other racist paraphernalia and features a grotesque "display" of open coffins containing black mannequins with ropes around their necks! Hundreds of people marched to protest the opening of this Klan terror nest earlier this year. On March 24, white 43-year-old carpet layer David Hunter courageously smashed his pickup truck into the KKK "shop" (see "Anti-Klan Fighter Rams Storefront," *WV* No. 643, 12 April).

Thomas S. England

Keith Gedamke

"Redneck Shop," nest of Klan nightriders. Right: 10-year-old Dwight Miller, victim of near-lynching in South Carolina.

WV Photo

SL supporter Richard Bradley tears down Confederate flag of slavery in front of San Francisco's Civic Center, 1984. Finish the Civil War!

Underscoring that the Laurens "store" is a launching pad for race-terror provocations, Hunter told *Workers Vanguard* in a recent phone interview that news footage of the Pelion attack clearly showed a videotape from the "Redneck Shop" in the cab of the pickup truck. For his anti-racist action last March, David Hunter still faces two felony counts of malicious damage to property and up to 20 years in prison. We demand: *Drop the charges against David Hunter!*

What happened in Pelion is only the most recent of a series of racist attacks in South Carolina, including a rash of arson assaults on black churches. On November 22, white racists Benjamin Mims and his wife Betty were convicted by an integrated jury in Manning, South Carolina of aggravated assault and battery for their grisly beating and torture last January of a 10-year-old black child, Dwight Miller. When Dwight went to their house to play with their 9-year-old son, he was subjected to a near-lynching. The Mims and other family members took Dwight into the woods, tied him to a tree, hit him with a crowbar, choked him with a belt and fired two shotgun blasts past his head.

These terrorist attacks and beatings are encouraged by the climate of racist reaction fostered by both the Democratic and Republican parties in Washington and, in the most direct sense, by the State House in Columbia, South Carolina. The Confederate battle flag has flown over the South Carolina State House since 1962, when it was put up in racist defiance of the civil rights movement. Finally, after years of protests against this obscene symbol of Jim Crow segregation and Klan terror and growing complaints by local business leaders, Republican governor David Beasley, echoed by die-hard racist Strom Thurmond, have proposed removing the flag from the Capitol building, only to plant it a few yards away at a Confederate "memorial" on the State House grounds.

What's motivating these racist politicians is their perception that the prominent display of the Confederate flag has become "bad for business." With the influx of industry in recent years to this low-wage, open-shop region, North and South Carolina together today have more factory workers than any state except California. The multiracial working class has the social power and material interest to smash escalating racist terror and ensure that the Confederate flag of slavery is torn down and stays down wherever it appears. What is lacking is the resolute class-struggle leadership to wield labor's power to defend working people and all the oppressed. Indeed, any serious effort to unionize unorganized workers in the South will require a head-on confrontation with the KKK, which has historically been in the forefront of union-busting in the region.

We fight for the construction of a multiracial revolutionary workers party dedicated to putting the racist capitalist rulers and their fascist dogs of war out of business for good, from the White House to the backwoods of South Carolina. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Indonesia: Free Imprisoned Leftists and Unionists!

As we have reported earlier, in the wake of massive anti-government protests by supporters of bourgeois opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri last summer, the Suharto military dictatorship in Indonesia arrested over 200 people, targeting trade-union activists and supporters of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD) for particularly severe repression (see "Indonesia Powder Keg," *WV* No. 654, 24 October). On November 27, the regime announced the release of 124 supporters of Megawati, head of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), one of two tame opposition parties permitted by the military dictatorship. But Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the banned independent SBSI trade union, and at least nine PRD militants, including 27-year-old leader Budiman Sudjatmiko and activists Petrus Haryanto and Garda Sembiring, continue to languish in the dictatorship's dungeons on charges of "subversion"—which carries the death sentence. *Free Pakpahan and the PRD supporters now!*

Not content with holding Pakpahan in detention since July, the Indonesian Supreme Court has now vindictively reversed its earlier acquittal of Pakpahan on frame-up charges of "inciting rioting" during convulsive workers' protests which shook the city of Medan in 1994. In overturning Pakpahan's November 1994 conviction last year, the Supreme Court admitted that the charges were completely baseless, noting that "Pakpahan was on the island of Java and not in Medan at the time."

And even as it released Megawati's supporters in Jakarta, the military regime announced the arrests of an unnamed number of East Timorese, who face up to 20 years' imprisonment for "insulting the head of state" (UPI, 29 November). The arrests followed a protest by hundreds of pro-independence activists in East Timor's capital city of Dili on November 25. The struggle of the East Timorese against Jakarta's genocidal annexation and forced "Indonesianization" of their island country is integrally linked with that of the workers and oppressed within Indonesia fighting against the yoke of the imperialist-backed dictatorship. *Indonesian troops out now—Independence for East Timor! Free all pro-independence prisoners!*

Suharto's release of Megawati's supporters while leftists and unionists remain imprisoned and under threat of torture and death underlines the suicidal character of the popular-frontist policy pursued by the PRD, which promotes the PDI as the democratic alternative to the current regime. It is not tame bourgeois critics like Megawati which the rulers of Indonesia's "New Order" fear, but the spectre of *socialist revolution* by the industrial proletariat standing at the head of the dispossessed peasantry, women, national minorities and all the oppressed. As an elementary act of class solidarity, the international workers movement must mobilize to demand: *Free all victims of Suharto's right-wing repression, from Jakarta to Dili, now!* ■

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Strikers' Blockades Shut Down Highways

French Truckers Face Down Government, Bosses

Continuing a wave of combative workers' struggles that has rocked France for the past year, truck drivers staged a 12-day strike in November which brought the country's road traffic to a virtual standstill. A number of auto assembly plants and other factories were forced to shut down for lack of parts or fuel. Would-be strikebreakers were given short shrift by the militant truckers: one owner-operator who tried to ram through a strike picket north of Lyon ended up in an intensive care ward. The strike was broadly popular among the working masses: in cities, towns and villages across France, well-wishers flocked to the truckers' barricades to offer food and support.

Truckers strike blockade shuts down traffic on Normandy highway. AP

The impact of the strike was felt throughout West Europe, as drivers used their rigs to blockade major highways and border crossings into Spain, Germany and Belgium, as well as around ferry ports on the English Channel. Truck roadblocks also surrounded virtually all oil refineries and fuel depots, causing most of the country's gas stations to run dry and forcing the government to requisition "emergency" supplies and impose fuel rationing. Seeking to keep pace with the workers' combative spirit, a normally subservient trade-union bureaucrat declared: "There is a moment when the law stands aside against social reality."

Fearful of igniting a social explosion like last December's mass strike wave by rail and other public-sector workers, the conservative government of President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppé rapidly intervened in an attempt to "mediate" between the truckers and their employers. By the time strike blockades started coming down on November 29, the drivers had succeeded in forcing the government and the trucking bosses to drop the retirement age from 60 to 55—one of the lowest in the private sector throughout West Europe. Other concessions secured by the strikers included a slightly higher wage settlement, payment for previously unpaid time spent waiting for trucks to be loaded and unloaded and an increase in the number of paid sick days. To settle the strike, Juppé proposed paying for the agreement out of the state budget.

However, no sooner had the roadblocks been lifted than pink slips began to rain down upon strike activists, as the employers seek to exact vengeance for the militant shutdown. *It is the responsibility of the entire workers movement to mobilize in defense of the fired truckers and to oppose all victimizations and reprisals.*

Nonetheless, the settlement is a significant blow to Chirac's policy of trying to force austerity down the workers' throats in order to satisfy the dictates of the German bankers and the Maastricht Treaty, which aims at establishing a single European currency by 1999. Coming barely one year after the mass strikes and street protests by public service workers, the latest strike will no doubt inspire further struggles against the government's campaign to slash workers' living standards and gut health care and other social services. Indeed, the truckers' walkout was punctuated by a series of shorter strikes which interrupted Air France's domestic flights, cut rail service in Rouen and Nantes, and crippled public transportation in Nice. In Rouen, bus drivers who are also demanding retirement at age 55 remain out on strike.

Yet the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats worked overtime to head off any extension of the truckers strike to other sectors. The Communist Party (PCF)-led CGT trade-union federation organized a day of protest demonstrations toward the end of the walkout but deliberately avoided mobilizing real solidarity strike action. And the social-democratic CFDT and FO tops openly opposed extending the strike. Moreover, barely 10 percent of drivers are in any union—and even this is a significantly higher proportion than in the rest of the private sector. Though, for a change, the various union federations joined in nominally supporting the strike, the backstabbing of the union tops underscores the need for a single *industrial union* encompassing all drivers.

Across the Channel, the British media and the Conservative government of Prime Minister John Major tried to provoke a chauvinist furor against the French truckers, railing about British drivers being "held hostage" by the blockades. In fact, a significant number of British, Spanish and other truckers enthusiastically manned pickets alongside their French comrades. Meanwhile, a four-day truckers strike in Denmark disrupted transportation throughout northern Europe and cut off most truck transport to Scandinavia. However, the British Transport and General Workers Union did little to encourage or organize class solidarity with the French truckers, moaning only (in a November 28 statement) about "the limited progress made in negotiations." Meanwhile the CGT, known for its call to "Produce French," has always sought to blame foreign workers for the crisis of French capitalism.

Workers on both sides of the Channel would do well to recall the powerful manifestations of international class solidarity during the 1984-85 British miners strike. Itself facing Socialist Party (PS) president François Mitterrand's racist austerity attacks at the time, the French proletariat embraced the British miners' battle, as the CGT organized an extensive campaign of fund-raising and food shipments for the British miners, and French miners dumped truckloads of coal destined for Britain. But the British Trades Union Congress tops refused to bring out the other bastions of British labor in solidarity, in a class battle to win the miners strike and topple Margaret Thatcher's right-wing government.

When French truckers staged a previous strike four years ago, then-president Mitterrand unleashed the police to launch violent attacks on strikers and tanks were deployed to clear trucks off the road. This time, Juppé refrained from overt strikebreaking, fearing that a similar show of force would provoke an extension of the strike. To pay for the settlement, Juppé is now planning to dip into state pension funds and to offer the trucking bosses a tax cut on their profits. Yet a section of the French bourgeoisie was furious with Juppé for not making concessions sooner. Right-wing commentator Jean d'Ormesson declared in the conservative daily *Le Figaro*: "Reforms must be undertaken if we want to escape rampant, permanent revolution," adding, "the first reform is to avoid waiting for rebellion and strikes...to meet legitimate demands."

Conditions are ripe for an all-out mobilization of the working class against Chirac/Juppé's attacks on the working class and minorities of African and Maghrebian (North African) descent. Polls showed that three-quarters of the population supported the truckers strike. Yet the union bureaucrats excused their refusal to extend the strike to public transportation by claiming this would undermine the strike's "popularity." Similarly, during last winter's public service strikes, the union tops refused to reach out to the private sector with the argument that those workers were too "conservative." The latest strike dramatically puts the lie to that.

As we noted at the time, a key obstacle to the extension of last December's strike was the union bureaucracy's chauvinist capitulation to the bourgeoisie's racist assault on "immigrants" (i.e., virtually anyone of African or North African descent). Though not the case in trucking, immigrant workers constitute an important component of the proletariat in the private sector, particularly in the strategic auto industry. But the union misleaders *supported* the government's racist "Vigipirate" campaign, in which the army is used to terrorize immigrant neighborhoods. The bureaucrats' support to the bourgeoisie's racist campaign also helped give a mantle of "respectability" to the fascist National Front, which has been making electoral gains and now controls several major municipalities.

The French government's concessions to striking truckers and repeated hesitations should not mask the fact that the French bourgeoisie is determined to inflict a more decisive blow against the unions. This would set the stage for a broader onslaught against the working class. Moreover, continuing economic militancy in itself, in the absence of a revolutionary resolution to the crisis of French capitalism, can act to push the middle classes toward the far right. The fact that the reformist bureaucracy ties the hands of the workers and prevents bold action against the capitalist system creates an opening for Le Pen's fascist marauders, who terrorize immigrants and bid to act as the bourgeoisie's final resort against a revolutionary challenge by the proletariat.

It is vital that French workers break out of the stranglehold of the reformist misleaders; otherwise, the bureaucracy, acting in collusion with the bourgeoisie, will either dissipate the workers' militancy or betray their strikes and set them up for defeat. The key question is the struggle to build an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the workers to power. As our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France noted in a leaflet—titled "For a New, Revolutionary Leadership!"—distributed widely to strikers last December (see *WV* No. 635, 15 December 1995):

> "The bourgeoisie is on the attack against the working class. The reformists and class collaborators of the PCF and PS and their centrist tails offer only illusory reforms. They are all incapable of leading the working class in the current struggles and in the struggle to end the system of wage slavery once and for all. Only a party of the Bolshevik type based on a working-class revolutionary perspective can lead the workers forward. The forging in struggle of that party is the urgent task of the hour." ■

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Cannon Writings Published in Spanish

The International Communist League is pleased to announce the first-ever publication in Spanish of a selection of key writings by American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon. Centered on factional documents of Cannon's fight to build a revolutionary proletarian party, the compilation in the new Spanish-language Spartacist *(No. 27, December 1996) includes a number of other selections, notably Cannon's 1959 article, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement." The new* Spartacist *also reprints a memorial speech by Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee member James Robertson on the occasion of Cannon's death in 1974. The selection was prepared with the help of the Prometheus Research Library, research and archival facility of the SL/U.S. Central Committee. These writings are also to be published in forthcoming issues of the French- and German-language editions of* Spartacist. *Printed below are excerpts in English from the introduction to the Spanish-language* Spartacist, *"The Fight for a Revolutionary Party."*

New Spanish-language *Spartacist*. Order now: $1.00 for single issue; $2.00 for subscription to *Espartaco*, publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, including *Spartacist*. Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

As an early adherent of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, James P. Cannon struggled for the greater part of his life to apply the lessons of the 1917 Russian Revolution to building a revolutionary workers party in the U.S. Today, with the world's ruling classes braying over the "death of communism," most of those who consider themselves radical no longer claim allegiance to Leninism, even the perverted parody preached by the Stalinists. Thus there is a great disjuncture between the present level of consciousness of the proletariat, youth and self-proclaimed leftists around the world and the writings of Cannon, who was the most able practitioner of Leninism yet produced in the United States. Yet for those of us who fight for new October Revolutions—and for a new generation of young radicals and working-class militants who are seeking the road to human emancipation—Cannon's writings and speeches illuminate with crystalline clarity the struggle not only for a vanguard party to bring revolutionary consciousness to the world's working class but also to maintain the revolutionary program and purpose of the vanguard against the pressures of bourgeois ideology and violence.

The small forces of our revolutionary international have certainly not been immune to the pressures of imperialist triumphalism, and corresponding regression of proletarian class consciousness, coming in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union. The struggle to orient our party in this period of post-Soviet reaction was brought out most recently in a sharp fight in our International and in our Mexican section against those who, under the impact of the final undoing of the October Revolution, began to look to alien political programs and to vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the liberation of humankind.

In this fight, and more generally, we have been hampered by the unavailability of Cannon's experiences and contributions on the party question in languages other than English. In our Mexican section, the translation of Cannon's writings on party struggle served directly to arm the comrades in their recent fight against the centrist opportunism of Norden and Negrete [see "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," *WV* No. 648, 5 July]. One of the lasting contributions of this fight is the publication in Spanish of these particular works of Cannon, which are addressed to the struggle against an earlier manifestation of the liquidation of the need for a vanguard party.

Diego Rivera

Mural by Mexican artist Diego Rivera depicts Trotsky, Cannon, Engels and Marx behind banner of Fourth International.

The Fight for the Leninist Program and Party

As a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, Cannon was won to Trotskyism after getting his hands on Trotsky's critique of the Comintern's draft program—later published as *The Third International After Lenin*, a searing indictment of the treacherous policies of Stalinism both in the Soviet Union and internationally.

Cannon brought some 100 supporters of the Cannon-Dunne faction of the Communist Party (CP) to the Trotskyist movement when he was expelled in 1928. This accretion of a formed factional grouping from the Communist Party accounts, in part, for the unique history of Trotskyism in the U.S. In China, the Trotskyists won even more substantial forces from the Communist Party, but this potentially powerful Trotskyist organization was destroyed early on by the combined repressive forces of the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, the British and Japanese imperialists and the Stalinists. In Latin America, political differentiation among dissident Communist leaders was cut short by early death: Cuban Communist Party leader Antonio Mella was assassinated in early 1929, probably by a hitman from Stalin's GPU; Peruvian Communist José Carlos Mariátegui died in 1930 at the age of 34; Agustín Farabundo Martí, Alfonso Luna, Mario Zapata and other Salvadoran Communist leaders were murdered in the massacre with which the bourgeoisie crushed the 1932 uprising.

Although far smaller than the Stalinist CP, the Trotskyists of the Communist League of America (later the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]) possessed a cohesive and experienced leadership core, crucial continuity with the struggles of the early Communist movement, and significant links to the organized proletariat. As elucidated in Cannon's letter "Mass Work and Factional Struggle," the SWP sought to embody the Leninist understanding of democratic-centralist principles of organization: the fullest democratic internal political debate, conscious attention to the selection of a leadership representing in its majority the political views of the majority of the party membership, and the need for all party members in their external work to carry out the line and perspectives decided upon.

Cannon and other leaders worked closely with Trotsky particularly during Trotsky's exile in Mexico. Under Trotsky's tutelage, Cannon learned to put the struggle for political program and political clarity *first* in factional struggle, avoiding the bureaucratic practices and clique infighting that had marred the internal life of the early Communist Party in the U.S. This fruitful political collaboration between Cannon and Trotsky was brought to bear in the 1939-40 fight in the Trotskyist party in the U.S. against a petty-bourgeois opposition led by James Burnham and Max Shachtman.

Reflecting the pressures of imperialism, on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II, this opposition repudiated the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. Trotsky's seminal writings from this factional struggle, his last, were published as *In Defense of Marxism*. Cannon's documents were also later published in book form as *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

The Fight Against Pabloist Revisionism

Outside the United States, the Trotskyist organizations tended to be far weaker politically and organizationally. The problems were perhaps most persistently exemplified by the French section in the 1930s: largely petty-bourgeois in its composition, beset by cliques and persistent dead-end factionalism, perennially prone to sectarianism, with a penchant for dilettantish "leaders" seen as individual "stars" and a disdain for the full-time party workers. Both Trotsky himself and later Cannon struggled in vain to get the French comrades to grasp the need for a collective leadership, in which the individual weaknesses of comrades have the possibility to be overcome by the party's combined strengths.

The Trotskyist organizations, especially in Europe, suffered massive physical losses during the war. Trotsky's murder by a Stalinist agent in Mexico was compounded by the death of the most promising Trotskyist leaders. Weakened and disoriented, their human continuity to Trotsky's party hanging by a thread, the European sections were ill-equipped to handle the new pressures of the post-war world. The victory of the Soviet Army over Hitler's Nazi Third Reich, together with the creation of deformed workers states in East Europe, increased the power and prestige of the Stalinists. The response to this unanticipated strengthening of Stalinism was one of

impressionism, incarnated in the person of Michel Pablo, a young Greek Trotskyist leader who emerged as the principal spokesman for the Fourth International.

Pablo put forward a theory of a "new world reality" with liquidationist conclusions. Positing that under Cold War pressure the Stalinist parties would be forced into "roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation" ("Where Are We Going," 1951), Pablo insisted that the Trotskyists had to enter the CPs in order to pressure the Stalinists to the left (in some countries, notably Germany and Britain, the entry tactic was applied to the social democracy). This theory effectively deprived the Fourth International of any political reason for existence, transforming itself into cheerleaders for "left" Sta-

Pathfinder Press

James P. Cannon speaking at 1940 convention of Socialist Workers Party.

linists and other reformist and "Third World" nationalist forces.

The majority of the materials on the party question which we are reprinting here are drawn from Cannon's speeches to the SWP and letters to comrades from 1953, during the factional battle with the SWP's Cochran-Clarke minority which allied itself with Pablo. Cannon's views as expressed in this fight are the culmination of his decades of experience as a Leninist politician.

At the same time, the SWP's fight against Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism was belated and, largely speaking, nationally limited to the U.S. Though the SWP did ally with ostensible anti-Pabloist Trotskyist parties in Britain and France in an "International Committee," the IC was never more than a paper organization; in practice many of its sections (e.g., Moreno in Argentina and Lora in Bolivia) proved just as opportunist as the Pabloists. The pressures of the Cold War and the McCarthyite witchhunt in the 1950s which set the context for the fear, pessimism and liquidationist conclusions of the Cochran side of the Cochran-Clarke minority also took their toll on the SWP's cadre as a whole. Coming out of the barren and hostile climate of the '50s in the U.S., the now-aging cadres of the SWP were looking for something else to embrace as the vehicle for "revolution." The party abstained from intervening in the growing struggle for black rights in the American South, the civil rights movement, adopting an uncritical attitude toward its liberal pro-capitalist leadership and later black nationalist sequels. All the opportunist pressures came together in early 1960, when the SWP went whole hog for Castro, whom they heralded as an "unconscious Trotskyist." From here the SWP went into rapid flight to outright reformism, centrally expressed in its role as the "best builders" of the pro-Democratic Party right wing of the Vietnam antiwar movement in the U.S.

The revolutionary program of the SWP, which was the program of Lenin and Trotsky, was stronger than the party it created. The founding cadres of our International Communist League started as the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency, formed to oppose the SWP's uncritical adulation of the Cuban Castroites and its embrace of petty-bourgeois black nationalism. Standing proudly on the revolutionary foundations laid by Cannon and in continuity with his fight to construct the proletarian vanguard beginning in the early Communist movement and the Communist International, we claim this heritage as our own.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

As a communist leader in the U.S., Cannon did not have to confront the questions of national liberation, the emancipation of civil society from the church, and the destruction of feudal peonage in the countryside which continue to plague the countries of Latin America. The resolution of these questions lies through the application of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Generalizing from the experience of the Russian Revolution, and in light of the experience of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Trotsky understood that the bourgeoisies in backward countries were too weak, corrupt and dependent on imperialism to play other than a reactionary role. Consequently, the bourgeois-democratic tasks historically associated with bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe and the U.S. can only be realized through the proletarian conquest of power.

While communists in the U.S. must struggle against all the pressures and deformations of being up against one of the most powerful imperialist bourgeoisies on the face of the planet, in Latin America the fight to forge authentic Bolshevik parties requires a relentless political fight against nationalism and against a nationalist "left" which embraces the social values of its own rulers. The now-departed Nahuel Moreno, an Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist political bandit, was an archetypical example. This would-be *lider máximo* hailed every blood-drenched "Third World" strongman from General Juan Domingo Perón to the Iranian feudalist ayatollah Khomeini. Such specious "anti-imperialism" has long been the rationale for supporting *popular-front* alliances in Latin America, tying the working class and oppressed masses to their "own" bourgeoisie from Bolivia in 1952 to Chile in 1970-73, to the latest enthusing over Lula's Popular Front in Brazil.

The struggle to forge an authentic Bolshevik party through the fusion of declassed intellectuals with a proletarian core requires a hard battle against the pernicious tradition of capitulation to the social values of the local ruling classes—in Latin America the inheritance of Spanish feudal colonialism overlaid with the last century of North American overlordship. In the fight to forge our international tendency, the ICL has struggled against such anti-Leninist proclivities, from Sri Lanka to Mexico to Brazil.

This in large part is what has impelled us to make the writings of Cannon available in Spanish and other languages. The

WV Photo

Proletarian internationalism: Spartacist League organized protest when Russian president Boris Yeltsin visited Wall Street, 1992.

fact that Cannon's works are unavailable in Latin America is itself a reflection of the anti-Yankee nationalism that passes for revolutionary politics in these countries. That Cannon is also unavailable throughout most of Europe is testimony to the legacy of Pabloist revisionism. Having themselves liquidated the necessity for a Leninist party, they sneer at Cannon's struggle for Leninism as vulgar American "pragmatism."

The writings of James P. Cannon may be circumscribed by his own experiences as a leader of communist trade unionists and as a Leninist party leader in the U.S. But at each step he fought to orient himself and his followers to find the internationalist revolutionary road for the world's working class. On this road, proletarian class struggle in North America and the liberation of Latin America from imperialist domination are inextricably linked. Trotsky argued this quite powerfully:

> "It can be clearly deduced from what has been said that we far from recommend to the Latin American people that they passively await the revolution in the United States or that the North American workers fold their arms until the Latin American peoples' moment of victory arrives. He who waits passively gets nothing. It is necessary to continue the struggle without interruption, to extend and deepen it, in harmony with the actually existing historical conditions. But at the same time, one must comprehend the reciprocal relation between the two principal currents of the contemporary struggle against imperialism. By merging at a certain stage, definite triumph can be assumed....
>
> "The sooner the American proletarian *vanguard* in North, Central and South America understands the necessity for a closer revolutionary collaboration in the struggle against the common enemy, the more tangible and fruitful that alliance will be. To clarify, illustrate and organize that struggle—herein lies one of the most important tasks of the Fourth International."
>
> — Trotsky, "Ignorance is Not a Revolutionary Instrument" (30 January 1939)

Comrade Jim Robertson, a leader of the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP and a founder of the Spartacist League/U.S., noted Cannon's chief weakness in his 1974 memorial speech: Cannon's failure to take on the responsibility of international leadership. But it is for Cannon's strengths that the Spartacist tendency claims his heritage. As *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., noted in its obituary for Cannon (*WV* No. 52, 13 September 1974):

> "James P. Cannon was the finest communist political leader this country has yet produced. In his prime he had the evident capacity to lead the proletarian revolution in America to victory."

Cannon is important not only in his own right but as a classic exemplar, at the highest level, of a working Leninist fighting to build and maintain a proletarian revolutionary vanguard party. ■

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Blair's "New Labour" Kicks Unions in the Teeth

Jones/FSP

Lydia van der Meer

Labour leader Tony Blair seeks to break party's ties to unions, openly denounces strikes. Above: Demonstration by striking postal workers in London.

The following article is reprinted in abridged form from Workers Hammer *No. 153 (November-December 1996), newspaper of the Spartacist League/ Britain.*

WORKERS HAMMER

At the Blackpool TUC [Trades Union Congress] conference this year, Tony Blair's New Labour launched a union-bashing offensive designed to convince City [of London financial district] bankers and big business that Labour in power can be just as anti-union as the Tories. Blair's attack on tube [London subway] strikers earlier this year was widely described as unprecedented for a Labour leader in opposition. Meanwhile, his employment spokesman David Blunkett told postal workers to end their strikes and conduct yet another ballot of their membership. This followed New Labour's pledge to retain the Tories' hated anti-union legislation and effectively to ban strikes in the public sector by imposing binding arbitration. To top it all off, Blair's shadow junior employment minister, Stephen Byers, took the opportunity to pronounce what everyone knows is key to the "Blair project": the breaking of Labour's historic link to the unions.

In the midst of this orgy of union bashing, Arthur Scargill stood out as a focal point of opposition to New Labour at the TUC conference. Earlier this year, Scargill split from Labour and launched the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) "in response to New Labour's betrayal of the commitment to common ownership, abandonment of socialism and open support for the 'free market' and capitalism" (*Socialist News*, September 1996).

Despite the very clear intentions of Tony Blair, the Labour Party remains a bourgeois workers party, i.e., based on the trade unions but saddled with a pro-capitalist leadership. For communists, breaking the stranglehold of the Labour Party over the working class is a key strategic task. Although the programme of Scargill's SLP is at bottom simply that of "old" Labour as against the New Labour Party of Tony Blair, this split from the Labour Party offers the possibility for a fundamental realignment of the political configuration in this country out of which a revolutionary Marxist and internationalist workers party can be constituted.

A great deal of social tinder has accumulated during the long years of Tory rule, which have brought devastating attacks on the NHS [National Health Service] and welfare services. Despite the Tories' boast of "no-strike" Britain, this summer there was a series of one-day strikes in London Transport, the Post Office and the fire brigades. The public sector unions are made up of some of the most oppressed sections of the workforce—blacks, Asians, women—many of whom have worked for decades for extremely low pay. These strikes have been defensive battles against the ravages of privatisation, which attempts to destroy the unions, to atomise the working class and to impose scandalously low wages and working conditions reminiscent of the 19th century. But even such limited and episodic strikes were too much for New Labour, who are vying with the Tories for the reputation of being "tough on the unions."

New Labour's declared commitment to union-busting rankled even the most slavishly pro-Labour union bureaucrats. TUC general secretary John Monks complained that delegates in Blackpool "were shaken by the wild talk of Labour severing all links with us." They may be shaken by Blair's deliberate kick in the teeth, but the TUC bureaucracy's "New Unionism" accepts New Labour's basic political premise: the trade unions must not pose a challenge to the "free market" of capitalist greed. These leaders cannot mount a fight against Blairism. Indeed, by the time of the Labour Party conference all the TUC heavyweights had knuckled under. TGWU leader Bill Morris spoke for all of them when he said "unions would now concentrate on helping Labour to win the general election." The message to striking workers is to go to hell—comply with the anti-union laws and elect a union-bashing Labour government.

Break with Labourism, "Old" and New

At the TUC conference, in the debate on the minimum wage, Arthur Scargill received rapturous applause when he asserted, "I'm fed up to the back teeth with people telling us not to rock the boat before a general election." After the conference, Scargill's SLP announced the recruitment of bakers union leader Jo Marino and Liverpool dockers leader Jimmy Nolan, as well as many other trade unionists.

Over half the RMT [Rail, Maritime and Transport] national executive, including Assistant General Secretary Bob Crow, have joined the SLP. The strikes in London Underground, one of the few public services which have not been privatised, could have provided an opportunity to launch a counteroffensive against the impact of privatisation in rail and against the anti-union laws. Yet the tube strikes were conducted within a framework which accepted the hated anti-union laws. RMT leaders in the Underground instructed station staff (who had themselves voted to strike) to *go to work*, while RMT drivers were on strike. Pitting one section of the union against another weakens the power of the union and is poisonous to workers' consciousness.

At the TUC conference, Arthur Scargill argued for a one-day strike each week in support of the Liverpool dockers. When a Spartacist spokesman asked in an October 16 SLP London meeting if this was to be fought for by the SLP's supporters in the RMT, Scargill adamantly replied that this demand applied only to the TGWU, the dockers' union. The perspective which leaves each union to fight its "own" battles was the recipe which led to the defeat of the 1984-85 miners strike. It was used by so-called left TGWU leader Ron Todd to betray dockers strikes which occurred twice during the miners strike. Todd sent the dockers back to work on both occasions, leaving the miners isolated and paving the way for union-busting in the docks in 1989.

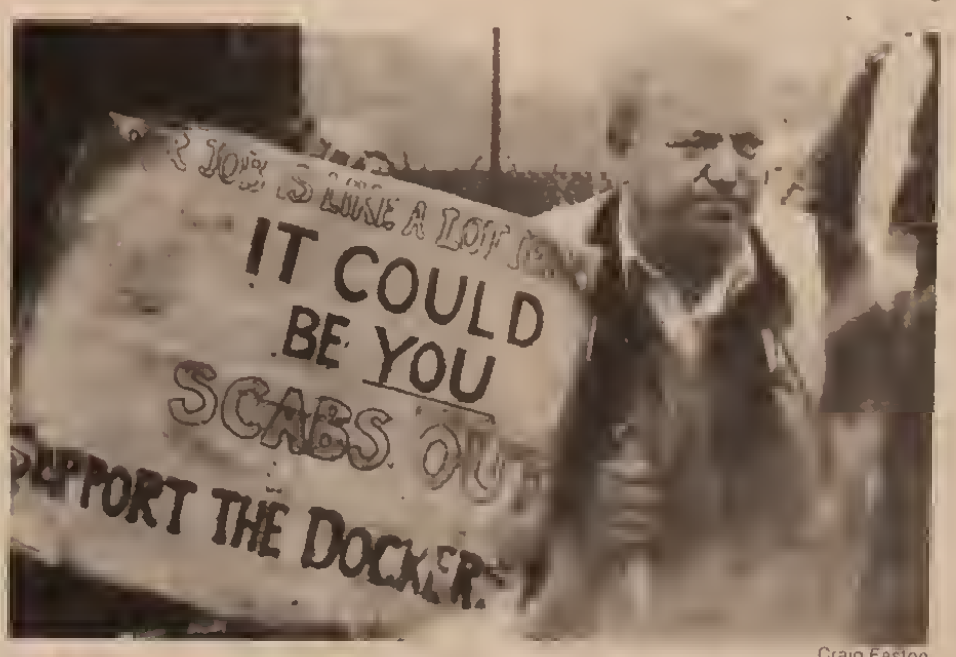
The miners were defeated by the Thatcher government, its cops and courts, with active assistance from Neil Kinnock's Labour Party and the TUC bureaucrats, including the "lefts" who preached solidarity with the miners but left them to fight alone. As we wrote in *Workers Hammer* (No. 67, March 1985):

> "The NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] leadership under Arthur Scargill took this strike about as far it could go within a perspective of militant trade union reformism, and still it lost. Why? Because militancy alone is not enough. From day one it was clear that the NUM was up against the full power of the capitalist state. What was needed was a party of revolutionary activists rooted in the trade unions which fought tooth and nail to mobilise other unions in strike action alongside the NUM. But all Arthur Scargill had was the Labour Party, and it would rather see the NUM dead than organise to take on the bosses' state in struggle."

Today, to Scargill's credit, the SLP stands for the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, but his version of "socialism" harks back to the early post-World War II period, when much of British industry was nationalised and free health care and other welfare benefits were introduced by a Labour government. The welfare reforms of the 1940s were introduced to forestall the "spread of Communism" and went hand-in-hand with the crushing of potential social revolutions in Western Europe.

The world has changed dramatically since then with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, sold out by Stalinism. The problem with Scargill and the SLP is that they look not towards a revolutionary future, but to a social-democratic past. For revolutionary Marxists, the struggle for socialism, to put the working class in power, necessitates going *forward* to new October Revolutions, to place the working class in power, in Britain and throughout the world.

Scargill rejects this internationalist programme. While the SLP opposes the European Union (EU) as a bosses' club and makes statements against "narrow nationalism," they in fact push little-England protectionism. Such nationalism is counterposed to the fight against the government's racist, anti-immigrant onslaught. It is reflected in the SLP's constitution, which restricts membership to people who have "resided in Wales, Scotland, England or Ireland for more than one year."



Craig Easton

Liverpool dockers' hard-fought struggle has won international support. Spartacist League/Britain calls for solidarity action to shut down the docks.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The hallmark of the ostensible socialist left in Britain has historically been

British Left Debates Scargill's SLP

Workers Power: Drummer Boys for Tony Blair

LONDON—As Tony Blair's "New Labour" moves ever more aggressively to refashion itself in the image of Bill Clinton's openly capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S., the numerous "far left" groups which worship at the altar of Labour's "broad church" have been thrown into a tizzy. The centrist and reformist left in Britain have always held as their eleventh commandment, "Vote Labour to keep the Tories out," viewing as cardinal sin any attempt to split the Labour Party. So when miners leader Arthur Scargill did just that earlier this year, breaking with Blair to found the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), it rocked the Labour-loyal left.

The growing frenzy of groups like the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) in the face of a deepening split in Labour's camp was evident at an October 30 public debate in London with Labour Left Briefing and the pro-SLP Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). For a change, unable to get the agreement of its debate partners, WP did not exclude supporters of the Spartacist League/Britain, as it has done at its "public" meetings for years. The motives for WP's policy of cowardly exclusionism were manifest at this debate. Rarely of late have we seen a display of belly-crawling before Blair by ostensible "revolutionaries" equal to WP's that night. With Blair attacking the trade unions even before getting into the prime minister's residence at Downing Street, with "New Labour" having thrown out even the party's fig-leaf commitment to nationalisation of industry ("Clause IV"), one WP member after another nonetheless got up to insist on the supposedly massive illusions workers entertain in a future Labour government.

For Marxists, the task is precisely to dispel any such illusions with the aim of splitting Labour's working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders. Workers Power, in contrast, has dedicated itself to reinforcing and bolstering support for Labour. While carefully peppering his presentation with references to the need for a revolutionary party, WP speaker Paul Morris made clear his organisation's real programme. Enthusing that the mass of the working class will vote Labour, Morris hailed this as a "class offensive against the Tories." And to allay any hint of a doubt where WP stands, Morris raved that it "will be a great victory despite anything else when the class puts Blair in power."

Even the speaker for the opportunist CPGB had an easy job of exposing the tortured twists and turns of Workers Power's line on the SLP: at first they welcomed it and called for "a revolutionary SLP," then they dismissed it as an undemocratic "Stalinist" sect, and recently, noticing that trade-union militants are joining, they have pledged their aid to a "revolutionary platform" within the SLP. All the while, WP has continued to stump for Labour, including supporting Blair's candidate against the SLP in a parliamentary by-election last February in Hemsworth. As for the CPGB, while soft-pedaling any criticism of Scargill's programme of "old" Labour reformism, they remain part of the Militant-led Socialist Alliance, which is committed to electing a Blair government.

The debate itself was the epitome of the "chummy British left" in full-colour action, with the different groups politely calling each other "revolutionaries" while restricting themselves to interminable discussions over "tactics." As WP nattered on about "intersecting" illusions in Blair, the CPGB urged WP to join it as bloc partners in the "left" wing of Scargill's party. For these outfits, "tactics" are a be-all and end-all aimed at covering over their refusal to break from social democracy. Contrasting *Weekly Worker*'s uncritical stance toward the SLP's Brenda Nixon in Hemsworth in February with the SL/B's line of critical support, a Spartacist floor speaker at the debate explained: "Basically we thought many of the things she stood on were supportable and we welcomed the fact that she said 'no vote to Labour.' But we pointed out that the SLP's demands cannot be achieved under capitalism." "The key question," our comrade asserted, "is how to build a working-class, revolutionary party capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie."

The SL/B speaker pointed out that both WP and the CPGB have a history of capitulating to bourgeois pressure, taking positions to the *right* of Scargill, particularly noting their support to the capitalist rulers' demand during the 1984-85 National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) strike for a strikebreaking "vote" after the miners had already voted with their feet by walking off the job. As our speaker said: "Politics is not decided in the arena of bourgeois Parliament, it's decided in the course of class struggle. And in the 1984 miners strike both of these organisations tailed Thatcher, tailed [Labour Party leader] Kinnock, had the same position for a scab ballot in the early weeks of that strike." WP also embraced counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, even as Thatcher and the Cold War Labourites seized on Scargill's correct denunciation of Solidarność as "anti-socialist" to witchhunt the NUM leader on the eve of the miners strike.

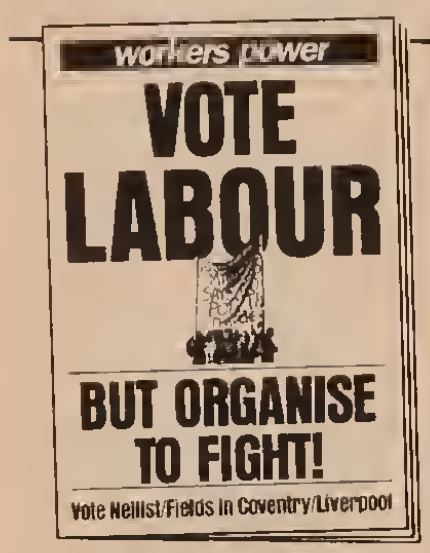
Even today, after the Soviet Union has been destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution, WP continues to be driven by Stalinophobia. With Scargill now "guilty" not only of refusing to enlist in the imperialists' anti-Soviet crusade but also of breaking from the Labour monolith, WP is getting downright unhinged. In his speech, Morris worked himself into an almost literal fit of Stalinophobia, foaming that the left social-democratic union leader's politics are "a complete Stalinist disaster for the working class." Then Morris launched into a Dr. Strangelove tirade against an SLP public event attended by former Communist Party members and other leftists several weeks earlier, fulminating that the meeting had been "teeming with the most murderous Stalinists"!

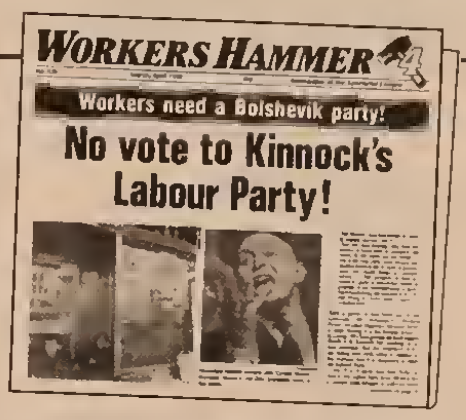
WP and the CPGB also stand to the right of Scargill on the question of the Maastricht Treaty, with its (utopian) aim of setting up a unified German-dominated capitalist European superstate. In practice, Maastricht means vicious austerity measures against the working class and "Fortress Europe" anti-immigrant racism. As a second SL/B floor speaker noted: "Scargill has a nationalist position, a very reactionary protectionist position, which is coupled with a correct understanding...that Maastricht actually represents a massive anti-working-class attack. These are organisations—the Communist Party of Great Britain and Workers Power—who *abstained* on the referendums over Maastricht, in the case of Workers Power telling us that maybe the workers would be under better conditions to fight after the implementation of Maastricht."

Given their capitulation to anti-Sovietism during the Cold War, it is no wonder that the centrists of Workers Power today find themselves increasingly disoriented in the face of intensifying interimperialist rivalries ushered in by the destruction of the Soviet Union. In their eyes, Maastricht—with its drive for increased capitalist exploitation and anti-immigrant repression—represents an opening for class struggle, and a racist, union-bashing Blair government would be a "great victory." For our part, we will continue to fight for real victories for workers and the oppressed, seeking to win Labour's base to a revolutionary workers party with a programme to sweep away decrepit British imperialism. ■

Guardian (London)

Split from Blair by British miners' leader Arthur Scargill (left) and his Socialist Labour Party has thrown Labour-loyal fake-left into turmoil.





Centrism vs. Trotskyism during 1992 British elections. Workers Power always stands by Labour traitors, SL/B fights to split Labour and forge a revolutionary workers party.

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abject loyalty to Labour. A prime example is Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, who persist with the tedious singsong: "Vote Labour to get the Tories out." Since their inception as a split from the Cliffites, Workers Power (WP) has preached *strategic unity* with the Labour Party, and view with horror any split in Labour's ranks. As the SLP widens the split within Labour, WP's attitude to Scargill's party gets more tortured. WP's attitude to the SLP is coloured by their abiding hatred for "the Stalinist" Arthur Scargill. What bothers WP is not Scargill's reformist, "old" Labour framework, but the fact that he is splitting the Labour camp by standing candidates against New Labour [see "Workers Power: Drummer Boys for Tony Blair," above].

The International "Bolshevik" Tendency (IBT), having decided that "participation in the SLP was more important than maintaining a propaganda circle" (*1917* No. 18, 1996), then berates the Spartacist League as "abstentionist"—because we haven't liquidated our party! Their own organisational dissolution into the SLP reflects their political adaptation to it. The *1917* article, for example, praises the SLP's call for British troops out of Northern Ireland but fails to point out that the SLP supports the imperialist "peace" process which is premised on the British Army remaining in place. Where we have pointed out that the SLP's "residency clause" would prohibit immigrants and asylum-seekers from joining, *1917* replies dismissively that it "could well be dropped at the next party congress."

Today the IBT is adapting to SLP reformism, but they could easily swing back towards mainstream Labourism for trifling advantage, most likely when the SLP comes under heavy fire from the right. Arthur Scargill upholds the principle of not crossing a picket line. Not so the IBT. Last winter they frothed at the mouth when we nailed them for crossing picket lines in the New York City building workers strike. Inside the SLP, former IBTers joined Stalinophobic anti-communists—supporters of Solidarność counterrevolution and advocates of imperialist intervention for "poor little Bosnia"—in a common election slate at the founding conference.

We Spartacists have always had a sharp, aggressive programmatic counterposition to Labourism. As we wrote in a 1981 document, "Revolutionaries and the Labour Party":

> "We seek to exacerbate the contradictions between the aspirations and objective interests of the working class base, centrally organised in the trade unions, and the policies and actions of the social-patriotic leadership. We wish to win the base to our programme and to the building of a Marxist party in *counterposition* to the Labour Party, in the course of mobilising for class struggle and through the exposure of Labour treachery by the communist vanguard."
>
> — *Spartacist* No. 33, Spring 1982

The purpose of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League, is to pursue this perspective, in order to bring about the overthrow of bloody British imperialism, its monarch, House of Lords and Parliament, and to replace it with a federation of workers republics. For workers governments based on workers councils (soviets), part of a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

prevent and limit any anti-Klan protest. When the City's efforts were foiled by the anti-Klan demonstration, the City and police retaliated with these prosecutions.

Police Attack Anti-Klan Protesters

Anti-Klan protesters from a variety of backgrounds and political viewpoints joined at the Daley Center. These protesters came out to protest because they believed that the Klan is a racist terrorist organization which poses a deadly threat to blacks, immigrants, Jews, unionists, gays and leftists in Chicago. From the hooded nightriders who fought Reconstruction after the Civil War, through the KKK terror of the 1920s when the Klan gained strength in Northern cities like Chicago, serving as shock troops against blacks and immigrant workers (especially Catholics), to the 1963 Klan bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, to the Klan's 1979 Greensboro Massacre—the Ku Klux Klan are organized lynchers, bombers and murderers. Even this year, the Klan has been active in the rash of black church burnings in the South.

The anti-Klan demonstration began at about 2:00 p.m., well before the Klan appeared. About 50 anti-Klan demonstrators, representing a number of groups, rallied peacefully on the sidewalk adjoining the Daley Center, chanting and carrying signs and banners. Defendant Herson, who is labor coordinator for the Partisan Defense Committee, was conspicuous as a central organizer of this anti-Klan demonstration.

After about two hours, police erected two lines of metal barricades on the Plaza to divide the anti-Klan demonstrators (east) from the Klansmen (west). Despite the barricaded division of the Plaza, about 15 uniformed Klansmen deliberately marched onto the Daley Center on the east, anti-Klan side of the barricades. The Klansmen, now wearing Klan insignia, marched in tight military formation in three lines, armed with bolt-studded shields and long, heavy "flagpole" lances which they used as weapons. When anti-Klan protesters approached to voice their opposition to the Klansmen, the Klansmen provocatively taunted black protesters, saying, "Come and get it, boy," and then attacked the anti-Klan protesters with their lances. A number of anti-Klan demonstrators were injured in the head or hands by the Klansmen's attacks. The anti-Klan demonstrators successfully defended themselves and their demonstration against this Klan attack.

When the altercation had already stopped, Commander McNulty approached Defendant Herson from behind, and then sprayed Herson directly in the face with pepper spray. Herson had his mouth open when McNulty sprayed him, creating a potentially lethal situation because pepper spray can cause

WV Photo

Chicago cops attacked anti-Klan protesters, protected KKK race-terrorists on June 29.

throat inflammation and resulting suffocation. To further punish Herson and the other arrested anti-Klan protesters, police placed them in a patrol wagon directly in the hot sun, leaving them there for two hours, with the engine running and the windows closed, despite the fact that the temperature that day was in the high 90s, creating a near-suffocating heat.

Over the next hour and a half, the anti-Klan demonstration grew in size to over 100 demonstrators. At the point that the Klan left the Plaza, police brandishing their clubs massed in formation and created a human wall at the south end of the anti-Klan demonstration. Without any action or provocation by the anti-Klan demonstrators, police attacked the anti-Klan demonstrators, pushing the anti-Klan demonstration backward, and striking demonstrators with police clubs. This police attack created a dangerous situation, causing demonstrators to fall backward, with the police continuing to swing their clubs at fallen demonstrators.

At the beginning of this attack, police (including Commander McNulty) singled out Defendant Dennis Glass for arrest. Glass was singled out for arrest solely because he was a black youth and was one of the most enthusiastic anti-Klan demonstrators. Police subjected Glass to a choke hold and struck Glass after his arrest.

Among the youth whom McNulty personally injured were members of a group of about a dozen or more interns from the AFL-CIO Union Summer program. McNulty struck a young black woman Union Summer intern in the chest with a club, and went out of his way to step on the foot of another black woman Union Summer intern. Another police officer struck an Asian Union Summer woman in the neck with a club. At about 6:45 p.m., the anti-Klan demonstration dispersed. The group of Union Summer youth began to walk back to the hostel where they were staying. Some of the Union Summer youth noticed Commander McNulty as the officer who had been particularly hostile and had injured demonstrators. One of these youth, Malcolm Goff, took McNulty's photograph while McNulty was sitting in a police car. McNulty immediately got out of the police car and pursued Goff, shouting that Goff would be arrested and that he had "threatened" McNulty.

Defendant Lyons, a supporter of the Refuse and Resist organization and a known anti-racist and anti-police-brutality activist in Chicago, saw this vindictive arrest and verbally protested it. In response, several police officers immediately seized Lyons, threw him to the ground, and then arrested him, pushing him down spread-eagled on the front of a police car, injuring him in the process. McNulty then pressed a false charge against Lyons for "obstructing" the arrest of Goff.

Suppressing Political Protest

The June 29 anti-Klan demonstration took place at a time when the City was attempting to build up its security, limit and control dissident political activity, and limit unfavorable publicity in preparation for the Democratic National Convention. Over 2,800 Chicago police officers were receiving special two-day training sessions in crowd control just around June 29 in anticipation of the Convention, including training on tactics used against the June 29 protesters (such as use of plastic handcuffs). Earlier that month, police imposed a virtual state of martial law in westside ghetto neighborhoods in anticipation of the Chicago Bulls NBA championship celebration.

In April and May 1996, the City of Chicago received requests from two separate Klan groups for use of the Daley Center Plaza on June 29 and September 21. Following discussions between the Public Building Commission and the Mayor's Office, the City adopted a policy to limit or restrict public knowledge of this information. The news that the Klan might rally at the Daley Center on June 29 was thus made public only as an aside in a June 28 *Tribune* report on traffic congestion in the Loop during Taste of Chicago [an annual street festival].

Police approached the June 29 demonstration as a "test run" of their tactical methods of suppressing and controlling political expression in the context of the Democratic Convention. On information and belief, Chicago police are using the June 29 arrests and arrests of protesters during the Democratic Convention as a basis to argue that the "Red Squad" should be officially reestablished in Chicago.

There can be no question that the First Amendment secures the right of these Defendants and other anti-Klan protesters to gather and express their opposition to the race-terror of the Ku Klux Klan. The only basis for these charges is to retaliate against the Defendants and other anti-Klan protesters for exercising their right to protest the Klan, and to "cover" the police officers' own acts of misconduct.

* * *

The anti-Klan defendants are being persecuted for acting in defense of blacks, Hispanics, Jews, trade unionists and gays. Join the effort to defend the Anti-Klan Three—bring this cause to your unions, student groups and community organizations. Send protest statements demanding that the charges be dropped to Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Funds for the defense are urgently needed! Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60602-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 12)

in Orange County after Judge Michael Cowell disqualified himself and the entire L.A. Superior Court bench on the grounds that Kalustian, now an L.A. Superior Court judge, presented a "conflict of interest."

Geronimo has been denied parole 14 times. Five previous attempts to demonstrate his innocence in the courts and expose the government frame-up which put him behind bars have been turned down. As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a statement last May following the refusal of the L.A. Superior Court to hear Geronimo's case to overturn his conviction:

> "Many supporters of Geronimo thought that the unambiguous evidence of his innocence, announced by attorneys Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon at a press conference which included significant participation by important witnesses and community activists, would lead in short order to Geronimo's release. We in the Partisan Defense Committee, who have worked for Geronimo's freedom for over a decade, would have surely welcomed such a turn of events. But our understanding of the nature of the state, race and class in America has led us to see that there is no justice in the capitalist courts."
>
> — "Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!" (WV No. 645, 10 May)

The fight to free this courageous man must actively bring to bear the social power of the organized multiracial working class, not just union resolutions and letters of support in Geronimo's defense but the mobilization of union members in action to combat this racist frame-up. From the destruction of welfare to intensifying state repression, America's rulers wield racist reaction against the black population and desperate immigrants to further the brutal exploitation of the working class as a whole. The more the government, its courts and cops get away with framing up and keeping those like Geronimo imprisoned, the more the state will act with similar impunity against the entire workers movement. An injury to one is an injury to all! Freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!

Geronimo will be at the hearing on December 16. Mobilize in solidarity with his cause—come to the court for the hearing! **Monday, December 16, 9 a.m., Superior Court, Department 35, 700 Civic Center Drive West, Santa Ana.** Funds for legal defense should be sent to Prisoner Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. ■

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Welfare-Bashers...

(continued from page 1)

programs—and to fight for free, quality medical care, for housing, education and jobs for all at union wages, and then some—requires a leadership that is imbued with the understanding that it is necessary to break the power of the bourgeoisie, whose rule is based on the exploitation of the working class. It will take a thoroughgoing socialist revolution to rip industry out of the hands of the greedy few and turn the tremendous wealth of this country over to those who labor to produce it, to create a workers state which reorganizes society on the basis of a planned, collectivized economy.

Axing Welfare, Driving Down Wages

The direct link between the slashing of social welfare measures and the destruction of hard-won union gains is revealed in one pair of statistics. Since 1972, welfare benefits have plummeted by half; during the same time, real wages have fallen almost 20 percent. According to the Economic Policy Institute, nearly one in three workers today makes less than $7.28 an hour, as compared to fewer than one in four in 1973. This, too, is an endemic feature of capitalism, characterized by Marx as the tendency toward immiseration of the working class.

More and more people are working harder and harder for minimum or subminimum wages, and the expansion of "workfare" and forcing millions off welfare altogether will serve to drive down wages even more. As an article in the *New York Times* (17 November) observed: "When welfare recipients start looking for jobs to replace their shrinking welfare benefits, they will be competing with the working poor, who are barely surviving on what they make now."

In most cases, there are in fact no jobs to be found. And even where minimum-wage jobs are available for most welfare recipients this would mean a precipitous *decline* in their already dismal standard of living. A case in point is 24-year-old Karen Goff in Kentucky. While managing to feed, clothe and house herself and her five children on a monthly welfare check of $432 plus food stamps, she continued her schooling, earning a high school diploma and a two-year college degree. Now her hopes of finishing her college education and preparing for a decent job have been dashed, as the state demands she accept any job at minimum wage. After paying for day care for her kids, that would leave her with $40 a week!

Meanwhile, in forcing poor people to scramble for any job, no matter how low-paying or demeaning, the capitalist rulers consciously seek to pit one section of the oppressed against another. At a non-union Marriott hotel in Iowa City, Bosnian refugees were imported to replace recently deported Mexican workers. And in Virginia, the state government is proposing to place "workfare" recipients into jobs left open after Immigration and Naturalization Service raids lead to the deportation of low-paid immigrant workers. The labor movement must be mobilized to defend immigrant workers not only as a necessary defense of democratic rights, but as part of the fight to prevent the worsening of wage levels and working conditions for all workers. *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

The capitalists' intent is to pit unionized workers against impoverished, predominantly black and Hispanic welfare recipients, inflaming racist reaction and increasing the rate of exploitation of all workers. The union-busting character of the current welfare "reforms" can be seen most clearly in the "workfare" programs which are being instituted across the country. In New York City, more than 20,000 unionized municipal jobs have been slashed in the past few years, with the work now being done by welfare recipients slaving for next to nothing. Now this scheme has been formally institutionalized in the New York transit system, as the leadership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, potentially the most powerful union in the city, has pushed through a contract mandating that unionized subway jobs will be replaced by "workfare" crews working without wages and union protection.

Fight for Revolutionary Leadership!

If the labor movement, crippled by decades of unchallenged attacks, is to be revitalized, it must take up a struggle on behalf of all the oppressed. Yet the pro-capitalist labor tops increasingly act not only as the bourgeoisie's political police within the trade unions, but as overseers of slave-labor programs for the racist rulers. At bottom, the union misleaders share the outlook of their capitalist masters, seeking to bolster the profitability of corporate America in its competition on the world market and striving to enforce the bourgeoisie's economic dictates on the working class. The bureaucracy's political allegiance to the capitalist system is manifested particularly in its craven support to Clinton's Democratic Party.

WV Photo

Hospital workers rally against layoffs, killer cuts in New York City, June 12.

Williamson/Washington Post

Welfare recipients in Washington, D.C. forced to do municipal workers' jobs. Slave-labor "workfare" means union-busting.

Despite the pretense of offering a "socialist" alternative to the capitalist Democrats, various reformist groups simply attempt to give a leftist veneer to the same policy of supporting the Democrats as a "lesser evil." A prime example is the Workers World Party (WWP) of Sam Marcy. Over the years, the Marcyites have built one front-group "coalition" after another designed to act as a "left" tail on the Democratic Party donkey. During the run-up to the presidential elections, Workers World candidates made a splash by crashing Democratic Party fundraisers to "expose" Clinton for not vetoing the welfare law.

Recently, the WWP has helped launch "Workfairness," a group calling for "equal pay" and "labor rights" within the "workfare" system. To fight insidious, union-busting "workfare" requires a political struggle against the labor tops who have signed on as straw bosses for the capitalist rulers in this scheme. Yet the Marcyites look to just these labor traitors to lead a "fight" to defend "workfare" recipients.

When the TWU "workfare" deal was announced, *Workers World* (3 October) crowed that "a number of unions may be preparing to open a struggle to block the spread of workfare and demand union rights for workfare workers." In particular, the WWP hailed as an "initial step" in this "struggle" an appeal by AFSCME city workers chief Stanley Hill to NYC Republican mayor Giuliani to declare a "moratorium on workfare right now." In fact, Hill's weak-kneed "moratorium" call was meant to cover up his own role in collaborating with Giuliani for the past two years in implementing "workfare" at formerly unionized municipal jobs. When the TWU tops accepted their new contract sellout, Giuliani and Hill both screamed bloody murder because the deal threatened to expose their own ongoing back-room sweetheart agreement.

To organize the unorganized and defend the rights of the poor requires mobilizing the *social power* of the working class. A historical example of this can be found in the turbulent class battles which took place during the Great Depression of the 1930s. When Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1935, seeking to use the unemployed to drive down wages by paying rates even below those of local relief, the Trotskyists fought for the right of union organization on WPA projects, calling for such demands as immediate relief and unemployment insurance paid by the employers and the state and for a six-hour day and five-day week at no loss in pay.

Importantly, the struggle to organize the unemployed was directly linked to the tremendous battles to organize the industrial unions of the CIO, which were established through sit-down strikes, mass pickets and other militant tactics. Writing in 1933 against the reformists of his day, then-Trotskyist leader Arne Swabeck emphasized that the objectives in organizing the unemployed "must be general working class objectives, its struggle part of the general working class struggles for the revolution" (see "Organizing the Unemployed in the Great Depression," *WV* Nos. 73 and 74, 18 July and 1 August 1975).

The Trotskyists advanced a series of transitional demands—such as a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat inflation and unemployment, and the call for workers defense guards to defeat strikebreakers and fascists and to serve as the nuclei of a proletarian army—which addressed the felt needs of workers and the oppressed and pointed to the need to seize state power from the bourgeoisie and create a socialist planned economy. This was codified in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of Trotsky's Fourth International.

Today, the biggest obstacle to mobilizing the unions to launch such battles is the craven trade-union bureaucracy—the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class—who would sooner die than allow any struggle which challenges the "sacred" property rights of the capitalists. In the absence of any organized resistance, every social program grudgingly conceded by FDR in the tremendous working-class battles of the 1930s is on the chopping block, as the racist rulers—with Democrat Clinton as their chief executive—prepare to eliminate the last shreds of any social "safety net" for the poor. Welfare, unemployment insurance and other social measures were set up during the Depression to piece off the working class, as the bourgeoisie feared the spectre of "red revolution."

In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations now believe they can do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic masses without the slightest danger of serious social turmoil. But these policies are creating enormous pressure at the base of society: people don't like the idea that there is no future for themselves and their kids. The need for socialist revolution to break the power of the corrupt, racist ruling class is posed ever more sharply today. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party which fights to sweep away this system of racism, repression and poverty, replacing it with an egalitarian socialist society. ■

CORRECTION

The article, "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" (*WV* No. 651, 13 September), stated that "There is also a sizable Kurdish working class with a history of militant struggle in the oil fields of Kirkuk and other strategic centers." While there had been a large concentration of Kurdish workers, many of them militant supporters of the Iraqi Communist Party, in Kirkuk through the late 1950s, they were by and large driven out by the nationalist Ba'ath regime, today headed by Saddam Hussein, as part of its policy of "Arabization" of the oil fields (see "Kurdish Workers in the Iraqi Revolution of 1958-59," *WV* No. 370, 11 January 1985).

WORKERS VANGUARD

New Legal Papers Document Cop Vendetta

Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three— Drop the Charges!

WV Photo

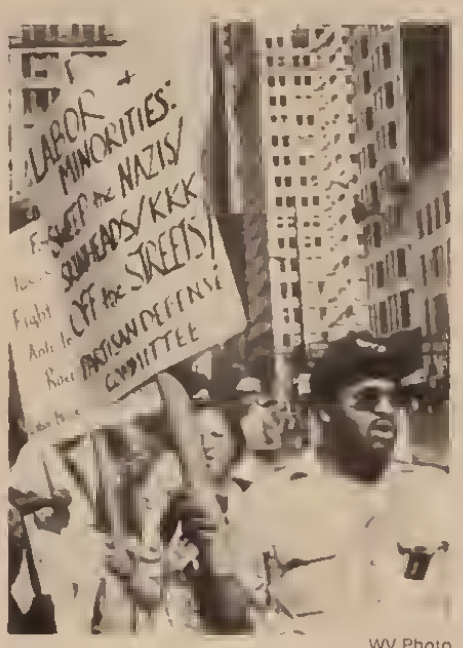
Chicago Anti-Klan Three: Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass, Gene Herson.

DECEMBER 2—In Cook County Circuit Court today, defense attorneys for three participants in the June 29 protest in Chicago's Daley Plaza against the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan moved to dismiss trumped-up charges of assaulting police. In response, the court granted a defense request for an evidentiary hearing on the motion, to be held on January 23.

While charges against six other anti-Klan protesters were dropped at a previous court session, Jeffrey Lyons and Gene Herson continue to face up to a year in prison and Dennis Glass faces up to two years in prison for having taken part in the June 29 protest, in which a violent KKK provocation was decisively routed. The anti-Klan protest was initiated on less than 24 hours' notice by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. Before today's proceedings got under way, some 35 demonstrators rallied outside the court to demand: Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!

We reprint below extracts from the defense motion submitted in today's session. The legal papers demonstrate that the prosecution of these anti-racist activists is not only a blatantly malicious and vindictive act but one in a series of attempts by the city government and police to stifle and suppress any social protest in the months leading up to the Democratic National Convention in August.

These three consolidated cases arise out of a demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan on the Daley Center Plaza in downtown Chicago on June 29, 1996. Defendants face completely false charges of assaulting, battering and obstructing police officers. In reality, as Defendants will show at an evidentiary hearing on this motion, these charges are brought solely (1) in retaliation for the Defendants' exercise of First Amendment rights by participating in the anti-Klan demonstration, and (2) to conceal and justify police physical attacks on the anti-Klan demonstrators, targeted particularly at minority youth and known anti-racist activists.



WV Photo

PDC-initiated protest, June 29, routed violent KKK provocation in Chicago.

These cases arise from a series of police attacks on the anti-Klan demonstrators. The first came immediately after the anti-Klan demonstrators defended themselves against a violent Klan provocation. At that point, First District Commander Patrick McNulty pepper-sprayed Defendant Eugene Herson, an organizer of the anti-Klan demonstration, and later caused Herson's arrest on false charges of battering the Commander. The sole reason for Herson's arrest was to retaliate against an organizer of the anti-Klan demonstration.

About 90 minutes later, after the anti-Klan demonstration had swelled in size and the Klan had left the Daley Plaza, police attacked the anti-Klan demonstration, assaulting several anti-Klan demonstrators, particularly young minority men and women, and arresting Defendant Dennis Glass on false charges of aggravated assault and battery, for no reason except that he was a vocal and enthusiastic anti-Klan protester who carried a sign protesting police brutality. Then, after the demonstration had dispersed, police attacked a group of AFL-CIO Union Summer interns because one of the group, a black youth, had photographed the same Commander who had earlier assaulted several demonstrators. Defendant Jeffrey Lyons was arrested solely because he verbally protested the vindictive and unlawful arrest of the photographer.

The police retaliation against the anti-Klan protesters stemmed from a City policy to limit and control political protest in preparation for the Democratic National Convention in Chicago because of the fear of adverse publicity and unfavorable comparison to the Democratic Convention in 1968. To avoid unfavorable publicity the City limited public knowledge of the Klan's planned rally, hoping to

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Former Black Panther Wins Hearing in Bid for New Trial

Freedom Now for Geronimo!

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former leader of the Black Panther Party who has been behind bars for 26 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit, has won a hearing on his request for a new trial. On December 16, California Superior Court judge Everett W. Dickey will begin taking testimony on Geronimo's petition in a Santa Ana courtroom.

Framed up by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), which was aimed at destroying the Panthers, Geronimo was convicted in 1972 of the 1968 murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher. The petition for a new trial details the unambiguous evidence of the innocence of this unbroken fighter for black liberation whose only "crime" was to have challenged the racist status quo in America. The petition documents three sets of FBI wiretaps on Panther offices showing that Geronimo was 400 miles away at the time of the murder; the victim's husband's identification of another man as the killer one year before he ever saw a photo of Geronimo; and the fact that the man who testified that Geronimo had confessed to the crime, one Julius Butler, was an informant for the LAPD since 1966 and an informant for the FBI since at least May 1969. *All of this was known at the time by the FBI and the LAPD and was hidden from the defense.*

On November 22, Judge Dickey announced that the court hearing will focus on the spectacular recent disclosure that *Butler was also an informant for the L.A. district attorney's office even as the D.A. was prosecuting the case against Geronimo.* Butler, a one-time L.A. County Sheriff's Deputy who joined the Panthers in Los Angeles, was the centerpiece of the prosecution's case against Geronimo. On the witness stand in the original trial, he denied being an informant. Geronimo's court papers also document the investigation by lay minister Jim McCloskey which identified the likely real killers of the Santa Monica schoolteacher as associates of Butler.

The chief prosecutor of Geronimo in 1972, then-assistant L.A. district attorney Richard Kalustian, as well as former D.A. Ronald Carroll and investigators from the D.A.'s office have also been ordered to testify at the upcoming hearing. Judge Dickey was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* (23 November) as saying: "There has to be some clarification on what efforts were made by Kalustian on Butler's behalf." Referring to one investigator who had knowledge of Butler's association as an informant for the D.A.'s office, Dickey added, "I think we have to hear from Bowles."

Kalustian claims he was ignorant of Butler's relationship with the FBI. Yet in September this year, Geronimo's case was moved from L.A. to Santa Ana

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Jonathan Eubanks

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned for 26 years for a crime government knows he did not commit.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 658

27 December 1996

Rightist Mobilizations and Imperialist Intrigues

Turmoil in the Balkans

U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out!

DECEMBER 16—Once again the world's attention has been drawn to the Balkans, where the combination of local nationalist enmities and imperialist intrigues has produced bloody slaughter. Elections in Bosnia in September, held under the guns of 50,000 UN and NATO "peacekeeping" forces, predictably confirmed the de facto partition of the country into "ethnically cleansed" Serb, Croat and Muslim regions under the control of hardline nationalist parties which have devoted themselves to killing each other's supporters. In November, immediately after his re-election, U.S. president Clinton announced that the imperialist troops, which had been scheduled to leave Bosnia by year's end, would be staying on for (at least) another 18 months. These will include combat units from Germany, which already has thousands of "non-combat" support forces in Croatia—the first deployment of German military might outside its borders since the defeat of Hitler's Third Reich.

At the same time, both Serbia and Croatia are in the throes of political crises. Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic is confronted by large, student-centered protests in Belgrade led by right-wing nationalist demagogues, now equivocally backed by Washington. In Croatia, the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman, who is reportedly dying of cancer, has been shaken by a major railway strike and mass protests against government censorship. But the Croatian bourgeois politicians jockeying to succeed Tudjman are, if anything, even more right-wing than this open admirer of the World War II fascist Ustasha and would perpetuate a police state dedicated to a Greater Croatia as a client of German and/or American imperialism. And the fall of Milosevic at the hands of the present opposition would in no way benefit the working people of Serbia but would simply further the interests of revanchist chauvinism and Western imperialism.

Reuters

Milos Vukadinovic

U.S.-backed rightist anti-government protesters in Belgrade carry Serbian chauvinist flag. Opposition leader Vuk Draskovic (above), nationalist reactionary and open admirer of World War II Chetnik mass murderers.

Capitalist counterrevolution and the resulting destruction of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state has brought the Balkan peoples all-sided communalist massacres, economic immiseration, fascistic terror and intensified repression. The U.S., German, other NATO and UN imperialist "peacekeepers" will not bring peace but only lay the basis for new and perhaps wider wars. Western diplomats are already nervously speculating that next spring will bring a renewal of communalist bloodletting in Bosnia. We say: U.S., German, other NATO and UN forces out of the Balkans!

National antagonisms and economic immiseration can be overcome only through *working-class unity in struggle* against the new exploiters—the imperialists and their local agents. We oppose any political support to the competing counterrevolutionary nationalist cliques in ex-Yugoslavia. What is necessary is the formation of revolutionary Marxist—i.e., Trotskyist—parties capable of breaking the working masses from the nationalist demagogues on all sides in the fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Serbian Nationalism Comes Back to Haunt Milosevic

The economic devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union has been compounded in Serbia by the effects of the war and the imperialist embargo, which the U.S. is now threatening to renew in support of the rightist mobilizations against the Milosevic regime. The 650,000 ethnic Serb refugees from Croatia and Bosnia who have flooded into the country, where they are treated like unwanted second cousins, now make up 6 percent of Serbia's population. Industrial production has plummeted by 60 percent since July 1991, when the new Balkan wars began. Real wages for industrial workers are *one-tenth* what they were in Titoist Yugoslavia, while rampant unemployment led to an *eightfold* increase between 1990 and 1994 in the number of people living below the poverty line.

The latest challenge to Milosevic began in mid-November when his regime annulled the outcome of municipal elections which the Zajedno (Together) oppositional bloc won in the capital of Belgrade and a majority of other Serbian cities. As long as the Serbs were winning

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Washington Arms Zedillo's War Against Peasant Guerrillas

U.S. Hands Off Mexico!

In recent months, spokesmen for U.S. imperialism have been flagrantly provocative in pushing for direct military intervention in Mexico. In September, a week after a series of bold raids on police stations and military outposts by the peasant guerrillas of the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR), U.S. ambassador James Jones openly flouted Mexican national sentiment by publicly urging the country's rulers to accept U.S. military and intelligence aid. Speaking in Mexico City and Cancún, Jones denounced the EPR as a "terrorist" group and repeatedly urged the Mexican government of President Ernesto Zedillo to accept "whatever they need" to crush the insurgents, including CIA "information" and Pentagon military support. A report in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (10 December) noted that this "was the first time in recent years than an American diplomat had broken the Mexican taboo on even speaking of U.S. armed involvement south of the border."

Zedillo immediately ordered a brutal "anti-terrorist" crackdown, subjecting the country to a virtual state of siege. Some 500 peasant and working-class activists have been detained or tortured since late June. And while a rattled Mexican official replied to Jones' "offer" by insisting that "the Mexican government is exclusively responsible for keeping order within its borders," Washington's neocolonial lackeys in the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) regime conspicuously refused to rule out direct American involvement.

In fact, the U.S. has been quietly providing military assistance to Mexico for decades, including construction of airfields. In recent years, Washington has funneled significant quantities of arms and military equipment to Mexico. Shortly after the outbreak of the Zapatista (EZLN) peasant uprising in Chiapas in January 1994, the Pentagon began delivering large quantities of military vehicles, helicopters and weaponry to the Mexican armed forces. Thousands of U.S. troops, Drug Enforcement Agency narcs and CIA agents were deployed in Guatemala for "training exercises" near the border with Chiapas. At the same time, Clinton has massively beefed up militarization of the border with Mexico in order to terrorize immigrants seeking to cross into *el norte*. And Zedillo has agreed to an unprecedented pact to have Mexican soldiers trained at U.S. bases. Meanwhile, the "School of the Americas" (more accurately known as the "School of the

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Young Spartacus

Italian Spartacist Youth Leaflet

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The following leaflet was issued on November 20 by our comrades of the Italian Spartacist Youth Group, who have been active in mobilizations in defense of the immigrants threatened with eviction and deportation.

For more than a week, 60 immigrant workers have taken refuge in the Church of St. Bernard in downtown Milano, threatened with eviction by the police and Mayor Formentini and abandoned by the left. In fact, Rifondazione Comunista (RC) and the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) are busy working overtime to support the anti-working-class and anti-immigrant government of the Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition in its drive to be admitted to the Maastricht Treaty's "monetary union" and its racist capitalist "Fortress Europe." To achieve this the government is bleeding the working class dry and smashing any and all social gains, including the already impoverished and wretched public school system. This eviction comes in the context of the threatened expulsion of 250,000 immigrants who are to be targeted as "illegals" when the minimal protections offered by the apartheid decree of the former Dini government expire. The chief of police is already talking about chartering flights to carry out the deportations.

Evicted from the immigrant hostel on Via Pitteri, the last of the hostels to have been raided by the police, the immigrants are demanding the fundamental right to a decent place to live. But this racist capitalist state, supported by the PDS and RC, has deployed the army along both coasts to drive back into the sea the tens of thousands of people who are fleeing immiseration, war and hunger. The capitalist state offers only oppression, racist terror and police repression. Exploited as low-wage labor, living in constant fear of deportation, immigrants are deprived of all rights and live under the guns of the overseers in the southern fields and under those of the cops in the northern factories. The ruling class uses immigrant workers as scapegoats for the profound crisis of capitalism. *We say: Defend the immigrants evicted from Via Pitteri! Housing, jobs and unionization are rights for immigrants, too! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No to the distinction between "legal" and "illegal" immigrants—anyone who enters the country must be allowed to remain here with full citizenship rights!*

From the demonstrations in defense of the *sans papiers* (undocumented immigrants) in France to those for aboriginal and immigrant rights in Australia, workers and immigrants have mobilized in the streets to defend the rights of all immigrants and minorities. But parties like Rifondazione and the PDS, in order to rule in the interests of the capitalist state, try to prevent any struggle against racist oppression. The RC and PDS were enthusiastic supporters of the Martelli law that imposed border controls and "illegal alien" status. Both parties voted confidence in the Dini government just a few days before it introduced its apartheid anti-immigrant law, and both joined in propping up the popular-front Ulivo government headed by Prime Minister Prodi. Behind its talk of "fighting the right," this class-collaborationist government—which unites Rifondazione, the PDS, the Bank of Italy and the Vatican—has no purpose other than defending the class interests of the Italian bourgeoisie.

The popular-front government is doing what the right was unable to do: cut pensions, health care and education, pass racist laws, and intensify the oppression of women in the home. The Ulivo/RC popular front increases immiseration and attacks the working class and petty bourgeoisie in the name of the left. It drives whole layers of the middle class into the arms of the fascists and of the Northern League racists, whose "greenshirt" gangs threaten to impose racist "law and order" in the cities. The racist, chauvinist street demonstrations led by the blackshirts of the fascist National Alliance/MSI are becoming ever more ominous and dangerous. *It is urgent that the working class unite with all the intended victims of the fascists—immigrants, Jews, Roma [Gypsies], women and gays—to smash the blackshirt scum before they smash us. Defeat the racist capitalist austerity of the Prodi/PDS/RC government! Break with the class collaboration of the RC and PDS! For class struggle to bring the working class to power!*

What's needed is a party that fights to mobilize the powerful and combative proletariat of Italy in defense of its immigrant class brothers. The working class is the only force that has the social power and the vital interest to fight against the bourgeois state and to eliminate the racist oppression that is intrinsic to capitalism. What's needed are powerful workers mobilizations to defend immigrants from police terror and to smash the racist and fascist scum. For this to happen, there needs to be a struggle against the present leadership of the workers movement, which subordinates the vital interests of the exploited and the oppressed to the profits of their exploiters and oppressors. What's necessary is a multiethnic revolutionary party that fights for the liberation of all the oppressed—women, immigrants, homosexuals, all minorities—through workers revolution. This is what we of the Spartacist Youth Group fight for.

For worker/immigrant/student mobilizations to smash racist terror! Build a multiethnic revolutionary party that is a tribune of all the oppressed! Workers of the world, unite! ■

Financial Times

Rome protest against anti-Semitism and anti-immigrant racism in 1992 drew 30,000.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Revolutionaries and the British Labour Party

The Spartacist League/Britain's recent call for critical support to the candidate of the Socialist Labour Party is an example of how Leninists seek to polarize mass reformist parties like the British Labour Party, which retains the allegiance of the mass of the workers. Unlike the bulk of the fake-revolutionary left in Britain, which is organically loyal to the Labour Party, Trotskyists seek through common work with Labour's working-class base to take them from their experiences of betrayal to a fight against their pro-capitalist misleaders and for a revolutionary program and party. Writing on the Independent Labour Party, which disaffiliated from Labour in the early 1930s, Leon Trotsky emphasized the dangers for revolutionaries both of ignoring the Labour Party and of politically accommodating to it.

The ILP broke away from the Labour Party. That was correct. If the ILP wanted to become the revolutionary lever, it was impossible for the handle of this lever to be left in the hands of the thoroughly opportunist and bourgeois careerists. *Complete and unconditional political and organizational independence of a revolutionary party is the first prerequisite for its success.*

But while breaking away from the Labour Party, it was necessary immediately to turn toward it. Of course, this was not to court its leaders, or to pay them bittersweet compliments, or even to suppress their criminal acts—no, only characterless centrists who imagine themselves revolutionaries seek a road to the masses by *accommodating* themselves to the leaders, by humoring them and reassuring them at every step of their friendship and loyalty. A policy of this sort is a road that leads down to the swamp of opportunism. One must seek a way to the reformist masses not through the favor of their leaders, but against the leaders, because opportunist leaders represent not the masses but merely their backwardness, their servile instincts and, finally, their confusion....

The Leninist method of the united front and political fraternization with reformists exclude each other. *Temporary practical fighting* agreements with mass organizations even headed by the worst reformists are inevitable and obligatory for a revolutionary party. Lasting political alliances with reformist leaders without a definite program, without concrete duties, without the participation of the masses themselves in militant actions, are the worst type of opportunism.

— Leon Trotsky, "Cardinal Questions Facing the ILP" (January 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 17.

No. 658 **27 December 1996**

Free Geronimo!

DECEMBER 16—A critical hearing started today in a Santa Ana, California courtroom to determine if imprisoned former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) will finally be granted a new trial. Geronimo has been behind bars for 26 years, framed up by the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department for a murder the state knows he did not commit. The key prosecution witness against Geronimo in the 1972 trial, Julius Butler, will be confronted on the stand with evidence confirming that he was an informant not only for the FBI and LAPD but also for the L.A. district attorney's office. Also to be called is L.A. Superior Court judge Richard Kalustian, who as D.A. at the time colluded with Butler and withheld these facts from the defense and the jury.

Over the years, every element of the state's case against Geronimo has been proven to be a fabrication in the service of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation to "neutralize" fighters against racial oppression. A united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and endorsed by a number of trade unions and labor officials will be held in Los Angeles tomorrow to demand: "Free Geronimo Now! Down With FBI COINTELPRO/LAPD Frame-Up!" This is part of the needed fight to bring the organized power of labor to bear in the struggle for Geronimo's freedom and against capitalist state repression.

The current hearing is expected to continue throughout the month. Turn out to Orange County Superior Court, Department 35, 700 Civic Center Drive West, Santa Ana. **Fill the courtroom in solidarity with Geronimo!** For further information, call the PDC in Los Angeles at (213) 380-8897 or in New York at (212) 406-4252.

Join the Fight to Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

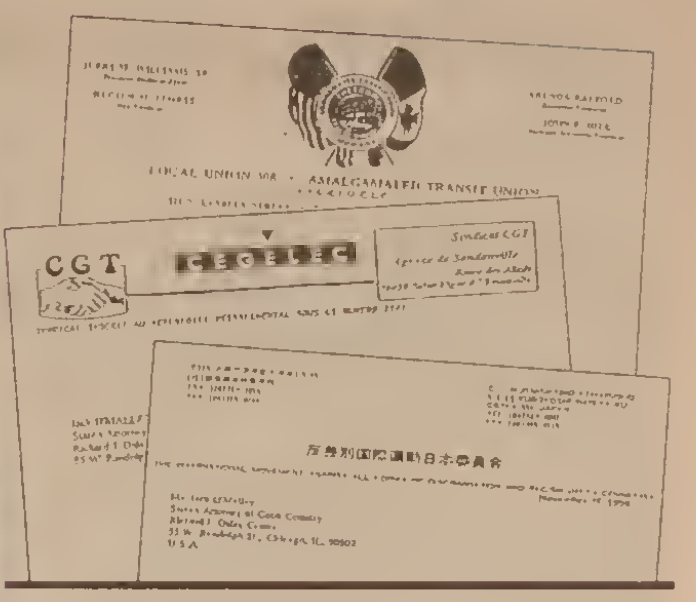
A critical court date is approaching for three participants in the June 29 Chicago anti-Klan protest who face false charges of assault and battery against police and obstructing police. Charges against six other anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 were dropped previously. Earlier this month, a Chicago Circuit Court judge granted the Anti-Klan Three an evidentiary hearing, now scheduled for January 23, based on their motion to drop the charges (see "New Legal Papers Document Cop Vendetta: Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three—Drop the Charges!" *WV* No. 657, 6 December). It is especially important for the integrated labor movement and all opponents of racist terror to turn out on January 23 in solidarity with the Anti-Klan Three.

The January 23 hearing will provide an opportunity for the anti-Klan defendants to put the Chicago police and city officials on trial for suppressing news of the KKK's plans to stage its race-hate provocation and for then brutally attacking the anti-Klan protest. The defense motion documents how the anti-racist activists are being persecuted for exercising their First Amendment rights of assembly and protest and in order to justify the cops' vindictive assault on the anti-KKK protest after a violent Klan provocation was decisively routed. As the defense motion pointed out, "Police approached the June 29 demonstration as a 'test run' of their tactical methods of suppressing and controlling political expression in the context of the Democratic Convention" which was held in August.

A wide range of labor, leftist and civil rights organizations and leaders—from the U.S. and Canada to Brazil, France, South Africa and Japan—have written to the Cook County State's Attorney over the past six months to demand that all charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators be dropped. Three recent statements are printed below.

The numerous protest letters and solidarity statements reflect the understanding that those who oppose the KKK's racist terror are acting on behalf of all working people and oppressed. As Earl Silbar, vice president of AFSCME Local 3506 in Chicago, wrote: "The Klan represents violent racism and anti-Semitism. Wherever the Klan holds sway, unions are diminished." Ernst Springer, chairman of the League of Antifascists in Leipzig, Germany, wrote "to protest against people being put on trial for no other reason than that they have done what one would expect every decent human being to do—to stand up against racism and the oppression of minorities."

All out on January 23! Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!



WV Photo

Protesters rally outside Chicago court, December 2, before hearing for Anti-Klan Three. A wide range of labor and civil liberties organizations around the world have demanded dropping of charges.

Warehouse Union Local 6

Oakland, California
20 November 1996

Warehouse Union Local 6, ILWU, who represents 3,300 active members and 2,700 retirees, protests the unjustifiable arrest and jailing of the nine Anti-Klan Demonstrators by the Chicago Police.

We are well aware that the Ku Klux Klan activities are designed to promote race terror and race wars. The Klan's intended victims are the Blacks, Latinos, Jews of Chicago and throughout the United States. We are fully aware that the labor movement is on the Klan's hit list.

We are outraged that the City of Chicago should support the Klan who have had a history of race terror and murder.

The Union requests that all charges be dropped against the nine Anti-Klan protestors. The nine Anti-Klan protestors represent freedom and justice for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

Yours truly,
Leon Harris
Secretary-Treasurer

LOCAL 743

Chicago, Illinois
27 November 1996

RE: CHARGES
PLACED AGAINST: Mr. Gene Herson
Jeff Lyons
Dennis Glass

Dear Sir:

The case against the above named individuals is scheduled to be heard on Monday, December 2, 1996.

Teamsters Local No. 743, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, represents over 17,000 members living in the Chicagoland area. Our membership consists of various ethnic groups, many of which are minority.

On behalf of our 17,000 members, we respectfully request that all charges against the above individuals be dropped. We do understand and appreciate that laws must be adhered to, but the demonstration in which these charged individuals participated protested a highly sensitive issue (racism).

The Executive Board of Local 743 pleads that understanding and clemency be shown and that the charges against Messrs. Herson, Lyons and Glass be dropped.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Very truly yours,
Chester Glanton
President

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
Central Committee

Johannesburg, South Africa
3 December 1996

The South African Communist Party is writing this letter to you in regards to the arrests of several trade unionists and anti-racist activists that took place on 29 June 1996 in Chicago.

We are greatly concerned that the police felt it necessary to arrest and charge these people who were part of an organised protest against the racist and neo-fascist Ku Klux Klan. Given the history of our own country, of which you are no doubt well aware, it is disturbing to us that those who were attempting to show their disapproval of racism and hate-mongering were arrested, charged and now face possible imprisonment. We have learnt, through decades of struggling to free this country, that racism and hate have many different faces and where ordinary people actively oppose this, it is not they who should become victims of law enforcement but rather those who seek to sow fear and division.

On behalf of our membership and all anti-racist South Africans, we call on your office to drop the charges against the nine accused. It is our considered opinion that those people who would preach hate and division are the ones worthy of your office's attention, not those who seek to bring communities and peoples together in opposition to such.

Sincerely,
Jeremy Cronin
Deputy General Secretary

Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Funds for the defense are urgently needed! Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60602-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

Boston Professor Witchhunted for Cuba Tour

We print below a letter by the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of Roxbury professor Tom Reeves, targeted by the U.S. government for taking students to Cuba.

5 December 1996

David Harmon
Chief, Enforcement Division
Office of Foreign Assets Control
U.S. Treasury Department
Washington, D.C. 20220

Dear Mr. Harmon:

We vehemently protest the persecution of Roxbury Community College professor Tom Reeves, facilitator of the college's Caribbean Focus Program. As part of "The Cuban Reality," an accredited course under the Caribbean Focus Program, a professor, 15 students and a journalist visited Cuba to see the country without Washington's censors and chaperons. Since their return, the Treasury Department, abetted by the college's administration, has subjected Professor Reeves to a McCarthyite witchhunt, demanding he turn over records of the Cuban Field Study Tour, including the names and addresses of the students. For his principled refusal to name names Professor Reeves is now threatened with imprisonment and fines of up to a quarter of a million dollars. We demand: Hands off Professor Reeves!

The hypocrisy of the American government is boundless. For decades the U.S. railed against restrictions on travel imposed by the former USSR and Cuba, while at the same time criminally prosecuting those who traveled to countries in which U.S.-supported capitalist regimes were overthrown—Vietnam, China and especially Cuba. While anti-racist fighters like Assata Shakur and Robert F. Williams were able to find refuge in Cuba from racist KKK and cop terror, the U.S. slammed its doors shut to Central American workers and peasants fleeing the death squad assassins trained at the School of the Americas.

We oppose the isolation of Cuba from the standpoint of the interests of the international working class and we oppose the persecution of those who travel there as an expression of their solidarity. The participants in "The Cuban Reality" course have the right to travel wherever they want. We demand an end to the witchhunt of Professor Reeves and the investigation of his students. U.S. hands off Cuba! End the embargo!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein
For the Partisan Defense Committee

Union Tops Join in Capitalist Rulers' Witchhunt

Australia: Defend Canberra Anti-Racist Militants!

Reuters photos

Trade-union, Aboriginal and youth protesters stormed Canberra's Parliament House, fought off bloody cop attack, August 19.

MELBOURNE—Tens of thousands of people demonstrated here on December 8 to protest against an escalating wave of racist violence across the country. More than twice as many attacks against Asians were reported in September and October than in the previous two months. Giving open expression to this racist onslaught, in September newly elected Queensland MP (Member of Parliament) Pauline Hanson used her first speech to Parliament for a vicious tirade against Aborigines and Asians.

While more mainstream capitalist politicians have sought to distance themselves from Hanson's vitriolic rantings, the racist offensive has been encouraged and pushed by the capitalist rulers. Since his election in March, right-wing Liberal Party prime minister John Howard and his Conservative Coalition government have launched a frontal assault on trade unions and minorities. Notably, Howard has refused to openly denounce Hanson, a former member of his party. At the same time, the government—aided and abetted by the Laborite leaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)—has pursued a racist vendetta against Aborigines and trade unionists involved in a multiracial protest outside Parliament House in the national capital of Canberra in August.

The storming of Parliament House on August 19 showed the class anger seething at the base of Australian society. In the largest demonstration ever held in Canberra, up to 35,000 miners, striking auto workers, heavily Southeast Asian manufacturing workers and other trade unionists joined Aborigines and students to protest government attacks on welfare and the unions. As we wrote at the time, "In a country dominated for decades by an *official* policy of 'White Australia' racism, this militant, multiracial outpouring of anger was truly spectacular" ("Workers, Aborigines Storm Australian Parliament," *WV* No. 650, 30 August).

The ACTU leadership had planned the rally as a vehicle to pressure Parliament to "amend" its anti-union legislation. But the lid came off when the cops attacked Aborigines marching at the head of a contingent of 6,000, many of them members of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU). As the workers rushed in to defend the Aboriginal protesters, the cops were overwhelmed and retreated to the Parliament building, where a two-hour battle ensued. The following day, riot squads from the Australian Federal Police (AFP) again assaulted Aboriginal protesters outside the Parliament. Reporting on the August 19 confrontation, a headline in the *Building Worker* (23 August), a CFMEU publication in Victoria, summed up: "Workers Defend Aboriginal Brothers & Sisters—Police Provoke Workers."

In the wake of the August protests, the government, cops and capitalist media launched a nationwide witchhunt against Aboriginal, trade-union and youth activists. Under the rubric of a special task force code-named "Operation Veneer," the AFP has laid serious criminal charges against at least 13 people. This is on top of the 50 people who were arrested on August 19 and 20 in Canberra. In a November 18 protest letter, the Partisan Defence Committee denounced the witchhunt:

> "The nature and target of the charges make clear the government's intent to jail a layer of Aboriginal, union and youth militants. We denounce Operation Veneer as a sinister exercise in domestic police repression targeting those the Howard government deems politically 'undesirable.' It is calculated to intimidate into silence the intended victims of, and those who would protest against, the deeply reactionary political, economic and social agenda of the Howard Conservative Coalition. We demand that all the charges against the Canberra anti-government protesters be dropped immediately!"

The Spartacist League/Australia distributed a leaflet at the December 8 demonstration calling for defence of the victimised Canberra protesters: "We salute the Aboriginal, unionist and student youth militants who in integrated social struggle defeated this calculated cop provocation. The strength of the union movement must be brought to bear in defence of the militants of 19-20 August." The December demonstration bore no comparison with the militant, union-centred actions last August. No Aboriginal contingents and only a handful of trade-union contingents were present at the Melbourne rally, while a steady stream of popular-frontist, "patriotic" rhetoric—including from Tory (Liberal) politicians—emanated from the platform. SL/A placards counterposed a class-struggle fight against racism, demanding that charges be dropped against the Canberra militants and calling for "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" and "For Union/Minority Mobilisations Against Racist Terror!"

ALP/ACTU Tops Line Up Behind Racist Witchhunt

Meanwhile, the traitorous leaders of the ACTU and the Australian Labor Party (ALP) have collaborated with the government witchhunt, fingering militants to the cops and promising their capitalist masters an internal purge of anti-racist trade unionists. Doug Cameron, national secretary of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union (AMWU), wrote in the *Metal Worker* (October 1996): "I have advised the ACTU that if any AMWU official is charged with a serious offence in relation to the rally, and found guilty, then their employment with the AMWU will be terminated." And the CFMEU leadership forced New South Wales organiser Vriduar Vega to resign his union post long before he was charged. Other known union targets of the witchhunt have been told that they are effectively on their own.

In the present climate of vicious racist reaction, the union bureaucrats are deliberately seeking to cut off the hand that reached out from the organised working class to the deeply oppressed and marginalised Aboriginal people. The cops have always operated in the knowledge that they have a green light from the government—Liberal or Labor—to harass, intimidate, brutalise and murder Aboriginal people. Already subjected to the highest per capita rate of imprisonment in the world, Aborigines are now facing a dramatic escalation of state repression. By collaborating with Howard's witchhunt, the pro-capitalist union tops are, in effect, pledging to the bosses to do their utmost to prevent the organised workers from ever again defending Aboriginal people from racist state terror.

In purging anti-racist militants from the unions, the ACTU misleaders demonstrate their role as labor lieutenants of capital. Far from representing the interests of the working class, the union bureaucracy is a thin layer which seeks to prop up this decaying capitalist system. Racist attacks against Aborigines and immigrants, particularly Asians, are at the cutting edge of the capitalist rulers' assault on the living standards and union organisations of the entire working class. The multiracial working class has the potential social power and direct class interest to defeat all manifestations of capitalist tyranny and state terror directed against the oppressed. What stands in the way of unleashing the power of the proletariat is backward consciousness—most profoundly the deep racism rooted in this country's history as a European settler colony on Asia's periphery—and the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and Laborite politicos who act as transmission belts for, and reinforcers of, this backward consciousness.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

With the ALP out of government for the first time in 13 years, the reformist and centrist left groups are offering their services as waterboys for the Laborite ACTU bureaucracy. As the union tops join in the bourgeois frenzy about "mob rule" and "violence" over the Canberra protest, the reformists have abandoned any defence of the victimised militants. The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP, formerly associated with Jack Barnes' quirky, reformist Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.) and its youth group Resistance were redbaited by the capitalist media in the immediate aftermath of August 19. Yet not once in the dozen or so issues of its *Green Left Weekly* that have appeared since August has the DSP so much as mentioned Operation Veneer or its victims.

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist League/Australia calls for class-struggle fight against racist oppression.

For its part, the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) group in Australia managed to whimper: "Certain union leaders tacitly supported the condemnation of militants in Canberra by carrying out a witchhunt of their memberships" (*Workers Power*, November 1996-January 1997). To describe the union tops' purge as

continued on page 9

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia

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As New Appeal Is Filed Against "Hanging Judge" Sabo

Mumia Abu-Jamal Wins Ruling Against Prison Authorities

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has recently won a legal victory against Pennsylvania prison authorities in U.S. Federal District Court in Pittsburgh. Last year, Jamal brought a civil suit against the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections for punishing him for his powerful prison writings by blocking his access to media interviews. The suit also charged the authorities with obstructing Jamal's access to legal counsel by intercepting privileged correspondence between him and his attorneys and forwarding copies to the office of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. In June, a court magistrate found that prison officials had violated Jamal's rights to free speech and to legal counsel. At the same time, the magistrate allowed that such actions were justifiable if the authorities could claim "a reasonable suspicion" that Jamal was violating prison rules (see "Jamal Wins First Round Against Prison Gag Order," *WV* No. 648, 5 July).

Now, on December 4, Judge Donetta Ambrose has ruled against a challenge by prison authorities to the June finding, on the basis that officials who intercepted, opened and read Jamal's correspondence with his attorneys "interfered entirely" with the ability of Mumia's lawyers to represent him—just as Ridge was preparing to sign a warrant for Jamal's execution. Ambrose concluded her ruling by citing the state's violation of Jamal's basic constitutional rights:

> "The claim made here is one founded not only on the right to access to the courts but also upon plaintiff's right to maintain confidential communications with his attorney, a right that is founded upon the common law, upon the Sixth Amendment and upon the Fourteenth Amendment."

In her ruling, Ambrose also gave the lie to the state's claims that Jamal had deliberately waited until the warrant was signed in June 1995 before filing a petition for "post-conviction relief" (PCRA) to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in 1981. This lie was repeatedly thrown at Jamal during the PCRA hearing in the summer of 1995 by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who also presided at Jamal's 1982 "trial." Not surprisingly, Sabo ruled against the PCRA petition. Yet Judge Ambrose has now acknowledged that the prison authorities' actions led to a delay in filing the PCRA because of "the unwillingness of counsel and of Plaintiff [Jamal] to communicate freely by mail after having been informed that legal mail had been opened by prison officials." Jamal's defense team will submit Ambrose's ruling to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in support of their appeal of Sabo's ruling last summer denying Mumia's PCRA petition.

Five days after the Pittsburgh ruling, on December 9, Jamal's attorneys in Philadelphia submitted an appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court seeking to overturn the latest atrocity in Sabo's court. On November 1, concluding a hearing ordered by the state Supreme Court, Sabo dismissed dramatic new evidence both of Jamal's innocence and of the long, sordid record of police coercion of witnesses and suppression of evidence in the case. The new evidence was provided by the powerful testimony of eyewitness Veronica Jones, who told the court how she saw two men run from the scene of the shooting, corroborating her initial account to the police in 1981 and that of four other eyewitnesses.

These accounts proved that Jamal, who was sitting on the ground bleeding severely from a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner when police arrived on the scene, could not have been the killer. Jones also revealed that she was coerced into changing her initial true account by the time of the 1982 trial after two police detectives threatened her with a long prison term on gun possession charges.

For courageously coming forward now to tell the truth, Jones was punished by being dragged off the stand in Sabo's court and taken to jail. Sabo then arrogantly ruled that Jones' testimony was "of no moment" and "incredible." But as Jamal's new appeal states: "Jones' uncoerced testimony would have profoundly changed the mix of evidence at trial." The appeal points out:

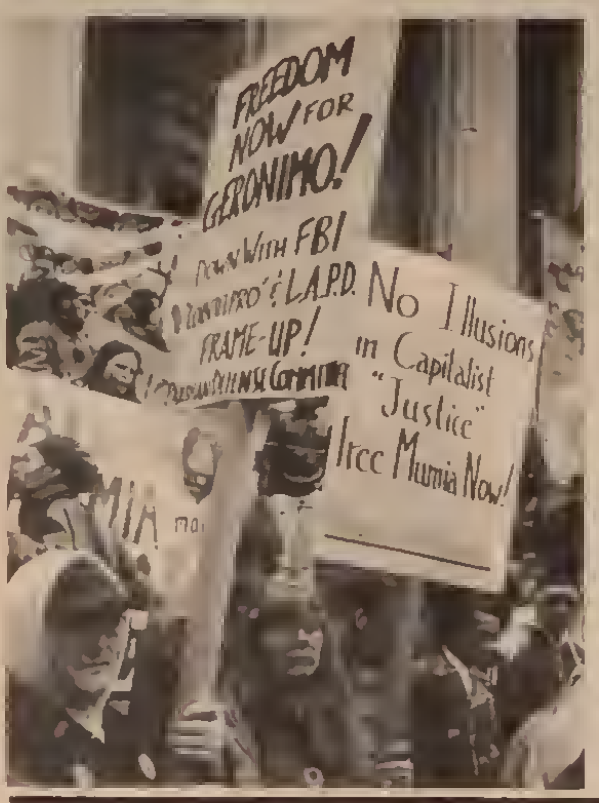
> "Had Jamal been provided a true opportunity to present a defense at the 1982 trial, the evidence thus would have shown that:
> "(1) the only two eyewitnesses to identify Jamal as the 'shooter' both received undisclosed favors from police and the prosecution in return for their testimony;
> "(2) five eyewitnesses saw someone flee the scene, and two of these witnesses initially said the fleeing person was the shooter."

The appeal also restates other key evidence documenting the frame-up of Mumia, from the cops' contrived story of Mumia's "confession" to the lack of any ballistic evidence linking Mumia to Faulkner's shooting.

The same day as Jamal's lawyers filed the new appeal in Philadelphia, some 500 people joined in a protest on Wall Street in New York City to mark the 15th anniversary of Mumia's arrest. The reformist organizers of the protest, notably Workers World Party and Refuse & Resist, focused on demands for a new trial. But the entire history of Mumia's frame-up argues against reliance in the capitalist courts. Even the recent ruling by Judge Ambrose points to the fact that the courts, the prison authorities, the governor and the prosecution are joined by a thousand ties in a system of *racist injustice*. As a Partisan Defense Committee sign at the protest read, "No Illusions in Capitalist 'Justice'—Free Mumia Now!"

The gross interference by prison officials and the governor's office in Mumia's defense efforts—even as Jamal was attempting to challenge the death sentence hanging over him—is only one of countless examples of how the racist "justice" system has targeted Mumia for death. From the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the 1960s, Mumia was subjected to daily cop surveillance as part of the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), which sought to "neutralize" the Panthers and other radical activists. The state's vendetta continued when Jamal was a widely known journalist who exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly, and later when he became a supporter of the MOVE organization. It culminated in Mumia's being falsely charged and sent to death row in 1982.

As Marxists, we place our confidence in the power of the working class and the oppressed. The wave of international protests for Mumia in the summer of 1995, which helped stay the executioner's hand at the time, gave a glimpse of the kind of militant struggle that must take place to free Mumia. As part of our fight to sweep away this capitalist system of racist repression and injustice, we demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■



WV Photos

Partisan Defense Committee supporters at December 9 Wall Street rally for Mumia.

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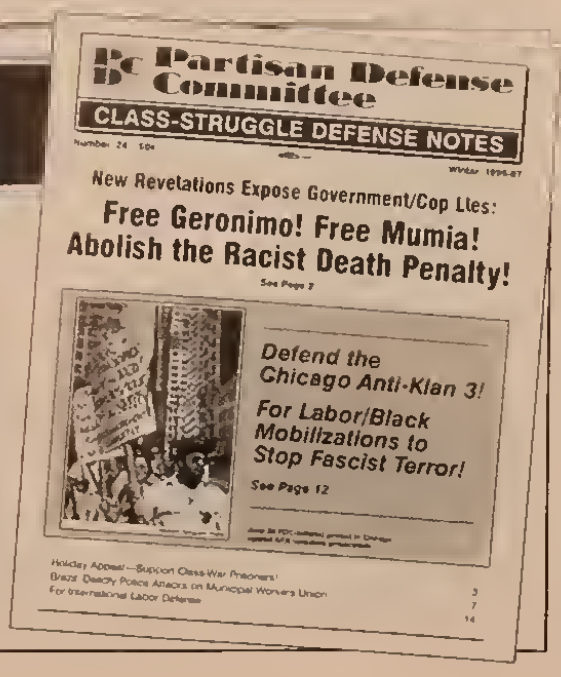

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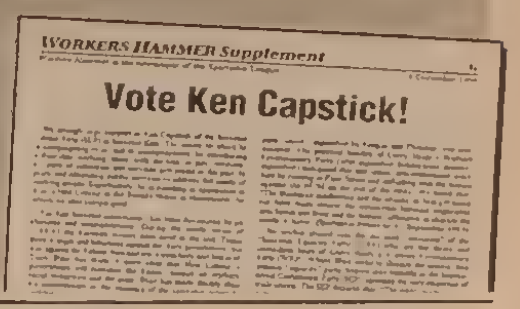
Barnsley By-Election

Spartacist League/Britain Calls for Vote to SLP Candidate


WORKERS HAMMER Supplement

Vote Ken Capstick!

LONDON—The Socialist Labour Party (SLP), formed earlier this year when miners' leader Arthur Scargill split from Tony Blair's "New Labour" Party, stood Ken Capstick as its candidate in the December 12 parliamentary by-election in Barnsley East. Predictably, New Labour easily recaptured this safe seat in a former mining area of Yorkshire, thus ending Conservative prime minister John Major's parliamentary majority and possibly hastening a general election. But the desultory turnout of just over one-third of the electorate indicates general working-class disaffection with the union-hating Blairites. The SLP won just over 5 percent of the vote, consistent with what SLP candidate Brenda Nixon got last February in nearby Hemsworth, another Labour stronghold. The Socialist Equality Party (SEP) affiliated to David North's "International Committee" managed to get a derisory 89 votes in their campaign marked by open hatred for the trade unions.

In a December 8 leaflet (reprinted below) distributed in the Barnsley area, the Spartacist League/Britain called for a vote to the SLP candidate, as we did earlier in Hemsworth. Although the SLP's politics amount simply to "old Labour" reformism, the formation of Scargill's party represents a challenge to Labour's decades-long political stranglehold on the British workers movement. Breaking this stranglehold is a key strategic task in forging a revolutionary workers party, which must be built in opposition to Labourite reformism, "old" as well as "new."

Thus our leaflet not only called for support to Capstick, but counterposed to the SLP's reformism a revolutionary programme and the need for a Trotskyist vanguard party. In doing this, we implemented the tactic of critical support proposed by Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin in 1920 as a means for a small communist vanguard to "get a hearing" from the masses. Critical support is an application of the tactic of the united front: by proposing urgent united *action* around concrete issues in defence of the working class, the young Communist parties sought to win the mass of workers who retained allegiance to the reformist social-democratic parties, proving in struggle the superiority of the communist programme and leadership. In Britain today, we seek to exacerbate the contradictions between the aspirations and interests of the working-class base of the Labour Party and its pro-capitalist leaders.

SL/B comrades actively campaigned for Capstick alongside SLP members in Barnsley East, going door-to-door with SLP election material. We also intervened in SLP election meetings, where we distributed our leaflet and sold our newspaper, *Workers Hammer*, presenting our revolutionary programme. Notably, our comrades in Barnsley East saw no sign of the fake-revolutionary "entrists" inside the SLP—neither supporters of the semi-liquidated Communist Party of Great Britain nor of the completely liquidated former "Bolshevik" Tendency—who are busily engaged in internecine manoeuvring for internal influence. We did, however, run into one hapless supporter of the right-centrist Workers Power (WP), who appeared outside an

Guardian (London)

British miners' leader Arthur Scargill at founding conference of Socialist Labour Party.

SLP election rally trying desperately to keep quiet about WP's wretched line of supporting New Labour against the SLP.

Our exposure of the retrograde positions of the Northite SEP and its Healyite predecessor drew howls of outrage from these scab "socialists," who distributed an "Open Letter to Ken Capstick" seeking to justify their support to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność and their instigation of an anti-Communist witchhunt against Scargill and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) on the eve of the 1984-85 miners strike. Fittingly enough, in the "Open Letter," SEP candidate Julie Hyland warns Capstick of "legal steps," threatening to sue him in the same capitalist courts which Mrs. Thatcher's government used to devastate the NUM. Hyland also appeared at a Northite-sponsored "meet the candidates" meeting at Barnsley College alongside spokesmen for all the capitalist parties in the by-election—the Tories, Liberal Democrats and the ultra-nationalist UK Independence Party. Blending right in, Hyland grotesquely peppered her speech with references to the trade unions as "prison camps" for workers!

The spectacle of a polite "debate" with these parties was obscene, particularly in this area. Hatred for the Tories' decimation of the coal industry, where most working people here once earned their living, runs so deep that, as the London *Guardian* noted, houses displaying a Tory poster in the window tend to get bricks thrown at them. An SL/B supporter spoke from the floor to expose the SEP's pretensions to "socialism" as a fraud, blasting the Healyite-instigated vendetta against the NUM and the SEP's current hostility to the trade unions. Our comrade also noted how the SEP echoes the lies of the Tories and New Labour in blaming the NUM for the

On Northite SEP and "Bolshevik" Tendency in Britain:

How Others See Them

Buying into the imperialist refrain that "communism is dead," many self-proclaimed revolutionary organizations are rapidly ditching any pretense to Leninism. Here we reprint two pieces, initially published in the Communist Party of Great Britain's *Weekly Worker* (28 November), which offer the views of other leftist organizations on the liquidationist antics of two groups who have made much of themselves as *the* continuators of orthodox Trotskyism—David North's "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) and the so-called International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT).

The first article, titled "IBT Opportunism," is signed by the New Zealand Communist Workers Group which, for specialists in centrism, is affiliated to the Liaison Committee of Militants for a Revolutionary Communist International (LCMRCI), a split from the centrist tendency headed by the British Workers Power group. Much of the IBT's leadership consists of elements who individually fled our organization in the early 1980s in the face of the escalating imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. They nonetheless claimed to be the true repository of the principles and program of Spartacism, i.e., revolutionary Trotskyism.

Although this posture was manifestly fraudulent, it is evidently one that the IBT does not seek to maintain in the current climate of post-Soviet reaction. In the past few years, they have more openly flown their own political colors, which are generally attuned to the petty-bourgeois intellectual milieu they inhabit. In Canada, this was demonstrated in their Anglo-chauvinist call for a "no" vote in a referendum on Quebec independence. In New York City last winter, a prominent BTer joined many of his fellow employees at the liberal-chic *Village Voice* in crossing picket lines of striking building workers.

In Britain, the IBT recently liquidated into Arthur Scargill's left-reformist Socialist Labour Party. The LCMRCI piece nicely captures the IBT's opportunism in this regard. However, it might be more accurate to accuse Scargill—who has stood to the left of the IBT on such crucial questions as the picket line and Soviet-defensism—of opportunism for letting them join his party.

Healy's WRP, forerunners of Northite SEP, instigated anti-Communist witchhunt against Scargill, miners union on eve of 1984-85 strike.

The second article we reprint here comes from the "Trotskyist Unity Group and Scottish Trotskyist Unity Group" (TUG), an "external faction" of the Northite IC and its erstwhile International Communist Party (ICP) in Britain. The TUG's assessment of the ICP's transformation into the "Socialist Equality Party" is quite apt. However, its call to "return and build upon the international tradition of the ICFI between 1985 and 1987" is evidence of an advanced case of delusion.

Evidently, the supposedly halcyon days of the IC began after David North seized the reins of power from deposed "founder-leader" Gerry Healy in 1985. Picking up where Healy left off (fingering Iraqi leftists to the Saddam Hussein regime, instigating an anti-Communist witchhunt against Scargill, running a British daily newspaper, *Newsline*, financed by murderous military regimes), the "international tradition" of North's ICFI includes a global campaign to assist the capitalist courts in framing up and jailing American Socialist Workers Party supporter Mark Curtis. Meanwhile, the Northites continued to support any and every counterrevolutionary movement aimed at the destruction of the former Soviet degenerated workers state.

Some 30 years ago, we characterized the IC as "political bandits"—people who would say or do anything to advance their own perceived opportunist advantage, including mouthing quite "orthodox" statements when that suited their

devastation of the coalfields.

Veterans of the heroic year-long miners strike make up much of the SLP's base of support in the bleak former mining villages of South Yorkshire. These militant workers cannot stomach Blair's open denunciation of the unions and New Labour's abandonment of even a pretence of "socialism." One ex-miner who was active in Capstick's campaign explained why he had broken with the Labour Party after years of membership: "Because I'm a socialist, I've always been a socialist." Almost all the SLP activists our comrades encountered bought copies of *Workers Hammer* or subscriptions.

In its campaign bullhorning, the SLP promoted the "socialism of Keir Hardie and Aneurin Bevan," reformist Labour leaders of the pre-World War I and post-World War II eras, respectively. But as an SL/B supporter said in response to Scargill at an SLP election rally, this parliamentary "socialism" never touched a hair on the head of British capitalism. Replying to our comrade, Scargill haughtily dismissed the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution and Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, denouncing vanguard parties as "elitist." Instead, Scargill harks back to the piecemeal bourgeois nationalisations carried out by Labour in the late 1940s—within the framework of the continued existence of British imperialism! As we noted in our coverage of the Hemsworth by-election last February (*WV* No. 638, 2 February):

> "The reformist program of Scargill's SLP, which tacitly accepts the framework of capitalist parliamentarism, offers no way forward for the working class. We call for abolition of the anachronisms of the monarchy, the established churches and the House of Lords, leading—as the relationship of forces permits—to confrontations over the institution of the House of Commons and the City of London financiers and capitalists it represents. What is needed is a sweeping social revolution culminating with the workers in power, opening a new line of historical development."

Vote Ken Capstick!

We strongly urge support to Ken Capstick of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in Barnsley East. The issues on which he is campaigning—an end to unemployment, by introducing a four-day working week with no loss in pay, renationalisation of industries and services privatised in the past 16 years, and rebuilding public services—address felt needs of working people. Significantly, he is standing in opposition to Blair's New Labour as did Brenda Nixon in Hemsworth, for whom we also campaigned.

Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain fought for class-struggle solidarity with heroic 1984-85 miners strike against union-busting Thatcher government.

The East Barnsley constituency has been devastated by pit closures and unemployment. During the heroic strike of 1984-85 the Barnsley miners were solid to the end. Today there is anger and bitterness against the Tory government, but also against the Labour bureaucracy's treachery and betrayal. Tony Blair has made it quite clear that New Labour in government will continue the Tories' assault on workers, racial minorities and the poor. Blair has made doubly clear his commitment to the interests of the capitalist rulers by seeking to sever the Labour Party's links to the unions.

The demands raised by Ken Capstick are supportable, but cannot be achieved short of a struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British capitalism. The SLP split from the Labour Party offers an opportunity to break the stranglehold of Labourism over the workers movement and an opening for Marxists to intervene to demonstrate the need for an authentic workers party—one imbued with the understanding that the only guarantee of the welfare of the working class and oppressed is through the destruction of a system based on the exploitation of the workers.

Ken Capstick, former Yorkshire NUM vice president, is known for defending the union against the full force of the capitalist state which repeatedly tried to *destroy the NUM*. Neil Kinnock and other right-wing Labour leaders connived with the state, including MI5, and the capitalist media to frame up Arthur Scargill. In 1991 Ken Capstick moved a resolution at the NUM conference recording the union's "profound disgust" at Kinnock's active participation in this vile smear campaign.

During the 1984-85 strike, the same Labour leaders sabotaged the miners struggle, supporting Thatcher's call for a scab ballot and violence-baiting the miners for defending their picket lines against scabs and cop violence. But it wasn't only the Labour and union leaders who stabbed the miners in the back.

At the 1983 Blackpool TUC conference, Arthur Scargill was unanimously condemned by the capitalist press, the Tories, and the TUC and Labour right wing for telling a simple truth—that Polish Solidarność, a Spencerite company "union," supported by Reagan and Thatcher, was anti-socialist. The political bandits of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (who supported Solidarność counterrevolution) instigated this anti-union, anti-communist witchhunt by running to Fleet Street and colluding with the bosses against the NUM on the eve of the strike. We noted that: "The Blackpool conference and the attacks on Scargill could not have made clearer the connection between imperialist anti-Soviet war fever and the bosses' offensive to shackle the unions at home" (*Spartacist Britain* No. 52, September 1983).

No worker should vote for the scab "socialists" of the "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP) who are the direct and immediate heirs of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). Where Blair seeks to shackle the unions, this peculiar "equality" party, known until recently as the International Communist Party (ICP), opposes the very existence of trade unions. The SEP declares that: "The trade unions are not workers organisations in any meaningful sense" (*International Worker*, 30 November). The SEP is a cynical and sinister outfit whose political track record chimes with whatever the imperialist bourgeoisie is pushing.

A year ago the ICP denounced concrete international union actions in support of the Liverpool dockers as a "fraud." While many union members are justifiably angry with the TGWU misleaders who have left them high and dry, Liverpool dockers fighting against casualisation, and any worker who has experienced non-union conditions, knows very well that a union, even with a bad leadership, is a hell of a lot better than no union at all.

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weekly worker 28 November 1996

IBT Opportunism

Communist Workers Group, New Zealand LCMRCI

Trotsky used to say that sectarians are opportunists who are afraid of themselves. The most sectarian groups are capable of moving in the most opportunist of directions. One example of that is the International Bolshevik Tendency's liquidation into the British SLP.

The IBT is an international grouping with a small nucleus in New Zealand, North America, Germany and recently England. They originated in the early 1980s as the External Tendency of the Spartacists. They share with their mother organisation the same sectarian method towards anti-imperialist struggles and workers' resistance against Stalinist dictatorships. They actively supported the bureaucratic *coups d'état* in Poland (1981) and Russia (1991) and they refused to give critical but unconditional support to the Irish anti-British resistance.

Immediately after Arthur Scargill's call for a Socialist Labour Party they decided to enter the SLP and dissolve themselves inside it, and called on the rest of the left to do the same.

In a letter sent to the "friends" of the IBT in Britain they announced their decision to "liquidate our separate organisation" into the SLP. "The SLP is not a labour party of the counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist type. On the contrary, its militants have split away from just such a party with the aim of building something qualitatively better. We share this aspiration and are therefore dissolving our separate organisation in order to help them do so. We call on all subjective socialists and communists who agree with the necessity for a new, genuinely socialist and revolutionary workers' party to do the same and join the SLP."

What happened to the group which often criticised the rest of the left for adapting to reformism? Now they are asking the left to not only conciliate but to dissolve itself into a new left reformist formation with the aim of building an eclectic amalgam.

The IBT demanded that all centrists and Stalinists liquidate into the SLP as the way of creating a revolutionary party. This would not be the result of joint work with all kind of self-proclaimed communists and socialists.

As Trotsky argued, in the case of Marxists inside the U.S. Labor Party, it is necessary to build a revolutionary nucleus as a pole of attraction to force splits, and to attract militant workers to revolutionary politics. We are in favour of Marxists working inside the SLP with the clear aim of trying to avoid the creation [of] a Labour Party mark II. That means that revolutionaries should organise themselves as a clear opposition with a clear programme. When Workers Power attacked the SLP as a "bureaucratically run Stalinist" and "reformist sect" whose candidates should not be voted for anywhere, they made a sectarian and pro-Labour mistake. Nevertheless, the ex-IBT comrades are making another big mistake because they simply decided to accommodate to reformist policies and structures.

Inside the SLP the ex-IBT comrades are not organising any opposition. The SLP left is trying to unite against reformism and bureaucracy. The ex-IBT comrades are opposed to the left grouping within the SLP, the Revolutionary Platform. Their main aim is to present themselves as very loyal members of the SLP apparatus and to try to conquer positions inside it.

Trotsky adopted the policy of entryism in 1933-34, when the social democratic parties, after Hitler's victory in Germany, were generating leftwing tendencies. His aim was to try to intervene in them and to assist them in going in a revolutionary direction. Entryism meant that it was necessary to have a clear revolutionary line and not to adapt to the apparatus.

This tactic was transformed into a strategy by Michel Pablo, the leader of the Fourth International since the late 1940s. Pablo proposed the deep entryism of the Fourth International sections into the Stalinist parties with the aim of pushing them in a revolutionary direction. For Trotsky entryism was a relatively short-term tactic with the aim of establishing a left faction inside reformism. For Pablo entryism became liquidationism.

The IBT considers that Pabloism destroyed the Fourth International. Nevertheless, they are proposing an even deeper entryism.

The policies of the former British IBT are completely endorsed in the last *1917*, the journal of the IBT, which is mostly dedicated to the British SLP. The IBT heavily attacked all the rest of the left for being "centrist" and for adopting a sectarian attitude towards the SLP. How do they characterise the SLP? They say that it is a progressive left split from Labour, but they refrain from criticising Scargill or the SLP as left reformist or even centrist. While the IBT have an aggressive attitude towards the rest of the British left, it has a soft attitude to a party which

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Barnsley By-Election...

(continued from page 7)

Arthur Scargill stands in contrast to union-haters like Kinnock, Blair and the SEP. We Spartacists have defended the miners union, and its president, against state attacks and witchhunts before, during and since the 1984-85 miners battle. At the same time we have always stated our revolutionary opposition to Arthur Scargill's politics, which amount to "old" Labour reformism. "Old" Labour politics have never touched a hair on the head of British imperialism and have betrayed workers in struggle. The defeat of the miners paved the way for Thatcher's union-busting and job-slashing offensive. We called for a fighting Triple Alliance of rail, coal and dockers unions striking together to shut down the country. This would have involved a frontal assault on the capitalist system, which requires a revolutionary party. But as we said at the time all Scargill had was the Labour Party, which was stabbing the NUM in the back.

British nationalism has always been a hallmark of Labourism (New or "old"). While the SLP opposes the European Union as a bosses' club, and makes statements against "narrow nationalism," they in fact push little-England protectionism. Where this leads was illustrated in 1992 when Scargill ended up alongside arch-racists like Winston Churchill junior in a class-collaborationist campaign to "save British coal." This policy of protectionism means opposing foreign imports, inevitably pitting workers in different countries against each other. It also fuels racism and leads to trade wars, which in turn lead to shooting wars. Only a party which fights for international working-class solidarity across national lines can fight for the interests of the working class, above all that means fighting against our own imperialist rulers.

The election statement of the "Socialist Equality Party" barely mentions the British Army's presence in Northern Ireland. They write as if the imperialist troops are merely an "interesting" phenomenon, as if the British working class has no special responsibility to oppose the imperialist machinations of its own bourgeoisie. The role of the British Army is the brutal subjugation of the oppressed Catholic population. For any socialist organisation worthy of the name it is obligatory to call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland.

Scargill's SLP does call for troops out, although they accept the framework of the imperialist "peace" process, which is premised on the British troops remaining in place. The SLP election leaflet does not address racist terror, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-Traveller bigotry; the SLP's constitution even bars recent immigrants from membership. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and for trade union/minority mobilisations against racist terror.

Defensive struggles against capitalist austerity are taking place across Europe. What's needed are Leninist vanguard parties to fight for working-class power. Abolish the survivals of feudalism—the monarchy, the House of Lords and the established churches! For the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales! British troops out of Northern Ireland now! For a federation of *workers* republics in the British Isles! We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in October 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils throughout the world. ■

Cagnoni/Report

Even as Labour leader Neil Kinnock (left) knifed miners strike, miners' leader Arthur Scargill refused to break with him.

Others See Them...

(continued from page 7)

hasn't broken with Labourism.

Scargill is against making an electoral alliance with any force to his left, despite the fact that Militant Labour has many more members and they expressed their willingness to do that. His constitution forbids the affiliation of any left group. His aim is to try to recruit left Labour MPs, trade union bureaucrats and entire unions.

The SLP's structure is not a democratic centralist one. The branches don't meet regularly with the aim of discussing daily policies, to elaborate collectively the party's line or to discuss how to intervene in conflicts. Several oppositionists have been expelled or witchhunted.

Revolutionaries inside the SLP should fight for a more democratic regime: for a revolutionary opposition; for putting the party into the streets and in places where the SLP wants to stand in elections; for making electoral blocs with left Labourites and unions, with ML and the significant Scottish Socialist Alliance. The IBT is not promoting most of these ideas in its journal.

Like Pablo, the IBT is promoting the creation of left reformist machines in which the far left has to dissolve itself. After around 15 years of existence the IBT remains a tiny sectarian grouping. Today, they are moving in an opportunist direction in a desperate bid to overcome their isolation. As opportunists, they will no longer have to live in fear of themselves.

Fight the Liquidation of the ICP

Edited statement by the Trotskyist Unity Group and Scottish Trotskyist Unity Group (external Leninist faction of the ICFI)

The transformation of the Australian Socialist Labour League and British International Communist Party (ICP) into the Socialist Equality Party represents the political capitulation of the International Committee of the Fourth International to the example set by the American Workers League when it became the Socialist Equality Party.

The U.S. SEP uses the mythical imagery of the American Revolution (see *International Worker* No. 223, 2 November) in order to portray history not as the class struggle but rather as a transhistorical or timeless struggle for equality. Hence, because the bourgeoisie has failed to realise this original moral quest for equality this principle has to be taken up by the working class in the struggle for socialism. However, this emphasis upon inequality is used to justify an ethical appeal to the working class. We can see this in the statement of the British SEP:

"Our party appeals to the humanitarian ideals and egalitarian traditions of the working class: the principle of solidarity with all workers in struggle, the readiness to fight for the common good, the confidence in a better future and determination to make it a reality" (*International Worker* No. 224, 16 November).

This ethical appeal adapts to the spontaneous alienated consciousness of the proletariat in a situation of the crisis of capitalism. Following the example of the U.S. SEP, the British SEP describes capitalist society in terms of the distribution of wealth from poor to rich, and the structures of class oppression are held to express privilege and wealth which are blamed for inequality, rather than the extraction of abstract surplus labour from the proletariat.

So contemporary history becomes the timeless quest for equality, and on this idealist basis the necessity of class struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is glossed over. Instead, there is an ambiguous call for a democratically controlled economy in order to realise the humanitarian ideals of the proletariat.

The statement formally acknowledges the international role of transnational corporations as the structural basis of exploitation, but this is eclectically connected to an analysis which moralises about the selfish individualism of the bourgeoisie and its betrayal of the principle of equality as the content of exploitation. This expresses a retreat into utopian socialism and away from scientific socialism by the British SEP, the International Committee of the Fourth International and the U.S. SEP.

The statement formally acknowledges that there is no parliamentary road to socialism and outlines the counterrevolutionary and nationalist role of the Labour Party, but it makes no mention of the need for revolutionary struggle by the proletariat and instead calls for a democratically organised workers' government. The demands of the British SEP for full employment, improved living standards, decent housing, high quality education and comprehensive childcare represent the explicit codification of the collapse of the old ICP into left reformism. For the demands are linked to a cautious and ambiguous evolutionary call for the workers' government to "strive to extend the democratic control of the working class over the economy." As with Militant Labour, nationalisation and planning are equated with socialism, and the struggle to overthrow capitalism is thereby repudiated.

The previous strong emphasis upon proletarian internationalism is now reduced to a moral appeal to extend socialist equality worldwide. This call is actually connected to a nationalist-oriented British road to socialism, in which the democratic workers' government will carry out a socialist foreign policy.

In terms of the British ICP we can locate the Gulf War, Ireland, the bureaucratic liquidation of the Glasgow branch, the poll tax, and the absence of democratic centralism as being key elements in their opportunist and nationalist degeneration. In order to return to and build upon the international tradition of the ICFI between 1985 and 1987 in its struggle versus the advanced nationalist degeneration of the Workers Revolutionary Party, it is necessary for the ICFI to repudiate the programme and perspectives of the various SEPs.

The TUG offers a united front to all those within the ICFI who want to struggle against this opportunism, and to this end the TUG and the Scottish TUG has now decided to become the external Leninist faction of the ICFI in order to facilitate this necessary political struggle.

It is no coincidence that both the majority of the WRP and the newly created British SEP are liquidating at this moment. This is because they are adapting to the political confusion which exists within the working class in the onset of counterrevolutionary developments in the recent period. These include the longstanding character of the Tory government and the demise of Stalinism and its replacement by bourgeois regimes.

This rejection of scientific practice is also a rejection of a dialectical philosophical approach and its role in analysing political practice. In this instance the WRP majority and the British SEP seem unable to comprehend why their previous revolutionary theory has been transformed into its opposite of a most rapid descent into the opportunism of anti-scientific ethical socialism.

The TUG international conference has come to the conclusion that the present period is characterised by splits, fissures and liquidationism, which poses the need for scientific socialism to rebuild the Fourth International. ■

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Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

Assassins") at Fort Benning, Georgia has been training Latin American military officers, including a relatively small minority of Mexicans, for decades in torture, execution and "neutralization" of leftists.

More recently, the Clinton administration authorized a shipment of $37 million in arms, including 53 UH-1H ("Huey") helicopter gunships and four troop transport planes, to Mexico to fight "drug trafficking." While in the U.S., the "war on drugs" has meant savage cop terror in the ghettos, throughout Latin America it has been used as a pretext for death squad terror aimed at crushing all resistance to starvation austerity and union-busting. Even a *New York Times* (25 November) editorial conceded that U.S. "drug aid" to Colombia "was being used to fight guerrillas, and was going to units ranked among the worst human rights abusers." At a meeting in Mexico City earlier this month, Clinton "drug czar" General Barry McCaffrey vowed, "We're going to do training, evidence, intelligence, equipment. We're going to do real stuff" (*New York Times*, 12 December). McCaffrey has effusively praised Mexican "cooperation" and proclaimed himself a "public servant" not only of Clinton but of the Mexican president! Coming from a *yanqui* military leader, such talk is truly sinister.

Immediately in the wake of the inflammatory remarks by Clinton's ambassador came the furor over the publication of a new book by former U.S. secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger. *The Next War* depicts a "fictional" account of a U.S. invasion of Mexico in the year 2003, after the country has been made "ungovernable" by the rise to power of a left-nationalist party—pointedly similar to Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' oppositional Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)—supported by guerrilla movements. Complete with invasion maps and images of U.S. Apache choppers gunning down insurgents, Weinberger maps out a "successful" invasion by U.S. military forces. The book is motivated as a warning to present-day U.S. imperialist leaders to get ready for such "contingencies."

AP

Núñez/Cuartoscuro

Mexican president Zedillo with U.S. imperialist patron Clinton. U.S.-supplied helicopters deployed in Chiapas, Mexico to crush Zapatista peasant insurgents.

The provocative speeches and writings by American leaders hit hard in a country where intense national feelings against U.S. imperialism go back to before the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. The U.S. annexed Texas in 1845, invaded Mexico City in 1847, and essentially stole the territories that once made up most of northern Mexico in 1848. At the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 which toppled the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, 40 percent of U.S. foreign investment was in Mexico and U.S. bankers, mining, oil, and railroad companies virtually ran the economy. U.S. Marines invaded Veracruz in 1914 and troops moved into Mexico again in 1916. The U.S. gave military aid to various "revolutionary" armies provided they pledged to defend Washington's interests and crush plebeian revolts like those led by Francisco (Pancho) Villa in the north and Emiliano Zapata in the south.

Today, U.S. imperialism's increasingly aggressive military posture toward Mexico is a reflection of growing concern over the crumbling authority of the PRI regime in the face not only of peasant insurgencies but widespread urban discontent. The imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and the resulting peso crash a year later have battered the middle class and driven wide layers of the working class and urban and rural poor to desperation. In a 1991 joint statement against the NAFTA proposal by the Mexican, Canadian and U.S. sections of the International Communist League, we warned: "The American ruling class wants to pick up the Mexican economy in one huge buyout—at bargain basement prices" ("Stop U.S. 'Free-Trade' Rape of Mexico," *WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991).

That is, indeed, what has been happening. The U.S.-engineered peso "bailout" effectively put the Mexican economy into receivership to Wall Street. Zedillo has massively escalated the "privatization" of Mexican industry begun by his predecessor Salinas, agreeing to sell off huge chunks of the state-owned oil company, Pemex, viewed by Mexicans as a "national treasure" since its nationalization in the 1930s. Zedillo has also begun to sell off another industry which once symbolized imperialist domination of the country, the railroads.

While defending peasant-based guerrilla groups like the EZLN and the EPR against state repression, we warn that their petty-bourgeois nationalist programs are only meant to pressure the capitalist government into "democratic" reforms and gain a few more crumbs off their table. Thus, both groups look to the bourgeois-populist PRD, which supports not only NAFTA but also the military's war against "terrorists." Guerrilla struggle based on the atomized, parochial and petty-bourgeois peasantry is incapable of effecting a social revolution in Mexico. Petty-bourgeois guerrilla movements were able to come to power and carry out a social overturn in places like Cuba and Vietnam—resulting in bureaucratically deformed workers states—only in the absence of a politically active proletariat and because the Soviet Union existed as a bulwark against imperialism (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8). In Mexico today, with its huge, combative proletariat, such movements do not have the free play to posture against, much less smash, the capitalist state. The power to defeat the starvation assault of the Mexican ruling class and the U.S. imperialist overlords lies with the industrial proletariat mobilized behind a revolutionary party armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and standing at the head of the poor peasantry and all the oppressed. A victorious socialist revolution would have to immediately seek its extension throughout Latin America and into the U.S. imperialist heartland, particularly through the human bridge forged by millions of Mexican and Central American immigrants.

Here in the "belly of the beast," the U.S. working class must oppose Washington's imperialist adventures down the line, as part of the struggle against its own capitalist exploiters. *Down with the racist war on immigrants—Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! U.S. hands off Mexico!* ■

Reuters

Mexican troops imposed state of siege in Oaxaca and other areas as part of brutal "anti-terrorist" crackdown against EPR guerrillas.

Australia...

(continued from page 4)

"tacit" is a lie and a whitewash, providing a cover for the ALP/ACTU tops. Could these nameless "certain union leaders" be the same ones that WP is pleading with to lead a general strike against Howard's anti-union legislation?

Marxists understand that a general strike is a prelude to a struggle for power, inevitably posing the question, "Which class shall rule?" To call on the ACTU misleaders to lead a general strike at the very moment they are purging trade unionists who defended Aborigines is transparently absurd, sowing the worst illusions in these political police for the capitalist class. In the same issue of its press, WP decries what it politely chooses to call "the debate about race, immigration and freedom of speech" for supposedly "diverting attention away" from the anti-union laws. This underscores that WP's insistent call for an ACTU-led general strike is militant-sounding verbiage designed to disguise its Laborite and economist adaption to the existing leadership and consciousness of the working class.

In contrast, as the December 7 SL/A leaflet concluded:

> "The unity in struggle of workers and minorities on 19 August gave a taste of the sort of power a revolutionary leadership would harness to bring down racist Australian capitalism. What is needed is a political fight to break working people and minorities from the ALP/ACTU traitors, ousting the pro-capitalist bureaucracy from the workers movement. The Spartacist League/Australia fights to build a Trotskyist vanguard party, a tribune of the people combating all manifestations of racial and sexual oppression, to lead the working class and behind them all the oppressed masses in a socialist revolution which will sweep away the racist capitalist system and establish workers rule."

The SL/A fights for a revolutionary workers party—forged through splitting the ALP's working-class base from its reformist misleaders—to lead the struggle for a workers republic of Australia as part of a socialist Asia. ■

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Balkans...

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the war in Croatia and Bosnia, Milosevic was able to maintain tight control. But with his project of a Greater Serbia in shambles, Milosevic's former right-wing nationalist allies have turned against him and his old enemies have become bolder and stronger. A Belgrade student active in the protests exclaimed, "Milosevic betrayed the Serbian people."

Slobodan Milosevic, like Romania's Ion Iliescu, was a leading Stalinist apparatchik who placed himself at the head of the capitalist counterrevolution by embracing "little power" nationalism in alliance with traditional rightists. His vile chauvinism and cynical maneuvers have done much to discredit the idea of communism in Serbia. At the same time, Sloho's many enemies, both within and without Serbia, appeal to anti-Communist demagogy in attacking the Serbian strongman. A chant heard frequently in the marches is, "Down with the red bandits!" And the London *Financial Times* (7 November) misinforms its readers: "The Serb president is discarding his nationalist colours in a calculated alliance with Marxist-Leninists."

Washington and the Western media have portrayed the opposition as "peaceful" and "democratic," ranging, according to the *New York Times*, "from nationalists to social democrats." This is an utter whitewash. While the odd pro-imperialist liberal may be involved in the protests, the core of the movement, as even a *Times* (10 December) report indicated, consists of fascists and hardline chauvinists who "embrace fierce Serb nationalism."

Its two principal leaders are Zoran Djindjic and Vuk Draskovic. When the protests began, the supposedly "peaceful" Djindjic called for "uprisings, strikes, violence," while Draskovic's wife Danica urges protesters to throw bombs at Milosevic's house and rails, "We need weapons and hand grenades" (*Der Spiegel*, 2 December). A one-time liberal, Djindjic opted to espouse the cause of Serbian nationalism in 1993. In the recent Bosnian elections, this latter-day darling of U.S. imperialism campaigned for the party of Radovan Karadzic—branded in the West as the Balkans' chief "war criminal"—who is an arch-chauvinist opponent of Milosevic. Djindjic states: "If we want to build a popular movement, we must use nationalism to do it."

As for Draskovic, his Serbian Renewal Party has always openly identified with the royalist Chetniks who specialized in massacring defenseless Croatian and Bosnian Muslim villagers and fought against Tito's Communist Partisans in World War II. A letter to the *New York Times* (15 December) points out that in the 1980s "Draskovic was a best-selling author of anti-Muslim hate propaganda" and is today "founder and head of the Serbian Guard, a fascist militia group reported to have committed atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia." When Yugoslavia was breaking up in 1991, Draskovic campaigned for a referendum to restore the Serbian monarchy. A year later, unveiling a monument to Chetnik leader Draza Mihailovic, he rhapsodized how that mass murderer, executed by the Partisans in 1946, had healed "the broken wings of the nation."

This is what U.S. imperialism embraces as a "democratic" opposition to Milosevic! Having secured the Serbian strongman's support for the imperialist "peace" imposed in Bosnia, Washington is now intent on punishing him for refusing to kowtow to its dictates in the early 1990s. And the U.S. is making little effort to hide its sponsorship of the fascist-infested protest movement. When a Congressional "fact finding" team visited Bosnia last month, they made a stop in Belgrade to join in one of the marches and stage a show of support from a window of the opposition headquarters. When Milosevic briefly pulled the plug on the opposition's B-92 radio station, the Voice of America immediately moved in to air its broadcasts.

While playing up the protests in Serbia, the West has effectively buried any news of protests against the fascistic Tudjman regime in Croatia. Last month, 100,000 people gathered in Zagreb's main square to protest a government shutdown of the country's last independent radio station and, more broadly, Tudjman's refusal to accept the results of municipal elections won by *his* opponents. In a political climate long permeated by reactionary nationalism, the demonstrators defied the autocratic, pro-Ustasha Tudjman regime. A few days later, workers in the Croatian State Railway went on strike, halting 80 percent of the country's rail traffic for over a week. While the railway union's demands were strictly economic and its leaders not connected with any political opposition, a strike of this magnitude necessarily challenges and weakens the right-wing government. Earlier this spring, there was also a brief but successful national strike by railway workers in Slovenia.

Meanwhile, in Serbia the rightist opposition and its imperialist patrons have expressed vocal disappointment over their failure to mobilize the workers as cannon fodder for their designs. The *Wall Street Journal* (13 December) even raised the need for a "general strike." (The last time we recall this mouthpiece for finance capital supporting "workers action" was when it called for "soviets" in Poland in 1981 to catapult CIA-backed Solidarność into power.) The urgent appeals of the Zajedno leaders to industrial workers to engage in strikes and protests on their behalf have to date gone conspicuously unanswered. One Belgrade factory worker explained: "None of us have any great sympathy for the students. When we held strikes earlier in the year, all these university students didn't give us any support."

Throughout the spring and summer and into the fall, there was in fact a series of strikes in Serbia against the cataclysmic austerity imposed by Milosevic and exacerbated by the imperialist boycott. In August, workers at the Red Flag Yugo car factory in Kragujevac staged a successful two-month walkout to win payment of back wages and other union demands. Another strike in an arms plant there in October protested government victimization of union militants. An action by public transport workers in Belgrade around the same time was brought to an end when the union president was dragged off to jail.

Dutka/Reuters

U.S. troops in Bosnia, part of NATO occupation force: enforcers of imperialist "peace" which will lead to more war, communalist bloodshed.

If the Serbian proletariat were to spring into political action today, far from supporting the current opposition, it would be in the workers' class interests to root out the fascist nests at Belgrade University and other campuses which are the backbone of the imperialist-backed protests. In unity with the workers of the other ex-Yugoslav republics, the Serbian working class must sweep away Milosevic and all the reactionary nationalist regimes which currently hold sway in the Balkans. What is sorely missing is an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard forged in hitter opposition to all imperialist intervention and to all the competing chauvinist gangs in the region.

The Balkan Wars and Imperialist Hypocrisy

Milosevic himself is largely responsible for unleashing the chauvinist flood tide which is now directed against his regime. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Emerging from the war with immense popular and moral authority, Tito and his comrades socialized the economy—albeit in a bureaucratically controlled and deformed manner—in the name of the "brotherhood and unity" of the working people of Yugoslavia. However, the inherent economic limitations and distortions of Yugoslav Stalinism with its program of "market socialism in one country"—and a poor Balkan country at that—generated increasing tensions between the various constituent national republics and regions.

After Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav bureaucracy fractured along national lines. In the late 1980s, Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists, trampled on Tito's carefully balanced national arrangements, beginning with a violent attack on the Albanian population of Kosovo. Milosevic's drive for a "Greater Serbia," in turn, reinforced anti-Communist nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia, the wealthier, traditionally Roman Catholic northernmost republics of Yugoslavia which were formerly part of the German sphere of influence. Imperialism used nationalism and bloody communalism as the battering ram to destroy the Yugoslav deformed workers state.

In early 1991, instigated by the reunified German Fourth Reich, newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. The Serbs were not only the largest nationality in pre-1991 Yugoslavia but also the most geographically dispersed. With the breakup of Yugoslavia, these large Serb communities confronted hostile nationalist regimes in Zagreb and Sarajevo. Fear of becoming an oppressed minority, combined with chauvinist sentiment for a Greater Serbia, ignited a new series of Balkan wars, beginning in the Serb region of Croatia and spreading into the three-sided communalist bloodletting in Bosnia. The Serbs—making up a third of Bosnia's population—were a largely peasant population which owned over 60 percent of the land in the republic, while the Bosnian Muslims were a predominantly urbanized people. Thus when the war began the well-armed Serb forces were able to take over much of the countryside and lay siege to Sarajevo and the other cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

But American imperialism refused to accept a Greater Serbia established in defiance of U.S. will, and the German Fourth Reich was pushing for a Greater Croatia. The Western powers imposed an economic embargo against Serbia—sanctioned by the UN—in order to force Milosevic to abandon his support to the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. At the same time, Washington and Bonn moved to build up the military capacity of the Croatian regime and Bosnian Muslims.

In August 1995, the Croatian army launched a successful blitzkrieg against the Serb-populated Krajina region. Some 200,000 Serbs were driven from their homes in the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan bloodbath. This was followed, in tandem with massive NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, by a joint Croat/Muslim offensive against the Serbs in eastern and central Bosnia. And this time, unlike in 1991, the Serbian army commanded by Milosevic did not intervene. The imperialist-backed Croat/Muslim offensive—carried out with

Popov/Reuters

La Repubblica

Der Spiegel

All-sided nationalist reaction in former Yugoslavia (from left): Muslim fundamentalist supporters of Sarajevo regime, Croatian soldiers giving fascist salute, latter-day Serbian Chetnik chauvinist.

Milosevic's acquiescence—is what laid the basis for the U.S.-sponsored Dayton Accords in November 1995 which divided Bosnia in half between the so-called "Croat-Muslim Federation" and the "Republika Srpska" (Serbian Republic).

Throughout the communalist slaughter, Western imperialist spokesmen and their intellectual bangers-on have adopted a posture of moral superiority to the supposedly violence-crazed and bloodthirsty Balkan peoples driven by "ancient feuds." Here we have the mass murderers of Hiroshima, Vietnam and Auschwitz expressing sympathetic concern over a particularly violent divorce—one, moreover, which they helped instigate. In his press conference announcing that U.S. troops would remain in Bosnia, Clinton shed crocodile tears over the "nearly four years of horrible bloodshed, the bloodiest conflict Europe has seen since World War II."

The Western imperialists, especially the British, took the same "isn't it terrible" line during the Balkan wars of 1910-1913. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, brainchild of the ruthless American steel magnate, even dispatched a "commission of inquiry" to the Balkans at the time, staffed by "pacifist" politicians who sanctimoniously concluded that "all this horror will not cease to exist as long as Europe continues to ignore it" (quoted in "Last Chance for Bosnia?" *New York Review of Books*, 19 December). Yet a year later the European imperialist rulers sent millions of British, French, Russian and German youth to kill one another in a war sparked when a Serbian nationalist assassinated an Austrian archduke in Sarajevo.

During the American Civil War, the British ruling class, had they been able to, would also have liked to stop "all that bloodshed" among the ex-colonials in North America. Whereas in the American Civil War there were real social issues at stake—centrally, the abolition of black chattel slavery in the South—the current Balkan wars involve nothing but the self-interest of competing national capitalist cliques. Of course, what motivated Britain's call for an end to the fighting during the U.S. Civil War was its barely veiled support for the weaker Southern Confederacy.

Likewise today, the hypocritical public postures of the various imperialist powers are determined by their different appetites in the Balkans. Reflecting the interests of British ruling circles, earlier this month British Independent Television News reported:

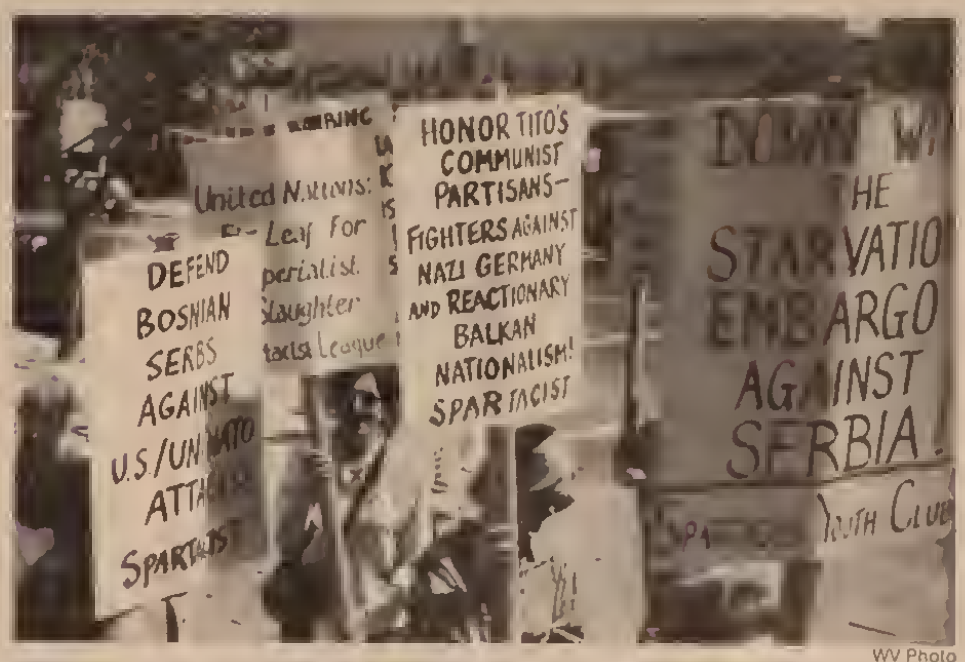
> "Though they won't say so openly, British IFOR [Bosnia NATO force] commanders are concerned that the Americans have just begun in earnest their train-and-equip program, benefiting the mainly Muslim Bosnian government army to the tune of $400 million. There's some bewilderment that the U.S.A. is peacekeeping with one hand, but with the other it's giving arms to the side with the greatest reason for wanting to go back to war, the Muslims."

British military men, whose forebears conquered and subjugated or exterminated millions of colonial slaves in black Africa, the Indian subcontinent, North America and elsewhere as they perfected the art of "divide and rule," are rather ill-suited to preach peace to the American imperialists who are bent on showing the world that they're now the top dog in the Balkans.

In fact, Britain (as well as France) has historically been an imperialist patron of Serbia. The heir to the Serbian throne—today promoted by Draskuvic—was born in London, in a hospital room that was temporarily declared Serbian territory so as not to endanger the crown prince's royal claims. Britain's desire for a more even-handed policy toward the various conflicting nationalist regimes in ex-Yugoslavia clashes with U.S. imperialism's desire to punish the Serbs by arming the Sarajevo Muslim regime of Alija Izetbegovic, while German imperialism is primarily interested in reinforcing its influence in Croatia and Slovenia. Today, Washington apparently sees that its best interests lie in a weak government in Belgrade and political disarray in Serbia at large.

As one Washington official put it: "A change of Government would create uncertainties, but would not necessarily be a bad thing" (*New York Times*, 4 December). At a recent meeting of NATO in Brussels, U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher declared his intention to emphasize to Milosevic "the importance of not using force in connection with these demonstrations, but to find a way to recognize and accept the election results."

U.S. imperialism's current hostility to Serbia, too, has a historical context. Toward the end of World War II, Washington was intent on creating a "Greater Croatia" which would have included the Bosnian province whose eternal independence all the imperialists now hypocritically proclaim. In March 1943, New York's Cardinal Spellman, effectively acting as an emissary for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, visited Mussolini's Italy to meet with the Pope, and also with a representative of the Ustasha. Spellman made clear to the Ustasha, as reported in Richard West's *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (1994), that "President Roosevelt wanted an independent Croatia stretching as far as the River Drina, that is, including all Bosnia-Hercegovina." "The interview also helps to explain," remarks West, "why the Ustasha leaders escaped all punishment for their crimes."



WV Photo

Emergency action organized by Spartacist League outside United Nations in New York City, September 1995, to protest U.S./NATO terror bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Misha Glenny, a knowledgeable student of Balkan affairs of liberal disposition, writes:

> "The Bosnian issue has, for now, been solved. The country has been partitioned into three parts.... Notwithstanding the protests of its architects to the contrary, the Dayton Agreement sets the final seal on the principal aim of those who started and prosecuted these wars: the permanent transfer of populations, with national groups established on their own territories."
>
> — *New York Review of Books* (19 September)

But the present de facto partition of Bosnia is *not* a durable solution to nationalist bloodletting in this former Yugoslav republic or elsewhere in the Balkans. During the elections, Izetbegovic repeatedly threatened to "abolish" the Bosnian Serb republic, and the Muslim forces have been far and away the most aggressive in seeking to reclaim land from the Serbs. At the same time, a strong faction of Croatian nationalists openly advocates formally annexing their part of Bosnia to the Croatian state. When the NATO forces leave, if not sooner, the communalist bloodletting will in all likelihood erupt again, this time with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of new arms from the various imperialist powers. As we wrote last year when NATO warplanes were bombing the Bosnian Serbs in the name of "peace":

> "Any imperialist-engineered 'peace plan' will necessarily perpetuate national oppression and injustices, laying the basis for new wars when the internal and international balance of forces change. These wars will not only involve the peoples of the region but also the Western powers and Russia, whose conflicting interests have historically made the Balkans the powder keg of Europe."
>
> — "Down With U.S./UN/NATO Attack on Bosnian Serbs!" (*WV* No. 628, 8 September 1995)

To provide an ideological cover for NATO intervention, Western imperialist propaganda has prettified the Bosnian Muslim leaders as adherents of a "multi-ethnic, secular, democratic" Bosnia. American liberals and West European social democrats, in particular, depicted the war in Bosnia as a contest between the democratic Muslim good guys and the Serbian fascist bad guys while generally disappearing the Croats. The September elections totally exposed the liberal and leftist apologists for the Bosnian Muslim regime. The campaign rallies of the dominant Muslim party, Izethegovic's Party of Democratic Action, began with prayers by an imam and were guarded by soldiers wearing green headbands with slogans from the Koran. Izetbegovic's thugs routinely beat up and otherwise terrorized members even of the more moderate Muslim party led by former Bosnian foreign minister Haris Silajdzic.

Another diplomatic fiction belied by reality is the "Croat-Muslim Federation" cobbled together by the Americans and Germans in 1994. The 20 percent of Bosnia controlled by Croatian forces has been functionally integrated into Croatia. Bosnian Croats carry Croatian passports and use the Croatian dinar as their currency. The major city of Mostar in eastern Bosnia is divided by the Neretva River into two sectors: one Croat, the other Muslim.

As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed all of the competing nationalist forces in the wars that have raged in the former Yugoslavia, while militarily defending the Bosnian Serbs against repeated imperialist attacks. We have opposed all forms of imperialist intervention, including under the UN flag, and called for an end to the economic embargo of Serbia.

In contrast, most of the centrist and reformist left has lined up behind one communalist force or another and, at least tacitly, behind imperialist intervention. Thus both the right-centrist British Workers Power group and the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel boosted "Workers Aid to Bosnia," which promoted the Sarajevo regime and served as a stalking horse for NATO/UN intervention on the Bosnian Muslim side. In the U.S., Gus Hall's Communist Party and Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party—both of which have a grotesque track record of promoting the "red-brown coalition" of ex-Stalinist chauvinists and fascists in Russia—have acted as boosters for the Serbian Milosevic regime.

Meanwhile, the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO), affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain, enthuses about the reactionary, imperialist-backed opposition to Milosevic, arguing that "November's demonstrations, whatever their outcome, point to the only real solution for the Balkan crisis" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 December). Despite its fig-leaf claim of opposing imperialist intervention, the ISO in fact criticizes the imperialists for not intervening more strongly: "Opposition parties have called on the West to take a tough line, but have come away disappointed by 'lukewarm statements of concern'."

The only real solution to the Balkans crisis lies in socialist revolution to sweep away all the reactionary regimes. In both Serbia and Croatia, workers have become war-weary and disillusioned with the nationalist demagogues who rule over them or aspire to rule over them. They are desperately trying to resist further economic immiseration through trade-union action, the only means of progressive class struggle now available to them. The situation is crying out for the need to form revolutionary workers parties based on the genuinely communist principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and Dimitar Blagoev. Only such revolutionary parties, bound together by the principles of proletarian internationalism, can lead the struggle against local nationalist butchers and their imperialist godfathers who have once again turned the Balkans into a charnel house. For a socialist federation of the Balkans, part of a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 10.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1996 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 636 (5 January) to Issue No. 658 (27 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1996, from issue No. 636 (5 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 658 (27 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Zionist Bloodbath, #653, 11 Oct. (16, 14, 15)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 653 dated 11 October 1996, beginning on page 16 and continuing on pages 14 and 15.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head, those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon. Thus:

  Colonialism—See **France; U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

  means that articles about colonialism can be found by going to the subject head **FRANCE** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **International Relations.** Related articles on colonialism will also be found by going to the subject head **QUOTE OF THE WEEK.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy and threats or acts of war involving the U.S. will be found under **U.S.: International Relations.**
- Articles on the various countries that comprised the former Soviet Union are listed under their individual names (e.g., **RUSSIA**); the category **SOVIET UNION** contains articles that relate to the country prior to the triumph of counterrevolution.
- The periodic columns by death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row;** articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C: Correction
  L: Letter
  R: Review
  S: Series
  YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

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